

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH
UNDER THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

From the Creation of the World:

WHEREIN ALSO

The Affairs and Learning of Heathen Nations before the Birth of CHRIST, and the State of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* Captivity to the present Time, are particularly considered.

To which is subjoined,

A DISCOURSE to promote the Conversion of the *Jews* to Christianity.

By Mr. ROBERT MILLAR Minister of the Gospel in Paisley.



EDINBURGH,

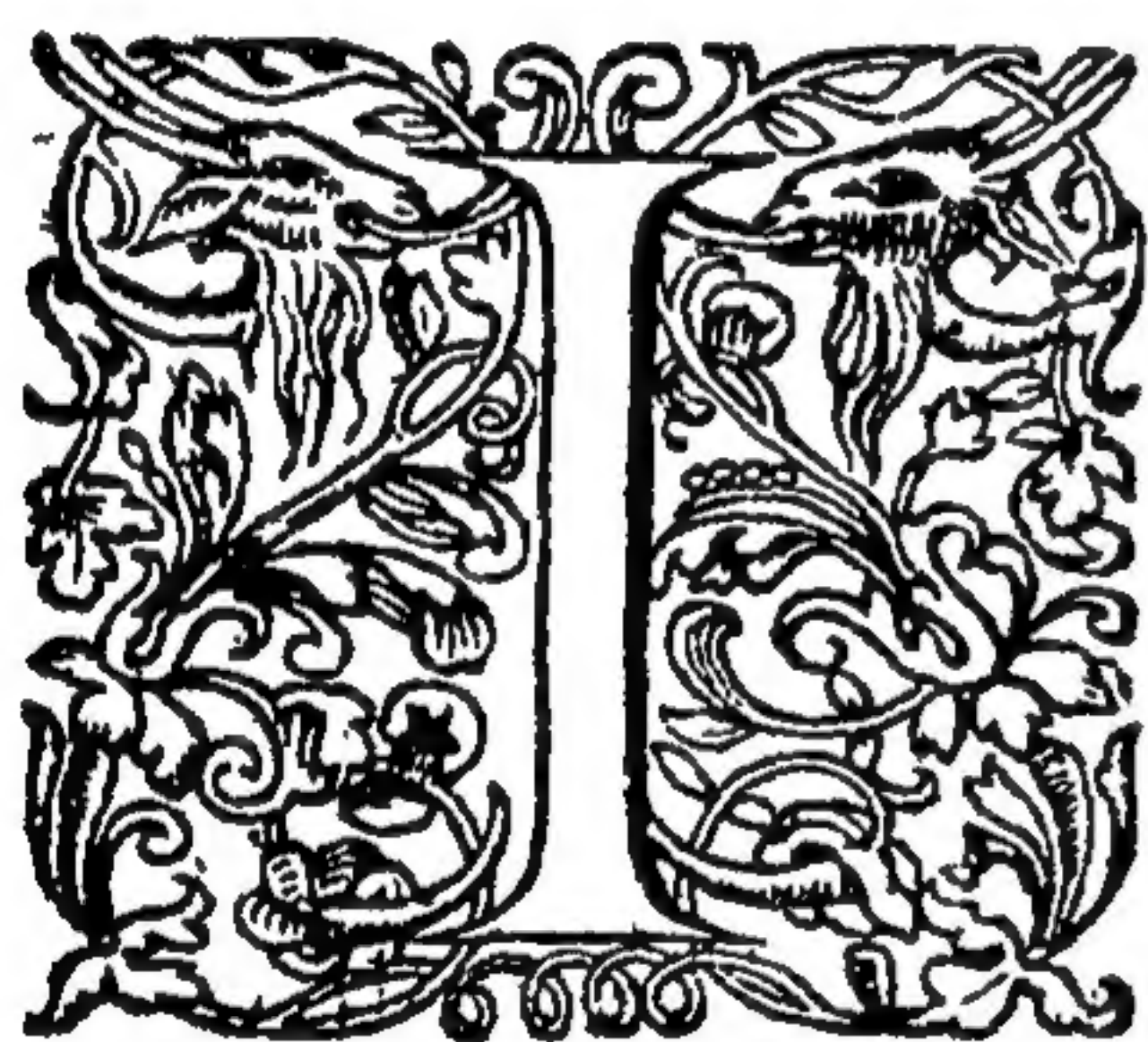
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M.D.CC.XXX.



To His Most Sacred MAJESTY,
GEORGE II.

*King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of
the Faith, &c.*

May it please Your MAJESTY,



HISTORY is to be valued according to the Dignity of the Subject it treats of, by the same Rule that upon the most important Matters, may claim the Patronage of the greatest Men. To whom then can a faithful Account of the Church of God, and the Affairs of the World, from the Beginning of Time, to the Birth of CHRIST, with that of the People of the *Jews* from thence to the present Time, be more justly presented than to Your MAJESTY? Who at the Head of the Protestant Interest, so peaceably arbitrates Affairs of greatest Moment to all *Europe*: The benign Influence of which, we hope, will extend itself even to all the Corners of the World.

THE many present Blessings, as well as the Prospect of future Happiness and Tranquillity, which every true Protestant may perceive flowing from the providential and happy Accession of your illustrious House to the Throne of these Kingdoms, are powerful Motives to unite the Hearts, and cement the Affections of all Your MAJESTY's faithful Subjects; and also to abash and extinguish the impotent Malice of your Enemies. And as none of Your Subjects have a greater Share in the Benefits of Your Reign, than we of the Church of *Scotland*; so none desire more to improve them, as in Duty we are bound, by testifying our Piety to GOD, and Loyalty to the best of Kings.

BUT I dare not, nor need I attempt a Character, where both great and amiable Qualities shine in full Perfection; nor speak of the many noble Advantages we enjoy with respect to Religion, Learning and Liberty, under Your MAJESTY's auspicious Government. Words are indeed but faint Expressions of the Sentiments of a happy People. The publick Splendor and Dignity of Your Kingdoms, with all the retired Pleasures and Blessings of private Life, which your Subjects possess so plentifully and securely, fill our Hearts with Love and Gratitude to our GOD, and our KING. And what is the Happiness we may not anticipate in our View to Generations to come, under a Royal Progeny so descended and form'd by such illustrious Patterns as Your MAJESTY and Your Royal Consort; a Queen who so sweetly joins with Your MAJESTY in setting before them the Examples of Virtue, Wisdom, and of a steady Attachment to the Protestant Interest, in Opposition to all Popish Idolatry and Persecution, keeping still in their Minds these other good and adorning, as well as great Qualities, which truly increase and heighten the Felicities of the Throne, at the same Time that they bless all who surround it.

WE hope there are many great and good Things still to be done for the Church of God, when the *nations of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; when all Israel shall be saved. In that day there shall be one Lord, and his Name One. His enemies shall lick the dust, and holiness shall flourish.* This happy Time draweth nigh: May Your MAJESTY see it, and contribute your Royal Endeavours to advance the same.

MAY our gracious GOD pour out his best Blessings upon Your MAJESTY, upon Your Royal Consort our excellent Queen, upon his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, with all Your Royal and Hopeful Progeny. May he direct Your Counsels, prosper Your Undertakings, and bless your Government; and, after a long and happy Reign over Your Kingdoms, with an useful Life for the Church of GOD, all Mankind in general, and these Lands in particular, may he receive you into his glorious and eternal Mansions above. Permit me, Great Sir, in the most submissive Manner to inscribe this History to Your MAJESTY's sacred Name, and to presume to subscribe my self with the greatest Sincerity and Veneration,

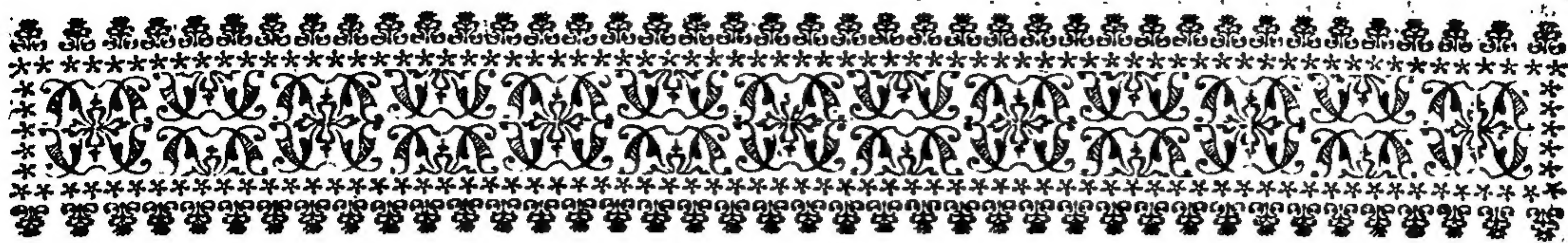
May it please Your MAJESTY,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

most faithful, and

most obedient Subject.

ROBERT MILLAR.



T H E

P R E F A C E.



THE Knowledge of the History of the Church of GOD under the *Old Testament*, of the Transactions of the World before the Birth of CHRIST, and of the *Jews* from thence to the present Time, is of itself very valuable. As all *Christians* and Scholars are concerned herein, so especially those who are designed for publick Usefulness in the Church: And the Study of this Subject was never more necessary than now, when by many Controversies moved in this Age we are called to enquire particularly into the Grounds on which our holy Religion is built, and into the *Old Testament* with which the *New* is so closely connected.

It may be expected that I should give some Account of my Method and Design in the several Parts of this Work: What I propose in this, as in a former Essay on the *Propagation of Christianity*, is of an impartial Nature and general Use, such as all good *Christians* are agreed in. In the *first* Chapter, which is divided into six *Periods*, I have made it my main Care to illustrate the sacred Scriptures by drawing down the History from the first Origin of Time, by comparing it with the dark Notices we have from Profane Learning, and by offering some Observations, both critical and practical, to explain the Sense, remove Difficulties, vindicate divine Truths, and to make the Time when, and the Place where these Things were done clear to any Capacity; so that some Parts of this Work may in some measure serve for a Commentary to those who have not Opportunities to look into larger Authors: And this not being done in such a Manner by other Historians I have seen, I wish I may thereby recommend the Study of the Book of GOD. This is a Subject that can never be too much considered, the holy Scriptures being inspired of GOD, and bestowed on us as a Store-house containing all things necessary for the Comfort of his People in this Life, and their Assistance and Conduct to Happiness in the Life to come. The Precepts there delivered are holy and good, the Doctrine true and divine, the Promises suited to promote our Felicity, and most worthy of their Author; and there also we have a great Treasure of sacred Learning, Laws descending from Heaven, the History of the Church in several Ages, a distinct Chronology from the Creation of the World downward, without which we would grope in the Dark, and neither know the Beginning or Progress of Time, notwithstanding any Help from Profane Authors; with many other invaluable Advantages.

I have in the *second* Chapter opened up the Affairs of the *Persians* with those of the *Jews*, and of their sacred Books and Prophecies which were writ during that Monarchy: But because I humbly conceive the *Persian* History is made by some learned Men more large than is needful, by joining it with the Affairs of *Greece* and *Rome*, whereby many useful Things are either over-look'd, negligently managed, or cannot be easily adverted to by common Readers, who are not able to fix their Minds on so many things at once; I have therefore kept them distinct, and taken notice of the learned Men, Historians, Orators, Poets, Philosophers and

chief Captains, and several Affairs of *Greece*, even down from the fabulous Ages, so far as seems necessary, in a separate *Digression*. For the like Reason I have in another Part of this Performance given a compendious Account of the *Roman* Authors; which is the more needful, that we have no Writers in the Heathen World now extant, (if it be not some imperfect Fragments) except those from *Greece* and *Rome*, and these are the Foundation on which Profane History stands. I did not intend Dissertations on their Writings, which may be found in the Books of the learned *Monf. Rapin* and others, but only a Taste for the Information of Beginners in that Study; and I hope what is done in their favour throughout this Work, will not be grudged by others who need not such Assistance.

In the *third* Chapter, beginning from the Fall of the *Persian* Empire, I have continued the Account of the Monarchy of *Alexander* the Great, and of the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* who succeeded him, with which the Affairs of the *Jews* in these Kingdoms are closely connected, till the Ruin of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kingdom, without mixing it with Matters foreign to that Subject. The *Romans* having made such a great Figure in the World, and their Affairs coming to be so much connected with those of the *Jews*, I have therefore in the *fourth* Chapter drawn down an Account of them from the Beginnings of their Regal and Consular State, with the Lives and Actions of their most considerable Men, not only in *Asia*, but in other Places, and the Changes of their Government, and Conquests upon which their Greatness was founded, unto the Time of *Pompey*; and then have carried on the Affairs of the *Jews* with those of the *Romans*, after the former became tributary to the latter, and a Province of the Empire, unto the Days of our Saviour, and even to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. 'Tis true, this Method of handling History by Parts, which I take to be the most distinct, obliges me to leave the strict Way of Annals; but I have always observed the Time and Date of considerable Events, and what is contemporary may be seen in a *Chronological Table* at the End of the whole Book: Or, those who have further Opportunities may consult the Tables of *Helvicus*, *Talents*, and other learned Chronologers. And if the Reader can look to the late Representation of *Solomon's* Temple with its holy Vessels, the Tabernacle of *Moses* and its Appurtenances, with the Maps of *Cellarius*, *Reland* or *Dr. Wells* of the Holy Land, or other Geographical Maps of the *Roman* Empire and other Parts of the World, which could not be conveniently inserted in this Performance, he may have further Satisfaction; Chronology and Geography being Eyes to History. From this View it appears, that this Part of the Work may be reckoned to contain an Account of the Church of *GOD*, and of the *Jewish* Nation under the *Old Testament* Dispensation, with an universal History of the World before the Birth of *CHRIST*; and the following Part is restricted to the Affairs of the *Jews* from thence to the present Times.

I acknowledge that several Books have been printed on this Subject, and so there are upon many others; but I know of none so extensive in their Design, if it be not some little Compendis, which do not give necessary Instruction: Besides, these are rare, or in learned Languages, or of an old Date: And I suppose it may be granted that this Piece of Knowledge is but too uncommon among us, and that it may be useful to recommend it with Improvements in every Age. Wherefore, if any thing I can do, will make it more easy, and diffuse it more generally, though even among those who are not the most learned, I shall reckon any Pains I have been at well bestowed. I have been very much obliged to some modern Authors who have gone before me, particularly to the Reverend and learned *Dr. Prideaux's* excellent Book, *The Old and New Testament connected, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the Time of Christ*. But I have begun three thousand two hundred Years before him, and continued the Affairs of the *Jews* about seventeen hundred Years after him. I presumed sometimes, I hope on good Grounds, to differ from him, and have had occasion to open up several Things, even during the Period he treats of, which came not in the Way of his Method.

In the Affairs of the *Jews* after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, I had considerable Help from *Monfr. Basnage's Continuation of Josephus*, that is a large Book which every Reader scarce can find Leisure to look into. Many of his Digres-

sions and Dissertations I own I thought not necessary to my Purpose, and other things I thought proper to this Work, which he omits, or which came not within his Undertaking; as what happened to the *Jews* after the Death of our Saviour, with the Desolation of their City and Temple, which is so particularly narrated by *Josephus*, who was himself an Eye-witness to it. I turned over some other Moderns, as Dr. *Crull's Jewish History, from the Creation to the present Time*: From the Title of which I expected Help, but found none, it containing only a bare Abstract of *l'Estrange's Josephus*, with a few things from *Basnage*. The *fifth* Chapter concerning the *Setts* of the *Jews*, and the *sixth* of their *Patriarchs* and *Doctors*, do illustrate the State of that Nation, and their Learning, both in ancient and modern Times. In the *seventh* Chapter, where I go upon the *Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies* of the *Jews*, I made frequent Use of what *Leo de Modena* hath writ upon that Head; and he having lived and died in great Reputation as a *Jewish Rabbi*, his Authority upon that Score even with themselves is unquestionable. The *eighth* and *ninth* Chapters continue the History of the *Jews*, of the Calamities that happened them, of their Dispersions in the several Parts of the World, of their learned Men and Writings, with other Things relating to their Affairs, from the Destruction of *Jerusalem* to the present Time. In all which I endeavour Brevity, wherein I imitate the *Jewish* Historians themselves, as may appear to any who will look into their *Seder Olams*, *R. Ganz's Chronology*, *Juchasin*, and other Authors.

Since Ecclesiastick History should be subservient to Divinity, I have added to this Work a *Discourse to promote the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity*. Tho' others omit this, I judged it very proper. 'Tis the Subject of our daily Prayers, which every true Christian doth ardently wish for, as what would tend to the Glory of God, the enlarging the Kingdom of our Redeemer, would be *Life from the Dead*, to save an ancient well beloved, tho' now a dead unbelieving Nation, would confirm the Faith of many, reconcile our Differences, and shake the Pillars of Atheism and Infidelity. Then the Fulness of the *Gentiles* would come in, *Antichrist* would fall, a flourishing State of the Church would be introduced, and all Things would shine with a Divine Lustre. If we, laying aside our Divisions and Humours about lesser Things, would from a true Christian Charity bend more of our Zeal and Learning that Way, we know not how soon GOD in his Goodness would accomplish such glorious Purposes.

This Appendix may also be useful to Christians, to recommend the LORD JESUS, the Son of GOD, as the only *Messiah* and Saviour of Sinners, even from the *Old Testament*, and as a Proof and Confirmation of our holy Religion; to explain and illustrate which, hath been one great Design of this whole Performance. This is so important a Subject, as it can never be too much studied, especially now that there have been such bold Attempts of late made by *Collins*, *Woolston* and others against it, who have adopted and carried further several Notions of their Predecessors the *Deists* and *Antiscripturists*. But let us be thankful to GOD, that his Providence so wisely orders that what is designed to the Prejudice of our Religion, doth in the End turn to its Advantage. So it is I hope in the present Case. The Arguments for the Truth of our Religion, particularly from the Prophecies and Miracles, have received much Light and Strength from the excellent Pens, which have answered the cunning *Collins*, and indecent *Woolston*. It hath given me much Pleasure to see such bad Books become the Occasion of producing to Light so many noble Champions for Truth, who treat our Adversaries with all Manner of Justice and Fairness; more indeed than is received from them. But several of these Books have been published since I finished this; nor could I pretend in an annexed Discourse, to enter into a particular Consideration of all these Points, especially that this Book had already swelled so much on my Hand, and so far exceeded the Number of Sheets I had first proposed. However the Summary I have given of the Arguments to establish the Christian Faith, as I pray GOD it may be useful for the Conversion of those to whom it is particularly addressed, so I hope it may be of some Advantage to many among our selves, into whose Hands it may fall, especially those who are but too little acquainted with the Grounds of the Religion by which they expect Salvation. I wish the Numbers of such were not so considerable both in Town and Country. I

have contributed my small Endeavours ; and the Design being good, I hope any Imperfections will be kindly overlookt.

As to this Performance in general, I have been obliged to read, consult, and quote many Authors both ancient and modern ; which I endeavoured to see with mine own Eyes, and carefully to mark the Places referred to at the Bottom of the Page, by which the Reader may find them if he think fit to examine the same. For the Use of some of these Books, I have been indebted to some of my Friends and Neighbours, to whom I here render my thankful Acknowledgements ; and also to my learned Friend Mr. *Thomas Ruddiman*, Keeper of the Lawyers Library ; as for his other kind Offices, so particularly for his Care and Skill in correcting the Press, so as not many Errors have escaped, tho' humane Industry can scarce prevent a few. No Person can be more sensible of Defects and Inaccuracies both in the Stile and Performance than I. It was writ at spare Hours, amidst the Hurry of the Affairs of my pastoral Charge, besides many lesser Avocations : Nor did I design to make it publick, much less to make so large a Book of it at first, but by Degrees was led into it, by Way of Relaxation from other Affairs. However 'tis not necessary to trouble the Reader with relating every Step that was taken in the Composure. Only the Design being very useful, my Inclination leading me to entertain my self with this kind of Study ; and the kind Reception my former *History of the Propagation of Christianity* met with from severals, (to which when it came in my Way here, I have only referred) have made me venture to communicate this to the Publick, which with great Humility I now presume to do.

This is another Part of the great Field of Civil and Ecclesiastick History, which is attended with its own Beauty and Advantage. For here we have the Series of Divine Providence displayed to the Church of GOD, from the Creation of the World, to the Birth of our Saviour. The Records of the *Old Testament* in their several Periods are illustrated, as the best Foundation of the most ancient and true History. Here many of the Laws, Types, and Prophecies are set in a true Light ; and thereby the *New Testament* is also confirmed. Here the Affairs of the great Monarchies and Kingdoms of the World are described in their Rise and Progress. Whence we are led to observe, how by them the Great GOD hath accomplished his own Work, whether of Mercy or Judgment. Here the Interval between the *Old* and *New Testament*, and the Ministry of our Saviour are explained. And in fine, here we may see the Sanctions of the Law, the Predictions of the Prophets, and of our LORD the greatest of all, accomplished in the great Calamities that have come upon the *Jews* in all the Ages of the *New Testament*, since they were guilty of the shedding the Blood of our Redeemer, and despising his Gospel : And thus we, and the *Jews* also, if they would consider it, by comparing the happy State they were formerly in, when favoured of GOD, with the Miseries they have endured since, may see their Sin written upon their Punishment, as it was foretold ; and that they will never be happy, till they return to the Most High, till they look and submit to our Redeemer, and mourn for their Sin in piercing him, *Then shall salvation come out of Zion, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall sing.* May that Day dawn. *Even so come Lord Jesus.* And if any thing in the Work here offered contribute to that End, or to advance Religion and Learning, to allay uncharitable Humours among Christians, to enlighten the Readers Mind, confirm him in the Faith, or to enflame his Zeal for doing good, may I, and the Work of GOD in this Congregation have the Benefit of your Prayers : And may the only wise GOD have the Glory, to whom alone it is due.

Paisley, July 8.

1730.

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T H E

HISTORY

O F T H E

Old Testament-Church, &c.

C H A P. I.

*The History of the Church of God in several Periods, from
the Creation of the World, to the Deliverance of the Jews
from the Babylonish Captivity.*

P E R I O D I.

From the Creation of the World to the Flood, in the Time of Noah.

Containing the Space of 1656 Years.



GOD having subsisted alone for an immense Duration through all Eternity, of which we can have no Idea, nor express it by any proper Name, save only that he was sufficient to himself, and had infinite Happiness in his own Essence, thought fit to communicate his Goodness to external Objects by the Works of Creation. On what Day he created the Angels, these holy and intelligent Beings, is not expressed in sacred Scripture; the Design whereof is to give us an Account of Man, and of what concerns him, rather than of an invisible World of Spirits. But we are plainly told, that by the Son of God, our Redeemer, *all things were created that are in heaven, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist* (a). He is the wisdom of God set up from everlasting, or ever the earth was (b). 'Tis likely, the Angels, these holy invisible Spirits, were created in the Beginning, or in the first Day of the Creation, *when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy* (c). They did neither assist nor advise God in any of his Works, nor did they dislike any of them; but were well

(a) Colos. i. 13, -- 17. (b) Prov. viii. 23. (c) Job xxxviii. 7.

well pleased with, rejoiced in, and praised God for his Goodness appearing in the Creatures he had made.

Before God made Man, he prepared a Place worthy of his Habitation. *In the beginning he created, or produced out of nothing, the heaven and the earth; or the confused Mass and Heap thereof; and the earth was without form, and void; darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters (a).* These Expressions, *without form, and void, [tohu vabohu,]* seem to be pointed out by the Heathens under the Name of *Chaos (b)*. God having in an Instant produced Matter out of nothing, might in the same Instant have bestowed upon it Motion and Form; but was pleased to make Use of six Days for doing this, that we might more easily discover the Order, and follow the Conduct of divine Wisdom therein observed, and sanctify the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his Work.

On the first of the six Days, *God said, Let there be light: and there was light (c)*. The Sun not being yet made, this Light might be communicated by a rapid Motion given to a Portion of Matter, which thereby became a luminous Body, diffusing its Rays upon the whole Mass of the universe. Reason has made even Heathens admire the Sublimity of the Expression *(d)*, *God said, Let there be light: and there was light.* To which the Psalmist alludes, *He spake, and it was done: he commanded, and it stood fast (e)*. The Firmament was the Work of the second Day *(f)*. The Word used by Moses, signifies Extension; and we understand by it that Region of the Air that appears to our Eyes like a vast Covering spread over sublunary Beings; which the Spirit of God describes thus, *he stretcheth out the Heavens like a Curtain (g)*. The third Day was appointed for gathering together the lower Waters; that so the Earth, upon the Surface whereof they were spread, might become habitable: A Work which the sacred Writers describe in elegant Expressions, *Fear ye not me, saith the Lord? will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea, by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass it; and though the Waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it (h)?* The Waters being thus divided, two different Regions appeared, one of them was called the Sea, and the other the Land; the latter was endowed with a Faculty of nourishing the Seeds of all these kinds of Vegetables, which the Lord even then caused grow out of it, for *God said, Let the Earth bring forth grass, the Herb yielding seed, and the Fruit-tree yielding Fruit after its kind, whose seed is in it self upon the Earth: and it was so (i)*.

The Stars were made in the fourth Day *(k)*, and God assigned them the principal Functions for which they were intended; the Sun to enlighten Men during the Day; the Moon to prevent the thick Darkness and Horrors of the Night; each of them to distinguish the Seasons of the Year, to be useful in the World, and to display the Glory and Goodness of the great Creator. Inhabitants for this lower World were created on the fifth Day, Birds of the Air, Fishes of the Sea, Cattle, and creeping Things of the Earth; to all which a Faculty of multiplying their kind was communicated. Divine Wisdom and Power shines in the Formation of an Ant, as well as in an Elephant. Among other Creatures, God, as an Instance of his Power, created great Whales, the biggest of Fishes; but the Story which the *Jewish Talmud* tells *(l)*, is very fabulous, that the Whale must swallow every Day a Fish of three Miles in length; and that God made two of them, one kept alive till now, to divert himself with, and the other preserved from Corruption in salt Water, to be one of these nice Dishes, with which he designs to treat good Men at last. In the sixth and last Day of the Creation, God made Man male and female: Man was made last, that he might not be suspected to have any way helped God, or given him Counsel in the Creation of the World: *Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth (m)?* Yet it was an Honour to be made last; for the Method of Creation was, to proceed from that which was less perfect, to that which was more so: And it was a Favour, it being unfit that Man should be lodged in a Palace made for his Reception, till it was completely furnished. Besides, the Narrative with which the Creation of our first Parent is introduced, *Let us make man in our image (n)*, imports Solemnity, and great Affection: For God's Delights were with the Sons of Men; and the Three Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, seem to consult about, and concur in it, because Man was to be dedicated to the Service of the ever blessed Trinity. God having thus finished the Work of Creation, rested *(o)*, not as one weary, but as one well pleased with the Instances of his own Goodness, and the Manifestations of his own Glory; and here commenceth the Kingdom of Grace, in the Sanctification of the Sabbath. *Philo (p)* calls it the Festival of the World. That Day God rested, taking Pleasure in his own Works; and commanded Man to rest on it, taking Pleasure in his Creator; which in

the

(a) Genes. i. 1, 2. (b) Sanchoniathon apud Eusebium de præp. evang. lib. 1. cap. 9, 10. Hesiodi Theogonia, vers. 116. Ovidii Metamorph. lib. 1. fab. 1. And see a large Collection of Passages on this head in Grotius de veritate religionis, lib. 1. ad § 7, & 16. in editione Amstelod. 1709. (c) Genes. i. 3. (d) Longinus de sublim. § 9. (e) Psal. xxxiii. 9. (f) Genes. i. 6. (g) Psal. civ. 2. (h) Jerem. v. 28. (i) Genes. i. 11. (k) Genes. i. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. (l) Baba Bathra, p. 74. (m) Job xxxviii. 4. (n) Genes. i. 26. (o) Genes. ii. 2, 3. (p) Philo de opificiis mundi.

the fourth Command, is given as the Reason for Man's six Days Labour, and resting on the seventh. This is the good old Way, and I see no Reason to doubt, that the Sabbath being thus instituted in the State of Innocence, was religiously observed in the Patriarchal Age.

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well pleased with, rejoiced in, and praised God for his Goodness appearing in the Creatures he had made.

Before God made Man, he prepared a Place worthy of his Habitation. *In the beginning he created, or produced out of nothing, the heaven and the earth; or the confused Mass and Heap thereof; and the earth was without form, and void; darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters (a).* These Expressions, *without form, and void, [tohu vabohu,]* seem to be pointed out by the Heathens under the Name of *Chaos (b)*. God having in an Instant produced Matter out of nothing, might in the same Instant have bestowed upon it Motion and Form; but was pleased to make Use of six Days for doing this, that we might more easily discover the Order, and follow the Conduct of divine Wisdom therein observed, and sanctify the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his Work.

On the first of the six Days, *God said, Let there be light: and there was light (c).* The Sun not being yet made, this Light might be communicated by a rapid Motion given to a Portion of Matter, which thereby became a luminous Body, diffusing its Rays upon the whole Mass of the universe. Reason has made even Heathens admire the Sublimity of the Expression *(d)*, *God said, Let there be light: and there was light.* To which the Psalmist alludes, *He spake, and it was done: he commanded, and it stood fast (e).* The Firmament was the Work of the second Day *(f)*. The Word used by *Moses*, signifies Extension; and we understand by it that Region of the Air that appears to our Eyes like a vast Covering spread over sublunary Beings; which the Spirit of God describes thus, *he stretcheth out the Heavens like a Curtain (g).* The third Day was appointed for gathering together the lower Waters; that so the Earth, upon the Surface whereof they were spread, might become habitable: A Work which the sacred Writers describe in elegant Expressions, *Fear ye not me, saith the Lord? will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea, by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass it; and though the Waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it (h)?* The Waters being thus divided, two different Regions appeared, one of them was called the Sea, and the other the Land; the latter was endowed with a Faculty of nourishing the Seeds of all these kinds of Vegetables, which the Lord even then caused grow out of it, for *God said, Let the Earth bring forth grass, the Herb yielding seed, and the Fruit-tree yielding Fruit after its kind, whose seed is in it self upon the Earth: and it was so (i).*

The Stars were made in the fourth Day *(k)*, and God assigned them the principal Functions for which they were intended; the Sun to enlighten Men during the Day; the Moon to prevent the thick Darkness and Horrors of the Night; each of them to distinguish the Seasons of the Year, to be useful in the World, and to display the Glory and Goodness of the great Creator. Inhabitants for this lower World were created on the fifth Day, Birds of the Air, Fishes of the Sea, Cattle, and creeping Things of the Earth; to all which a Faculty of multiplying their kind was communicated. Divine Wisdom and Power shines in the Formation of an Ant, as well as in an Elephant. Among other Creatures, God, as an Instance of his Power, created great Whales, the biggest of Fishes; but the Story which the *Jewish Talmud* tells *(l)*, is very fabulous, that the Whale must swallow every Day a Fish of three Miles in length; and that God made two of them, one kept alive till now, to divert himself with, and the other preserved from Corruption in salt Water, to be one of these nice Dishes, with which he designs to treat good Men at last. In the sixth and last Day of the Creation, God made Man male and female: Man was made last, that he might not be suspected to have any way helped God, or given him Counsel in the Creation of the World: *Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth (m)?* Yet it was an Honour to be made last; for the Method of Creation was, to proceed from that which was less perfect, to that which was more so: And it was a Favour, it being unfit that Man should be lodged in a Palace made for his Reception, till it was completely furnished. Besides, the Narrative with which the Creation of our first Parent is introduced, *Let us make man in our image (n)*, imports Solemnity, and great Affection: For God's Delights were with the Sons of Men; and the Three Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, seem to consult about, and concur in it, because Man was to be dedicated to the Service of the ever blessed Trinity. God having thus finished the Work of Creation, rested *(o)*, not as one weary, but as one well pleased with the Instances of his own Goodness, and the Manifestations of his own Glory; and here commenceth the Kingdom of Grace, in the Sanctification of the Sabbath. *Philo (p)* calls it the Festival of the World. That Day God rested, taking Pleasure in his own Works; and commanded Man to rest on it, taking Pleasure in his Creator; which in the

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to one another; as appears by dividing the whole Number of the Period, by the Number of the mentioned Cycles; where the first Year of the Period gives one for the Cycle of the Sun, one for the Cycle of the Moon, and one for that of Indictions: And these Characters agree to no other Year in the whole Period, but only to the first. The Period was found out by the learned *Scaliger*, and is called *Julian*, because it consists of *Julian* Years, each of which have 365 Days, 6 Hours; and 'tis of great Use in Chronology, not only to discover certainly the several Years of these Cycles, but also, because though Chronologers differ very much in calculating the Years from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, and in many other Epocha's; yet all learned Chronologers and Historians, since *Scaliger* the Son's Time, about the End of the sixteenth Century, do agree in the Years of this Period; which is proper to be observed in our Entry on this Work.

§ 2. HAVING given a short View of the Creation from the *Mosaical* Account, let us now take some notice of the Wisdom of God in this glorious Work; for *how manifold are his works! in wisdom hath he made them all* (a). Large Treatises have been writ on this Subject by learned Men (b): I shall only point out a few Things to discover the Being and Perfections, the Glory, the Goodness and Greatness of our Creator. First, let us look to this *Earth*; who is it who hung and poised this motionless Globe? who laid its Foundation? Nothing seems more vain and contemptible; the meanest Wretches tread it under Foot; yet in Order to possess it, we part with the greatest Treasures. If the Earth were harder than it is, Man could not open its Bosom to cultivate it; and if it were softer, it would not bear us, but we should sink every where, as in a Marsh. Nothing exhausts her fine Soil, provided they who cultivate her, restore to her what she hath given. Seed of every kind multiplies there; dig into her Intrails, and you will find Stone and Marble for Buildings, Coal to warm you, Gold and Silver to enrich you. Who has laid up so many Treasures in her Bowels? even the glorious God, who in Wisdom has made all. The very Plants that spring out of the Earth, yield Food for the healthy, and Remedies for the sick: Their Species and Virtues are innumerable; they adorn Fields and Gardens with green and beautiful Colours, fragrant Flowers, and delicious Fruits. Do you see these vast Forests, that seem as old as the World; these Trees sunk into the Earth by the Roots, as deep as their Branches shoot up to the Sky? Their Roots defend them against the Winds, and fetch up, as by subterraneous Pipes, all the Juices designed to feed the Trunk. The Trunk it self is covered with a tough Bark, that shelters the tender Wood from the Injuries of the Air; the Branches distribute, by several little Conduits, the Sap which the Root had gathered together in the Trunk; in Summer, the Boughs protect us with their Shadow against the scorching Rays of the Sun; in Winter, they feed the Fire that preserves us in natural Heat. Nor is burning the principal Use Wood is for; 'tis a soft, though solid and durable Matter, to which the Hand of the Workman gives with Ease all the Forms he pleases for Household Utensils, and for the greater Works of Architecture and Navigation.

The Wisdom of God is also to be seen in the *Water*. 'Tis a liquid, clear and transparent Body, that flows, slips, and runs away: If Water were more rarified and thinner, it would be a kind of Air; and so the whole Surface of the Earth would be dry and barren, that could sustain nothing but Volatiles: No living Creature could swim, no Fish could live; nor would there be any Traffick or Navigation there. What wise Hand has found Means to thicken the Water, by subtilizing the Air, and so well to distinguish these two Sorts of fluid Bodies? If Water were thinner, it could no longer sustain these prodigious floating Bodies, called Ships: Who but a wise God gave it so just a Configuration of Parts, and so exact a Degree of Motion, to make it so fluid, slippery and incapable of Consistence; and yet so strong to bear, and so impetuous as to carry off and waft away unwieldy Bodies? 'Tis docile; Man leads it about, as a Rider does a well managed Horse; he distributes it at Pleasure; he raises it to the Top of high Mountains, and makes Use of its Weight to let it fall, in order to its Rise again as high as at first: But Man who thus leads the Waters, is in his Turn led by them. The Waters, notwithstanding their Fluidity, are ponderous Bodies; yet in divine Wisdom they rise above our Heads in the Clouds, and remain a great while hanging there. Do you see the Clouds that fly as on the Wings of the Wind? if they should run down on a sudden in watry Pillars, like a rapid Torrent, they would drown and destroy every thing where they should happen to fall, while the other Grounds would remain dry? What Hand keeps them up in these pendulous Reservatories, and permits them to fall only by useful Drops, as through a Gardener's Watering-pot? whence comes it, that in some hot Countries, where scarce any Rain ever falls, the Night-dews are so plentiful as to supply that Want; and in other Regions, as on the Banks of the Rivers *Nile* and *Ganges*, the regular Inundations of the Rivers, at certain Seasons of the Year, never fail to water the Grounds? God in his infinite Wis-

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(a) Psal. civ. 24. (b) Derham's Physico-theolog. and Astro-theolog. Ray's Wisdom of God in the World, Newen-ryt's religious Philosopher, Abp. of Cambray on the Existence of God, and others.

dom hath concerted all these Measures for making the Earth fruitful. This Element not only quenches the Thirst of Man, but also that of dry Lands : *God visits the earth, and watereth it; all his paths drop fatness; they drop upon the pastures of the Wilderness; the little hills rejoice on every side; the pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys are covered with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing (a).* He who gave us this fluid Body, has carefully distributed it through the Earth, like Pipes in a Garden : The Waters fall from the Tops of the Mountains; they gather into Rivulets in the Bottom of Valleys; Rivers run in winding Streams through vast Tracts of Land, the better to water them, and at last they precipitate themselves into the Sea, to make it a Centre of Commerce to all Nations; yea, to carry Arts and Learning, and the Gospel of Christ over all the World. The Ocean is the Rendezvous of all the People of the Earth : These who could not go from the one End of the World to the other, by this trackless Road in a little Time shake Hands with the new World; and the new supplies the old with many Conveniencies, and immense Riches. In Wisdom God hath made the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, and said, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further : here shall thy proud waves be stayed (b).* A little more Motion in a Tide of Flood would drown whole Kingdoms. In Wisdom are some Waters sweet to quench our Thirst, others medicinal to cure Diseases, and others yield Salt to season our Meat, and make it to last for many Days : *In wisdom he has made them all.*

The Air that surrounds the Globe of this Earth doth also declare the Wisdom of the Creator. 'Tis a Mass of subtile penetrating Matter, fit to pass into other Bodies, and to pierce into the inmost Recesses of Nature, to excite, animate and spiritualize, and in short to be the very Soul of the lower World : Consequently it is of greatest Use to the Life, Health and Pleasure of the whole. The Inhabitants of the Earth and Seas all live and breathe by Air; without it most Animals scarce live half a Minute, and those more used to little thereof, not many Days; as is proved by many Experiments of the Air-pump. Yea not only Animals, but even Trees and Plants owe their Vigour to this useful Element; they are fresh and green in a free Air, but pale, sickly, languishing and dying when excluded from it. By this Help the winged Tribe mount on high, and the Inhabitants of the Waters cannot ascend, and descend in their Element without it. Had the fluid Body of the Air been more gross, it would either have intercepted the Day from us, or at most would have but left us a dusky confused Light, even as when that Element is filled with thick Fogs. We live plunged in an Abyss of Air, as Fish do in a Depth of Water; and as the Water if subtilized would become a kind of Air to occasion the Death of Fishes; so the Air if more humid than it is, would deprive us of Breath; and in such a case, we should drown in the Waves of that thickened Element, as a terrestrial Animal drowns in the Sea. Who but the infinitely wise Creator has so nicely purified that Air in which we breathe? If it were thicker, it would stifle us; if it were too subtile, it would want that Softness that continually feeds the Vitals of Man; we should be sensible every where of what we experience on the Tops of highest Mountains, where the Air is so thin, that it yields no sufficient Moisture and Nourishment for the Lungs.

In Wisdom God hath also made the Winds : So great is their Use, that the World would be poisoned without them. We find how putrid, stinking and unfit for Respiration a stagnating pent up Air is : And if the whole Mass of Air and Vapours was always at rest without Motion, instead of refreshing and animating, it would suffocate and poison all the World; but the perpetual Agitation it receives from Gales and Storms do keep it pure and healthful. They are also useful to the Pleasure of Mankind; as the Gales that temper the Sharpness of Winter, and fan us in the Heat of Summer, without which even in this our temperate Zone, Men are scarce able to perform the Labours of their Calling; but especially these Gales of Wind which through the whole Year do fan the torrid Zone, and make their Climate pleasant, which otherwise would be scarce habitable. Who can tell the various Uses of the Winds, on the Wings of which the Clouds do flee from the one End of the Earth to the other? they who make Voyages into the remote Parts of the World know by Experience, that the Trade-winds blow in certain Seas at some Seasons, as on purpose to make Navigation commodious and regular; so that if Mariners be patient and punctual, they may go to the farthest Part of the World. There are also Sea and Land Breezes, the one serving to carry the sea-faring Man in a long Course from East to West, and the other to waft him in to particular Places; the one to carry him into his Harbour, and the other to bring him out. All these *Winds the Lord bringeth out of his treasures (c).*

In Wisdom God has made Light to Shine, as the very Life and Pleasure of the Creatures. What Comfort could we have to live in perpetual Darkness? how could we provide ourselves in Food and Necessaries? how could we go about the least Business, correspond with one another, or be of any Use in the World without it? But by the Help of this admirable first made Creature of God, all the animal World is enabled to go here and there as their

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Occasions call; they can transact their Business by Day, and refresh themselves with Sleep and Rest by Night, and with Pleasure view the glorious Works of God in the Earth; and in the Heavens. 'Tis a great Act of Providence, that so great a Benefit as Light is not long in its Passage from Heaven to Earth. If the Motion thereof was no swifter than that of the swiftest Bodies on Earth, as of a Bullet out of a great Gun, or even of Sound, which is the swiftest Motion we have next to Light: In this case Light would take up in its Progress from the Sun to us above thirty two Years; at the Rate of the first, and above seventeen Years at the Rate of the second (a). The Inconveniency of which would be, the Energy and Vigour of Light and Heat would be greatly cooled and abated; the Rays of the Sun would be less penetrant, and Darkness would with greater Difficulty, and much sluggishness be dissipated: But passing with such prodigious Swiftmess, at near the instantaneous Swiftmess of above two hundred and sixty thousand *English* Miles in one Second of Time, or which is near the same, being but about seven or eight Minutes of an Hour in coming from the Sun to us, we with all Security and Speed receive the kindly Effects and Influences of that noble Creature of God. Besides, Light is almost of incomprehensible Extension, 'tis as boundless as the Universe it self.

In Wisdom he hath made *Weight* and *Gravity*, that Tendency which Bodies have to the Centre of the Earth. This noble Contrivance is of absolute necessity for keeping the several Globes of the Universe from shattering to Pieces, as they evidently must do in a little Time, by their swift Rotation round their own *Axes* without this: The terraqueous Globe in particular, which circumsolves at the Rate of above a thousand Miles an Hour, would by the centrifugal Force of that Motion be soon dissipated and scattered into the circumambient Space, were it not kept together by that noble Contrivance of the Creator, the Power of Attraction and Gravity: But by this Power all its Parts are kept in their natural Place and Order, and the fleeting Waters keep their constant Poise in the Globe; as the Psalmist speaks, *The Lord hath set a bound that they may not pass over: that they turn not again to cover the earth* (b). *Levity* is no less useful to the flying of Birds, and to the raising of Vapours, and their Conveyance about the World.

In Wisdom God hath also made the *Heavens*: What Power has built over our Heads so vast and so magnificent an Arch? what a stupendous Variety of admirable Objects is here by an omnipotent Hand set before our Eyes! Of how great Importance is the regular Succession of Day and Night? for so many Ages as are past the Sun never failed serving Mankind, who cannot live without him; many thousand Years are elapsed, and the Dawn never once missed proclaiming the Approach of the Day. The Sun also forms Summer and Winter, which makes one Sun sufficient for the whole Earth: If it were of a larger Size at the same Distance, it would set the whole Globe on Fire, and the Earth would burn to Ashes: If at the same Distance the Sun were lesser, the Earth would be all over frozen, and uninhabitable: If in the same Magnitude it were nearer to us, it would set us in Flames; and if more remote, we should not be able to live for want of Heat. Divine Wisdom has fixed all these just Dimensions: The Sun's approaching to us, and receding from us, doth produce the Change of the Seasons, whose Variety is so agreeable: The Spring silences frosty Winds, brings forth Blossoms and Flowers promising Fruits: The Summer ripens a rich Harvest: The Autumn gives the rich Fruits promised by the Spring: The Winter, which is a kind of Night wherein Man refreshes and rests himself, lays up all the Treasures of the Earth in its Centre, with no other Design but that the next Spring may display them. Nothing but divine Wisdom keeps the Course of the Sun so regular. That Star is a Globe of subtile Flame: Now what but a superior Hand preserves that Flame, so restless and so impetuous, within the Bounds of a perfect Globe; leads it in so straight a Way, and never suffers it to flip to one Side or other? If the Sun stands still, and our Earth make her Revolutions; how comes the Sun to be so well placed in the Centre of the Universe, as the *Focus* or the Heart of all Nature? And how comes it to pass, that the Globe of this Earth turns so regularly about that Planet, in a Space where no solid Body keeps it fast to regulate its Course. The best Answers, supposing them true, will be Proofs of the Wisdom of God.

Let us further view that immense *arched Roof* where the Stars shine, which covers our Heads like a Canopy: If it be a solid Vault, what Architect built it? who is he that has fixed so many great Luminaries of that Arch, and at certain Distances? who makes it turn so regularly about us? But if the Skies are only immense Spaces full of fluid Bodies in celestial Matter; how comes it to pass so many great Bodies float in them, without ever sinking, or coming nearer to one another? For all the astronomical Observations that have been made for so many Ages, not the least Disorder or irregular Motion has been yet discovered in the Heavens. Will a fluid Body range it self in such constant and regular Order, swimming circularly in its own Sphere, without the Direction of the supreme Architect of the World? What

(a) Derham's Physico-theolog. p. 28. (b) Psalm. civ. 9.

What does that almost innumerable Multitude of Stars mean? That Liberality with which God has scattered them through the World, shews nothing is difficult to his Power. Let who please say, that many Stars are as many Worlds; that *Jupiter, Saturn, Venus* and other Planets are habitable: If this be granted for a Moment, then how powerful and wise must God be, who in Wisdom has made them all! Who makes Worlds without Number as he pleases, and who without any Trouble for so many Ages governs them as a Shepherd does his Sheep. In what Wisdom hath he made the Moon to reflect the Light of the Sun, and to afford a dusky, but soft and useful Light to this Earth in the Night Seasons.

In Wisdom he has made this *Globe* of the Earth wherein we dwell: Its spherical Figure, like a round Ball, is most commodious to impart Uniformity, Light and Heat to the World; these come harmoniously and gradually on, and as gradually go off again: So that the daily and yearly Returns of Light and Darkness, Cold and Heat, Moist and Dry, are regular and mechanick like. This Figure is well adapted to the commodious Distribution of Waters; for since by the Law of Gravity, Waters will possess the lowest Place of the Earth, if the Earth were of any angular Figure, one Part thereof would be drowned, and another too dry; but it being round, the Waters are equally distributed here and there, as divine Providence saw most fit. This is also most beneficial to the Winds; if the Earth were of any other Figure, the Currents of the Air would be much retarded, if not stopped. We find by Experience, what Influence large high Mountains, Bays, Capes and Head-lands have to divert, stop and change the Winds near the Shore; but a vast Angle of the Earth would stop the Currents of these salutiferous Gales which keep the Air sweet and clean. This terraqueous Globe is a Mass of above two hundred and sixty thousand Million of Miles solid Content, a Work too grand for any thing less than a God of infinite Wisdom and Power to make. The very Distribution of the Waters and dry Land, is admirably adjusted to the Conveniencies of the World. There is a just Equipoise of the whole Globe; the Northern ballances the Southern Ocean; the *Atlantic* the *Pacific* Sea; the *American* Land is a Counterpoise to the *European, Asiatic* and *African*. The great Ocean, the lesser Seas, Lakes and Rivers are so well divided through the Globe, as to afford sufficient Vapours for Clouds and Rains; to temperate the Cold of the northern Air; to mitigate the Heats of the torrid Zone; to refresh the Earth with fertile Showers, and to minister fresh Water to Fountains, Rivulets, and every where.

How manifold Wisdom hath God shewn in the Variety of *Creatures* that inhabit this Earth; as Beasts, Fowl, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles and Insects! Some have but two Feet, others four, and others a great many: Some walk, others crawl, others fly, and some walk or swim by Turns. The Wings of Birds, and the Fins of Fishes, are like Bars that cut the Air or Water, and steer the floating Body through that Element, like a Ship through the Sea. The Pinions of Birds have Feathers, with a Down that swells in the Air, but would grow unwieldy in the Water; and on the contrary, the Fins of Fishes have sharp and dry Points, which cut the Water, without drinking it in, and don't become heavier by being wet. Swans keep their Wings, and most of their Feathers above Water, lest they should wet them, and that they may serve them, as it were for Sails: They have the Art to turn these Feathers against the Wind; and in a manner to tack as Ships do, when the Gale does not serve. Water Fowls have at their Feet large Skins that stretch like Rackets, to keep them from sinking in the oozy and miry Banks of Rivers. Wild Beasts, as Lions, have their biggest Muscles about the Shoulders, Thighs and Legs; and therefore these Animals are nimble, brisk, nervous, ready to rush forward: They have Teeth and Claws, which serve as terrible Weapons to tear and devour. For the same reason, Birds of Prey, as Eagles, have a Beak and Pounces that pierce every thing; the Muscles of their Pinions are extreme large and brawny, that their Wings may have a more strong and rapid Motion; and thus these Creatures soar aloft, and tour up easily to the Clouds, from whence they shoot like a Thunderbolt on the Prey they have in View. The long legged Birds are also long necked in Proportion, that they may bring down their Bill to the Ground, and take up their Food: 'Tis the same with the Camel; but the Elephant, whose Neck, by reason of its Bigness, would be too heavy, if it were as long as that of the Camel, is furnished with a Trunk, which is a Contexture of Nerves and Muscles, which he stretches, shrinks, winds and turns every way, to seize on Bodies, lift them up, or throw them down at Pleasure. Certain Animals seem to be made on Purpose for Man, as the Dog to caress and fawn on him, to give him an agreeable Image of Society, Friendship and Fidelity, to catch other Creatures and leave them to his Master; the Horse to ease Man of his Labour, to take on a thousand Burdens to supply his Weakness, and to obey all his Motions; The Oxen have Strength and Patience for the Plough; Cows yield Streams of Milk, and agreeable Food; Sheep renew their Fleeces every Year, which by a kind Superfluity furnishes Man with Cloathing; the Skins of some Beasts afford to Man fine Furs to keep him warm in cold Countries: But I am not to write a Treatise of the *Apparatus* of the several Animals to serve the Ends of their Creation, and of their Usefulness in the World.

The Wisdom of the Creator appears in little Creatures, as well as in greater. It almost surpasses our Conception, to find in a little Worm, as well as in an Elephant, Limbs perfectly well organized; a Head, Body; Legs and Feet, as distinct, and as well formed, as these of biggest Animals. In every Flea or Flie, though they appear to our naked Eye, but as living Atoms, yet in them there are Muscles, Nerves, Veins, Arteries and Blood, composed of ramous Particles and Humors; nor can one ever stop in the Discussion of such a wonderful Composition. The Microscope or magnifying Glass, discovers in every Object a thousand other Objects which had escaped our Notice; and how many other Wonders are there in Nature, which the Microscope it self cannot discover?

The Wisdom of the Creator doth further appear in many other Things concerning Animals, which I can scarce name; as the *Instinct* with which these Creatures are endowed, to approach useful and beneficial Objects, and to avoid such as may be noxious and destructive to them. The tender Lamb smells his Dam afar off; and runs to meet her. A Sheep is seized with Horror at the Approach of a Wolf, and flies away before he can well discern him. The Hound is almost infallible in finding out a Buck or a Hare, only by the Scent. There is in every Animal an impetuous Spring; which on a sudden gathers all the Spirits, distends all the Nerves, renders all the Joints more supple and pliant, and increases in an incredible manner upon sudden Dangers his Strength, Agility, Speed and Cunning, in order to avoid the Object which threatens him with Destruction. What more noble than a Machine which continually repairs and renews it self? The Creature stinted to its own Strength, is soon tired and exhausted by Labour; but he makes a mends by *feeding*, which restores the Strength he had lost: He puts into his Body another Substance that becomes his own; the Food at first is pounded, and being changed into a Liquor, it purifies, as if strained through a Sieve, in order to separate any thing that is gross from it; afterwards it arrives at the Centre or *Focus* of the Spirits, where it is subtilized, and becomes Blood; and running through numberless Vessels to moisten all the Members, it filtrates and becomes Flesh, the other Parts being exhaled by an insensible Perspiration. The natural Attendant of Food is *Sleep*; in which the Animal forbears not only all his outward Motions, but also all the principal inward Operations, which might too much stir and dissipate his Spirits, only retaining Respiration and Digestion: So that all Motions that might wear out his Strength, are suspended, and all such as are proper to recruit and renew it, go on freely of themselves. This Repose returns every Night, while Darkness interrupts our labour: Who is it that in Wisdom contrived such an useful Suspension of Action? Next Day all past Fatigue is gone and vanished; and this reviving gives a Vivacity that invites to new Labour. Thus the Nerves are still full of Spirits, the Flesh smooth, and the Skin whole. The living Body soon wears out those that are lifeless; the Skin of a Horse wears out many Saddles; the Flesh of a Child, though delicate and tender, wears out many Cloaths, and yet daily grows stronger. If this renewing of Spirits were perfect, it would be real Immortality, and the Gift of eternal Youth; but the same being imperfect, the Animal insensibly loses its Strength, decays, and grows old: For every thing that is created, must bear a Mark of that Nothing from which it is drawn, must decay and wear away. What more admirable than the Multiplication of Animals by Generation? Look on Individuals; none is immortal, every thing passes away. Look upon the Species; every thing subsists, is permanent and immutable, though in a constant Vicissitude. We do not find for above five thousand Years any Species of Animals is perished; neither do they multiply to be an Inconvenience to the rest: Who but a wise God maintains so just a Balance, as never to suffer the Species to extinguish, nor to multiply too fast? what would one think of a Watchmaker, who should have the Art to make Watches, whereof two should be sufficient to multiply their Kind over the whole Earth? or of an Architect that could build Houses, which could build others for the Habitations of Men to the End of the World? And shall we neglect to admire the Wisdom of God, that hath given both rational and irrational Creatures an Instinct to multiply themselves for the publick Benefit, till the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat at the End of Time.

Finally let us admire the *Order* in which all the Bodies of the Universe are ranged. I see the Sun so many thousand times bigger than the Earth, circulating in a Space, in comparison of which he himself is but a bright Atom: I see other Stars, perhaps bigger than he, that roll in other Regions so far distant from us, as to escape all Measure. The Earth on which I stand, is but one Point, in proportion to the whole, whereof the Bounds cannot be found: Nevertheless the whole is so put together, that not one single Atom can be put out of its Place; and all move in such excellent Order, that the very Motion doth perpetuate its Variety and Perfection. Sure it must be the Hand of a Being that does every thing without any Trouble, that still keeps steady, and governs this great Work for so many Ages in infinite Wisdom.

Since we have so great Reason to admire the Formation of the World, we have yet further

ther Ground to wonder at the Wisdom of God in the Creation of *Man*; and to say with the Psalmist, *I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made* (a). The Body is made of Clay, but let us wonder at the Hand which polished and carved it; the Artificer's Seal is stamped upon his Work: He seems to have delighted to make a Master-piece out of so vile Matter. The Bones sustain the Flesh that covers them; the Nerves are extended to make up Strength; the Muscles with the Sinews weave themselves by extending or distending; to enable the Man to perform the most exact and regular Motions. The *Bones* are divided at certain Distances, but they have Joints whereby they are set one with another, and are tied by Nerves and Tendons: What can be more supple for various Motions, and yet what more firm and durable? From the Brain, which is the Source of all the Nerves, spring the *Spirits*, which are so subtile as to escape the Sight, and of so great Activity and Force, as to perform all Motions, and make up humane Strength. These *Spirits* are in an Instant conveyed to the Extremity of the Members; sometimes they flow gently and regularly, sometimes with Impetuosity, and vary the Postures, Actions and Gestures of the Body. The *Flesh* is covered with a soft and tender Skin for the Ornament of the Body: How much harder is the Skin of the Feet than that of the Face, in order to resist the Fatigue of these Parts! The *Skin* is all over full of Holes, like a Sieve; but these Holes, which are called Pores, are imperceptible: Though Sweat and other Perspirations exhale through them, as necessary for Health, yet the Blood never runs out that Way. The Skin has all the Tenderness to make it transparent, and to give the Face a lively, sweet and graceful Colour: If it were less close, and less smooth, the Face would look bloody and excoriated. Now who but a God of infinite Wisdom knew how to temper and mix these Colours, with such Nicety as to make a Complexion which Painters admire, but can never perfectly imitate?

There are in the humane Body numberless Branches of Blood-vessels: Some of them carry the Blood from the Centre to the extreme Parts, and are called *Arteries*; others return it into the Heart, and are called *Veins*. Through these various Vessels runs the Blood, a Liquor soft and oylie, proper to retain the most subtile Spirits. This Blood moistens the Flesh, as Springs and Rivers water the Earth; and after it is filtrated and rarified in the Body, returns to its Source more slowly, and less full of Spirits, and is again renewed and subtilized in that Source, in order to circulate without ceasing. Consider that excellent Order and Proportion of the *Limbs*, the Legs and Thighs, where are great Bones jointed one with another, and knit together by Nerves. The Bones of them are hard, yet full of Holes to make them light; and in the middle full of Marrow to nourish them, and bored exactly in those Places through which the Ligaments that knit them are to pass. They are equal and regular Pillars to support the whole Fabrick; yet these fold: The *Knee-pan* is a Bone of a circular Figure, placed on purpose on the Joint to fill it up and preserve it when the Bones fold for bending of the Knee. Each Column or Pillar hath its Pedestal or Foot, composed of various in-laid Parts, so well jointed together as they can either fold or keep stiff as Occasion requires. The two Pillars are jointed at the Top, to bear up the rest of the Body; but still divided there in such a manner, as that Joint affords Man the Conveniency of resting himself, by sitting on the two biggest Muscles of the Body. The Body is proportioned to the Height of these Pillars, not too gigantick, nor too dwarfish. Two Rows of Ribs come out of the Back-bone, as the Branches of a Tree from its Trunk, to shelter these noble and tender Parts necessary for Life; and below leave a Space needful, that the Inside may freely stretch it self both for Respiration and Feeding. No humane Contrivance affords any thing so curiously wrought as the *Back-bone*: If made of one single Bone, it would be too stiff, and too easily broken; and in such a case Man could neither bend nor stoop. The wise Author of Nature has prevented this, by forming *Vertebræ* or Huckles, to make a whole Bone consisting of many Pieces more strong than a single one; by which the Back either stands upright, or bends in a moment, as the Man pleases. All these *Vertebræ* have in the middle a Canal that serves to convey a Continuation of the Substance of the Brain to the Extremities of the Body, and with speed to send the Spirits thither through that Pipe. Within the Inclosure of the Ribs are placed the great Organs; such as serve to make a Man breathe, to digest Food, and make new Blood. The *Lungs*, being spongy, easily dilate and contract themselves; whereby they take in and blow out a great deal of Air, to temper the inward Heat, occasioned by the boiling of the Blood, and the impetuous Course of the Spirits; and are like a kind of Bellows, in perpetual Motion, to keep the whole Body in health. The *Stomach* has a dissolving Faculty that causes Hunger, and puts a Man in mind of the want of Food. 'Tis made like the Figure of a Bag-pipe. There our Viſtuals being dissolved by a quick Digestion, are all confounded, and make up a soft Liquor, which afterwards becomes a kind of Milk called *Chyle*; which being at last brought to the Heart, receives there, through the plenty of Spirits, the Form, Vivacity and Colour of Blood: But while the purest Juice of the Aliments passes from the

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Stomach

(a) Plal. cxxxix. 14. Vide Greg. Nyſſen. de Opificio hominis, operum Tom. 1.

Stomach into the Pipes destin'd for the Preparation of the Chyle and Blood, the gross Particles of the same Aliments are separated, as Bran is from Flower by a Sieve, and are dejected downwards, to ease the Body of them, through the most hidden Passages, and most remote from the Organs of the Senses, lest these be offended. From the Top of this Fabrick so described, hang two *Arms*, terminated by *Hands*, bearing a perfect Symmetry with one another. The Arms are knit with the Shoulders, so as to have a free Motion by that Joint; they are connected at the Elbow and Wrist, so as to fold, bend and turn with Quickness. These Arms are of just Length to reach all the Parts of the Body, and are nervous and full of Muscles, to sustain any Fatigue. The *Hands* are a curious Contexture of Nerves and little Bones, framed with such Strength and Suppleness to defend the Body, and to serve for a thousand Uses upon various Occasions. Above the Body rises the *Neck*, which is either firm or flexible at Pleasure, becomes stiff, as if made of one single Bone, or bends every way, as if all its bones were dis-jointed: It bears up the *Head*, which governs the whole, and is fortified on all Sides by thick and hard Bones, to preserve the precious Treasure which it incloseth; and by the Neck it hath a quick Communication with all the other Parts of the Body. It contains the *Brain*, whose moist, soft and spongy Substance is made up of tender Filaments and Threads woven together, as the Centre of many Wonders. The *Skull* is regularly perforated or bored with exact Proportion and Symmetry for the two Eyes, two Ears, the Mouth and Nostrils. The *Nose* serves not only for Ornament, but also for Respiration and smelling; for it has a cribriform or spongy Bone, to let Odours pass on to the Brain. The two *Eyes* are equal, being placed about the Middle on the two Sides of the Head, that they may without Trouble discover afar off, both on the right and left, all strange Objects, and may commodiously watch for all Parts of the Body. The exact Symmetry with which they are placed is the Ornament of the Face, and he that made them, has kindled in them a celestial Flame; for they are a sort of Looking-glasses, wherein all the Objects of the World are painted by turns, without Confusion in the Bottom of the *Retina*, or Net-like Membrane of the Eye, that the thinking Part of Man may there see them: And though we perceive all Objects by a double Organ, yet we never see Objects double, because the two Nerves subservient to Sight in our Eyes, are but two Branches that unite in one Pipe. The *Mouth* helps to express every Passion. The *Lips* not only open to receive Food, but also by their Suppleness and Variety of Motions, serve to vary the Sounds that form Speech. The *Teeth* set in order on the Jaws, have a Spring to open, and another to shut, so as they grind like a Mill the Food, in order to Digestion. The *Tongue* is a Contexture of small Muscles and Nerves, so very supple, that it turns like a Serpent. There is a Wind-pipe that goes into the Throat from the Roof of the Mouth to the Breast, which is made up of cartilaginous Rings nicely set one within another, and lined within with a very smooth Membrane, to render the Air that is pushed from the Lungs more sonorous. On the Side of the Mouth a Pipe is opened like a Flute, by a Slit that either contracts or distends it self, as is necessary to render the Voice big or slender, hollow or clear. There is a separate Pipe to convey the Aliments to the Stomach; and there is a kind of Valve which lies on the Orifice of the Voice, which moving like a Draw-bridge, suffers the Food to pass into its proper Channel, but never lets any of it fall into the Wind-pipe. Indeed the Tongue and Mouth is the most perfect of all musical Instruments, which have no Perfection, but so far as they imitate that. But who can describe all the Instruments of Smell, Taste, Hearing, Seeing and Feeling. I must leave this Subject to Authors before named (a), and to the curious Anatomists: Only allow me further to observe, that we cannot so much as attentively notice the Proportion of Man's Body, without seeing the Wisdom of God. If our Bodies had been but one Foot high, we would have been insulted by most Animals, who would in that case have tread or crushed us under their Feet: And on the other hand, if our Bodies had been tall as a Steeple, we would not have found Food to nourish them, Horses to carry them, Houses to dwell in, nor Beds to ly on. Who but a wise and great God has so regulated the Size of Man to so just a Standart? Who has made him stand upright on his Feet, and given him a Nobleness and Grandeur to distinguish him from all Creatures on the Earth? who but a glorious and good God, who set this humane Structure a-going? even the same Lord God who *formed man of the dust of the Ground, and breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life; and made him become a living Soul* (b).

This may lead us to discourse of the *Soul of Man*, which is an intelligent, active and immortal Spirit, endowed with Understanding, Will, Memory and Affections. I have in another Essay (c) demonstrated the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul. But if it be here enquired, Why this Soul, that is so unlike a material Body, is so united to it in Man? whence comes it that certain Motions of the Body so suddenly and so infallibly raise certain Thoughts in the Soul, and that the Thoughts of the Soul raise in like manner certain Motions in the Body? whence proceeds so regular a Society for seventy, eighty, more or fewer

(a) See above p. 4. Let. (b). (b) Genes. ii. 7. (c) Propagation of Christianit. Vol. I. P. 59, :: 49.

fewer Years? What other Answer can be given to these or the like Queries, but that the same almighty, infinitely wise and eternal God, who made the World out of nothing, hath done these things?

§ 3. THE principal Ornament of the Soul, even in the state of Innocence, was, that God created man in his own image (a); which consists, first, in Man's being endowed with Knowledge, Righteousness, and true Holiness; having the Law of God written on the Heart, with Power to fulfill it. In this sinless State, Man's Body was subject to his Affections, his Affections to his Will, his Will to his Reason, and his Reason to the Law of God. He was perfectly free from Force, from all Sin and Misery; and did willingly chuse what was good. I know the Socinians, that they may oppose the Doctrine of original Sin, deny this original Righteousness in a state of Innocency, and make the Image of God to consist only in Dominion over the Creatures (b). But this primitive Integrity is the principal thing wherein innocent Man can resemble God: For thus he had an habitual Conformity in all his natural Powers to the Will of God; his Understanding saw divine Things clearly and purely; his Will complied readily and universally with the divine Law, without Reluctance or Resistance; his Affections were all regular, and he had no inordinate Passions; his Thoughts were easily fixed on the best Subjects, and all the inferior Powers of his Soul were submissive to the Dictates of the superior, without any Mutiny or Rebellion: Thus were our first Parents holy and happy, having intimate and uninterrupted Communion with God. Hence the wise Man Solomon says, that God hath made man upright (c); and the inspired Apostle tells us, that the new man, given at Conversion, is created in righteousness, and true holiness (d), and is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him (e). Secondly, The Image of God in Man did consist in his Dominion over the Creatures (f). He was God's Representative on Earth, and was qualified for such a Command by the Rectitude of his Mind, enabling him to know, fear, worship, honour, glorify and obey God, and to teach other Creatures their Duty: And this Power he did exercise by giving them Names suitable to their Natures (g). Thirdly, If Man had never sinned, he had been immortal. This is also opposed by the Socinians (h): But 'tis plain; because Man before he sinned had no Causes of Death, neither internal, by a crazy Disposition, bad Humours, nor chronical Diseases; nor external, by Corruption of Elements, want of Food, nor external Force: His primitive Integrity and Perfection exempted him from the first, and the special Care of God freed him from the second. And 'tis evident from sacred Scripture that Death is the Punishment of Sin, *In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die (i)*: Nor is this to be restricted to eternal Death; for where the Spirit of God makes no Limitation, we are not to contrive one out of our own Invention. And there are many other Texts that confirm this Point; *The soul that sinneth, shall die (k)*. *The wages of sin is death (l)*. *By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death hath passed upon all men, for that all have sinned (m)*. *By man came death.--- In Adam all die (n)*. And immediately after the Fall, it was intimated to Adam, *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return (o)*. Man being made in a State of Perfection, wherein all was very good, could not but be adorned with this Gift of Immortality; for it was promised, if he did the Will of God, he should live: And Death being a Destruction of Nature, could not agree to a state of Innocence and Perfection. Thus we have seen the Wisdom of God in the Works of Creation, and particularly in creating Man after his own Image, in Knowledge, Righteousness and Holiness, with Dominion over the Creatures; and with a Title to immortal Life and Happiness if he had continued in this State.

Peyrerius, an Author in the last Century, hath advanced a strange Hypothesis: That Adam and Eve were not the first Man and Woman in the World, but were only the original Parents of the Jews. But though Men of a paradoxical Humour may strain any thing to an odd Meaning, yet the Mosaisical Writings are so plain, that one would think no body could either mistake or pervert their Sense: For had there been Men in the World before Adam, he might have come by ordinary Generation; there was no need of forming him out of the Dust of the Earth, and the Woman by a Rib out of his Side; nor for teaching this more briefly in the first Chapter of Genesis, and explaining it more particularly in the second. That one Passage overthrows this strange Doctrine, *And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living (p)*. Besides, many other Scripture Texts prove Adam to have been the first Man: For before he was created, *there was not a man to till the ground (q)*. *The first man Adam was made a living soul. The first man is of the earth, earthy (r)*. Scripture Genealogy begins in Adam (s), and terminates in him (t).

§ 4. GOD having created Man, placed him in Paradise: For 'tis said, *The Lord God planted*

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(a) Genes. i. 26, 27. (b) Catechesis Racoviana, cap. 1. p. m. 16. de Via Salutis. (c) Eccles. vii. 29. (d) Ephes. iv. 24. (e) Colos. iii. 10. (f) Genes. i. 26. (g) Genes. ii. 19, 20. (h) Catech. Racoviana, de Via Salutis, cap. 1. p. 151. (i) Genes. ii. 17. (k) Ezek. xviii. 4. (l) Rom. vi. 23. (m) Rom. v. 12. (n) 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. (o) Genes. iii. 19. (p) Genes. iii. 20. (q) Genes. ii. 5. (r) 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. (s) Genes. v. 2, 3. (t) Luke iii. 38.

planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed (a). Men have little reason to be proud of stately and magnificent Buildings, when it was the Happiness of our first Parent in Innocency, that he needed none. As Cloaths came in with Sin, so did Houses: The Heaven was the Roof of Adam's House, and never was any Roof so curiously ceiled and painted; the Earth was his Floor, and never was any Floor so richly inlaid; the Shadow of the Trees was his Retirement, under them were his dining and lodging Rooms; and never were any Rooms so finely hung as these; Solomon in all his Glory was not arrayed like them. The Contrivance and Furniture was the immediate Work of divine Wisdom and Power. The Lord God had planted this Garden it seems upon the third Day of the Creation, when the Fruits of the Earth were made; and we may well suppose it to have been the most accomplished Place for Pleasure and Delight that ever the Sun saw, when the All-sufficient God himself designed it to be the present Seat of Happiness for his beloved Creature Man in Innocency, and a Type and Figure of the Happiness designed for the chosen Remnant in Glory. No Delights can be agreeable to a Soul, but those which God himself has provided; no true Paradise but of God's planting. The Lights of our own Fires, and the Sparks of our own kindling will soon leave us in the dark. The whole Earth was now a Paradise, compared with what it is become since the Fall, and since the Flood; the finest Gardens in the World are a Wilderness, compared with what the whole Face of the Ground was before it was cursed for Man's Sake.

The Situation of this Garden has given occasion to many curious Inquiries among the Learned. The Geography of Moses is concise; the numerous Shocks and Tremblings of the Earth in the Ages since the Creation, and the universal Deluge wherewith it was covered, have very far altered the Face thereof, so that it is not easy to be peremptory about the Seat of this Place; yet the Opinion of that learned Gentleman Sir Walter Rawleigh, seems as probable to me as any other: He maintains, *that Paradise was a Place of this our Earth, seated in the lower Part of the Region of Eden, afterwards called Aram Fluviorum, or Mesopotamia, which taketh in also a Part of Shinar and Armenia, in the most excellent Climate, thirty five Degrees of North Latitude from the Equinoctial, where are excellent Wines, Oil, Fruits and Grain of all Sorts in Abundance, and Plenty of Palm-trees growing without the Labour of Man* (b). To this Place the Characters of Paradise given by Moses do agree (c): For it lay Eastward of the Land of Judea; and that it was a most fruitful Place, appears from Herodote, who had himself seen the Country, and is the most antient profane Historian now extant. He says, *Where Euphrates runs into Tigris, not far from the Place where Ninus is seated, the Country is of all we have seen the most excellent; for it yields to none in bearing the Fig, the Vine, the Olive, and other choice Trees; and is so fruitful in Corn, that it yields two hundred, and sometimes three hundred Fold; the Leaves of Wheat and Barley are almost four Finger broad; the Height of Millet and Sesame are like to Trees, which though I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak of it, because these things reported of this Fruitfulness, will seem incredible to those who were never in the Country of Babylonia: Here they have commonly Palm-trees growing of their own Accord, most of them bearing Fruit, out of which they make Meat, Wine and Honey* (d). Strabo, that excellent Geographer, also tells, *That no Region yields so much Barley, for 'tis said to produce three hundred Fold; that there they make Beams and Posts to their Houses of the Palm-tree: Plenty of other things are afforded by it; for thereof they make Bread, Honey, Wine, Vinegar, Flax or Cordage: Smiths make use of its Nuts for Coals, and the same being moistened with Water, is given for Provender to their Sheep and Oxen* (e). And Quintus Curtius says, *That as you travel to the left Hand of Arabia, famous for Plenty of sweet Odours, there lieth a champaign Country between Tigris and Euphrates, of so fruitful and fat a Soil, that the People are forced to drive their Cattle from the Pastures, lest they should be killed by Plenty of good Food, which is occasioned by the Lands being made fat and moist by the Rivers* (f). Here are also the Rivers mentioned by Moses, namely Euphrates, Hiddekel or Tigris, Pison, or Pasi-Tigris, and Gibon, another Branch of the same River. Here is the Land of Havilah, so named from the Son of Cush (g). And here is the Land of Cush, which our Translators render Ethiopia: And 'tis not to be doubted but here is Gold, and Bedolach and Shocham, translated Bdelium, or Pearls and Onyx-stones. Upon the whole, the Characters of Paradise given by Moses agreeing to this fruitful Country, here seems to have been the Seat of that Garden.

§ 5. GOD having formed Man, and placed him in Paradise, gave him a Law or Covenant. The Distance between God and the Creature is so great, that though reasonable Men do owe Obedience to him as their Creator, yet they could never have any Enjoyment of him

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(a) Genes. ii. 8. (b) See Rawleigh's History of the World, Part 1. Book 1. Chap. 3. p. 28, -- 56. and Copper-plate, p. 56. (c) Genes. ii. 8, -- 15. Vide Steph. Mornium de Paradis. Terrestri, in Præf. ad Opera S. Bocharti, Edit. 1682. (d) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 193. p. 80. (e) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 739, & p. 742. (f) Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 24. (g) Genes. x. 7.

as their Blessedness and Reward, but by some voluntary Condescension on God's Part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of Covenant. The first Covenant with Man in Innocence made after the Image of God, was a Covenant of Works; wherein Life was promised to Adam, and in him to his Posterity, if he did perfectly, personally and perpetually obey the Commands of God, with a threatening of Death if he sinned (a). This Covenant is also expressed by a Law (b), *And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayst freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die* (c). Though Adam was a very great, a very good; and a very happy Man, yet the Lord God commanded him; and the Command was no Disparagement to his Greatness, no Reproach to his Goodness, nor any Diminution at all to his Happiness.

This Law being given to Adam, he was put upon his good Behaviour in a State of Trial. Be obedient, and thou shalt be happy; if otherwise, thou shalt be as miserable: And therefore God by an Act of Authority did prescribe to him what he should do, and upon what Terms he should stand with his Creator. The Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden (d), was not so much a Memorial of the Fountain and Author of his Life, nor perhaps any natural Means to prolong Life; but was chiefly intended to be a Sign and Seal unto Adam, assuring him of the Continuance of Life and Happiness, even to Immortality and everlasting Blessedness, through the favour of his Maker, upon Condition of his Perseverance in the State of Holiness and Innocency. Thus Augustin (e) says, other Trees were for Food, but this for a Sacrament or Seal. The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, did intimate a sure and dreadful Sentence in case of Disobedience. 'Tis in vain to enquire what kind of Tree this was: Some contend it was the Fig, because immediately after the Fall, our first Parents sewed Fig-leaves together, and made themselves Aprons; others pretend it was the Apple, because Solomon says, *I raised thee up under the apple-tree: there thy mother brought thee forth* (f). But neither of these can make us to determine it was one Sort of Tree more than another; it rather seems rash and unprofitable Curiosity, to enquire into these Things which God has not a mind to reveal: 'Tis more pertinent to ask why it is called the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*. And it may be so named, either first, because there was an express positive Revelation of the Will of God concerning this Tree, that by it Adam might know moral Good and Evil; that it was Good not to eat of the Tree; and that it was Evil to eat thereof. Or secondly, because in the Event it did give Adam an experimental Knowledge of the Good he lost, and of the Evil he felt by eating thereof; for there was an express Penalty threatened as a Sanction to the Law: *In the Day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die, or dying, thou shalt die*: Where it is denounced, that if Adam broke the Law, he should not only be debarred from the Tree of Life, and all the Good signified by it, all the Happiness which he had either in Possession or in Prospect; but that he should become liable to Death, and all the Miseries that attend it: The Grant of Immortality to him shall be recalled; he and his Posterity shall become mortal, and obnoxious to Death, like condemned Malefactors; yea the Harbingers and Fore-runners of Death shall seize them, Pains and Sickness, Miseries and Calamities; they shall be dead in Sin without spiritual Life, and liable to eternal Death and Misery.

§ 6. NOTWITHSTANDING this awful Threatning, our first Parents being created changeable, soon changed to the worse, (but how soon we are not to determine) and fell from the State of Perfection into Misery, by the Temptation of the Enemy of Mankind. The Tempter was the Devil, in the Shape and Likeness of a Serpent; for *the Serpent beguiled Eve through his Subtilty* (g): *And the old serpent is the devil and Satan* (h). By Creation he was an Angel of Light, and an immediate Attendant upon God's Throne; but by Sin he became an Apostate from his first Estate; and a Rebel against God's Crown and Dignity. I might here discourse of the Fall of Angels described by the Apostles; *God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment* (i): *And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, be hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day* (k). When they were the Sons of God, they were holy and happy praising their Maker: Man at his best Estate is lower than they: But they sinned; they broke the Law of God, both the original Impression of it on their own Hearts, and the Law revealed to them as a Copy of God's Holiness. We need not determine what was their particular Sin; there seems to have been much Pride in it: *Lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil* (l); intimating, that as Pride ruined the Angels, it may

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much

(a) Genes. ii. 17. Galat. iii. 12. Rom. x. 5. Levit. xviii. 5. Galat. iii. 10. (b) Rom. iii. 27. (c) Genes. ii. 16, 17. (d) Genes. ii. 9. (e) Augustin. de Genesi ad Literam, lib. 8. cap. 4. Operum Tom 3. p. m. 610, in cæteris lignis alimentum, in isto autem sacramentum. (f) Song viii. 5. (g) 2. Cor. xi. 3. (h) Rev. xii. 9. (i) 2 Pet. ii. 4. (k) Jude, 6. (l) 1 Tim. iii. 6.

much more ruin Man : *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! for thou hast said, I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will exalt my self above the throne of God, I will be like the most High (a).* Where the vain Glory of the Kings of Babylon seems to be described like that of the Angels who sinned ; who not content with their first Estate, would vye with God, and become not only independent of him ; but even equal with him : And perhaps they hit the Mark pretty near, who make the Sin of these Angels to have been a Compound of Pride, Ingratitude and Disobedience. If it be asked, how did the Angels fall, being created holy and pure ? It is answered, though they were very good, yet they were changeable ; they were not God, they willingly chose Sin : Probably one Angel sinned, and allured others after his Example : Hence we read of the Devil and his Angels (b). Nor is it to be doubted but that there was a Multitude of them that fell ; the World is full of these wicked Spirits ; a whole Legion of them possess one Man (c). The Time of their Fall is not expressed in Scripture, but it seems to have been very soon after the Creation ; for the *devil was a murderer from the beginning (d) : And he sinned from the beginning (e),* perhaps not within the six Days of the Creation, but soon after them.

No sooner did the Devil become a Traitor to God, than he became a Tempter of Mankind ; as one enraged against God and his Glory, and envious of the Happiness of our first Parents. His Aim was to draw them into Sin, and to separate between them and their God ; the whole humane Race had here but as it were one Neck, which he struck at, and so became a Murderer from the Beginning. Some pretended Wits have raised Dust about this ; how could a silly Snake with fine Speeches address Eve in her *Supralapsarian* Beauty (f). But it is dangerous to dress up Scripture-history in a strange Shape, and then turn it into ludicrous Banter ; *Fools make a mock of Sin !* It is well known that the Devil in many Places to this Day affects to be worshipped in the Shape of a Serpent : Of which I have given several Instances in another Essay (g). And it is not necessary to assert, that the Serpent which beguiled Eve was of the common creeping kind ; 'tis more likely that it was of that flying fiery sort which are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*, that are of a shining yellowish Colour, like that of Brass, which by the Motion of their Wings, and the Vibration of their Tails reverberating the Sun Beams, do make a most glorious Appearance. Now if the Serpent, which the Devil abused, was of this sort, or perhaps more glorious, it was very proper for this Design : For these Serpents being called *Saraphs* or *Seraphim (h)*, Eve might look on it as an angelical Appearance, to which she was accustomed in a State of Innocence ; and God leaving her to her Liberty, as a free Agent, she chused that which was evil. The Devil tempted the Woman when she was alone, perhaps gazing on the forbidden Tree ; and by specious Arguments perswaded her to eat of it, and she enticed her Husband to do the like. This was no small, but a very great Offence ; to which the holy Apostle (i) gives so many Names, as *ἀμαρτία, παράπτωμα, παράβασις, παρακοή* ; to signify it to be a heinous Guilt. There was a Complication of Evils in it. Here was Infidelity, refusing to believe God's Promises and Threats ; here was Disobedience to a peremptory divine Precept of the Creator ; Idolatry, in believing the Devil, and giving God the Lie ; horrible Pride, to desire to be like God, such a Sin as made the Angels fall from their first Estate ; great Covetousness and Theft, in taking what was not their own ; and a most unparalleled Murder, to destroy so many Millions of Souls that were to be of their Offspring.

Immediately after the Fall our first Parents felt the sad Consequences of their Transgression ; *their eyes were opened (k) : It is not meant of the Eyes of their Body, these were opened before Sin came in at them ; but their Consciences were opened ; their Hearts smote them for what they had done ; they saw a living God provoked, his Grace and Favour forfeited, his Likeness and Image lost, Dominion over the Creatures gone ; they saw their own Nature corrupted and depraved ; they saw the Angel of the Lord standing with his Sword drawn, threatening them with Vengeance ; and perhaps they saw the Serpent that had seduced them, now insulting over them. The Text tells us, they saw that they were naked ; that they were stript and deprived of all these Honours and Joys which once they had in a Paradise-state ; and exposed to all those Miseries that might be justly expected from an angry God : Their Defence was departed from them ; they were ashamed before Angels and Men, before God and the World ; disrobed of all their Ornaments and Ensigns of Honour ; degraded from their Dignity ; laid open to the Reproach and Contempt of Heaven and Earth, and their own Consciences. To cover the least Part of their Shame, they made but a sorry Shift, by sewing or plating fig-leaves together to make themselves aprons. 'Tis but an idle Objection of the Deists, what shall they do for Thread and Needles, for Spinning was*
not

(a) Isaiah xiv. 12, -- 19. (b) Matth. xxv. 41. (c) Luke viii. 30. (d) John viii. 44. (e) 1 John iii. 8. (f) Nichol's Conference with a Theist, Part 1. p. 191, -- 203. See also Bocharti Opera, in Edit. 1682, p. 835, -- 851, Vol. 1. de Serpente tentatore. (g) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 331, -- 337. (h) Deut. viii. 15. (i) Rom. Chap. 5. (k) Genes. iii. 7, 8.

not yet found out, and working in Iron was an Invention of a much later Date (a) : For the Hebrew Word *Tapar* to sew, signifies also to fit or apply (b) ; and the Word *Gneleb*, rendred *Leaves*, signifies also Branches of Leaves, such as were used to make Booths to the *Israelites*, or Tents (c). This then might be done by twisting or plating the flexible Branches of the Fig-tree about their Wastes, in the manner of the Roman Crown, so as when the broad Leaves of the Tree hung down, it represented the Fashion of a Pair of green Breeches. Another Consequent of their Sin was *Fear* ; for the Text says, *And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day : and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, amongst the trees of the garden* (d). The Approach of the Judge put them in a Fright, even though he came in such a manner, as made it formidable only to guilty Consciences. 'Tis supposed he drew near in a humane Shape. *Jehovah Elobim*, the Son of God, as a Prelude of his Incarnation, the same who shall judge the World at the last Day, came now to convince guilty Sinners. He came not, as afterwards on Mount *Sinai*, making thick Darkness his Pavilion, or the flaming Fire his Chariots ; but walking deliberately, as one slow to Anger. Yet they hid themselves from the Presence of the Lord. Before they sinned, so soon as they heard the Voice of the Lord God coming towards them, they ran to meet him, and with a humble Joy welcomed his gracious Visits : But now God was become a Terror to them, and they were a Terror to themselves ; their Consciences set their Sin before them in lively Colours, and as yet they knew not of any Mediator ; so that nothing remained but a fearful looking for of Judgment : Yet the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, *Where art thou ?* (e). This is an upbraiding Question, In what sad Condition art thou, that thou would vye with me ? one who now cares for no Communion with me. It may be also looked upon as a gracious Pursuit of our Redeemer : This lost Sheep had wandred without End, if the good Shepherd had not sought to reclaim him : Here is *φιλανθρωπία*, the Love of God to Men. Adam was but able to give a faint Answer, *I heard thy voice in the garden : and I was afraid, because I was naked*. He doth not directly own his Guilt, yet confesseth it, by owning what he could not deny ; his Shame and Fear, which were the Consequences thereof.

Our offending first Parents being found guilty by their own Confession, though they endeavoured to excuse and extenuate their Crime (f), before the Lord passes Sentence upon them, he gives them a gracious Declaration of Gospel-grace : *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed : it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel* (g). Where we have an absolute Promise of free Grace, concerning the Salvation of Man by a Mediator ; and particularly, first, our Redeemer's Incarnation is here intimated : He shall be the Seed of the Woman ; the same Seed which was afterwards promised to Abraham, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed* (h) : which is expressly applied to our Redeemer in the New Testament ; He saith not, *And to thy seeds, as of many ; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ* (i). He is the Seed of the Woman in a supereminent Manner without Man, being conceived by the Power of the Holy Ghost, in the Womb of the Virgin Mary. Secondly, Here is also a Promise of the Sufferings of the Messiah, the Seed of the Serpent shall bruise his heel ; that is, his humane Nature. Satan tempted Christ in the Wilderness to draw him into Sin ; the Devil put it in the Heart of Judas to betray our Lord, of Peter to deny him, of the chief Priests to persecute him, and of Pilate to condemn him, aiming by destroying our Saviour, to ruin our Salvation. But the Enemy was disappointed ; our Lord's divine Nature, nor his Headship over the Church, could not be touched. When the Soldiers were spoiling him of his Garments, he was spoiling Principalities and Powers, triumphing over them in the Cross ; and he rose again, and became the Prince of Life. Thirdly, We are here assured of Christ's Victory ; *he shall bruise the serpent's head*. A Wound given in the Head is mortal ; our Lord has given Satan such a Wound as shall never be healed : *The son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil* (k). He baffled Satan's Temptations, rescued our Souls out of his Hands, cast him out of the Bodies of those that were oppressed, dispossessed the strong Man, and divided his Spoil : By his Death, he gave an incurable Blow to Satan's Kingdom. As the Gospel gains Ground, Satan falls like Lightning (l). By his Grace he treads Satan under our Feet (m), and will soon cast him into a Lake of Fire (n) : Then will be the complete Joy of his Saints.

When our Lord pronounced Sentence, he begins with the principal Tempter : *The Lord said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field : upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life* (o). This Doom may be considered, either first, as falling on that brute Creature the Serpent, that Satan made use of. The Devil's Instruments must share in his Punishment :

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And

(a) Oracles of Reason, p. 44. (b) Job xvi. 15. (c) Nehem. viii. 15. (d) Genes. iii. 8. (e) Genes. iii. 9. (f) Genes. iii. 11, 12, 13. (g) Genes. ver. 15. (h) Genes. xii. 3. xxii. 18. (i) Galat. iii. 16. (k) 1 John iii. 8. (l) Luke x. 18. (m) Rom. xvi. 20. (n) Rev. xx. 10. (o) Genes. iii. 14.

And therefore the Bodies of the Wicked, though only Instruments of Unrighteousness, must share of everlasting Torments with the Soul, the principal Agent. Even the Ox that killeth a Man must be stoned, by the Law (a). The Serpent is ever to be look'd on as a vile Creature; *Upon thy belly thou shalt go*: No longer on thy Feet, or half erect; but crawling along, with thy Belly cleaving to the Earth. 'Tis the Effect of this Curse, that though the Serpent be subtle, and very dangerous; yet it prevails not to destroy Mankind, as it would if God gave it Commission: For he hath promised to his People, *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder (b)*. Secondly, The Sentence may be considered as levelled against the Devil. He that spake through the Serpent's Mouth is here wounded through the Serpent's Side: He is degraded and accursed of God, detested and abhorred of all Mankind; even those who are too readily seduced to his Interest profess a Hatred of him. All that are born of God take care to keep themselves that this wicked one touch them not; and he shall be destroyed and ruined at last by our Redeemer. There is also a Sentence passed upon the Woman: *Unto the woman he said; I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children: and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee (c)*. She is put into a State of Sorrow; one Particular whereof is only instanced, but it includes all those Impressions of Grief and Fear which the Mind of that tender Sex is apt to receive, and all the common Calamities which they are liable to. She is also put into a State of Subjection. The whole Sex, which by Creation was equal with Man, is for Sin made inferior, and forbidden to usurp Authority (d): And the Entrance of Sin hath made this a Punishment. Yet this Sentence is not a Curse, to bring her to Ruin; but a Chastisement, to bring her to Repentance. Lastly we have the Sentence passed upon Adam, prefaced with a Recital of his Crime: *Cursed is the ground for thy sake.---Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee (e)*. Man was to suffer this Curse, not the Ground it self; but 'tis here intimated, that Man's Habitation shall be changed: He shall no longer live in such a distinguished Place as Paradise, but should be removed to cursed Ground. The whole visible Creation by the Sin of Man is now made subject to Vanity, and the several Parts of it not so serviceable as they would have been if Sin had not entred into the World. The Earth is now a dry and barren Habitation; its spontaneous Productions are now Weeds and Briers, something nauseous or noxious; and what good Fruits it affords, must be extorted from it by the Industry, Toil, Labour and Ingenuity of Man. The Ground is cursed; for it shall be burnt up at the End of Time. Yet here is a Mixture of Mercy: Adam himself is not cursed, as the Serpent was; God had Blessings in him, even the holy Seed; and therefore *destroy him not*. He is yet above Ground, only the Earth is not to him what it was; 'tis cursed, and there is no Happiness in Things here below: We must look for Felicity only in Things above. Man's Business shall become a Toil to him, and he shall eat in Sorrow, because he hath ate of the forbidden Fruit: Even his Body shall become a Lump of Dust; and when forsaken of the Soul, it shall be lodged in the Grave, to be mingled with the Dust. There was here no Injustice in God, to promise Immortality and other Blessings to Man upon his Obedience, which neither he nor any of his Posterity should enjoy upon his Disobedience. The Sum of the whole we have in the Words of the Apostle, *By one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned (f)*.

The Sentence being pronounced, God made Coats of Skins to clothe Adam and Eve. There is nothing in the original Expression that obliges us to suppose that God made these Cloaths directly himself; only he taught the Art of preparing and using them. Cloaths came in with Sin. We have little reason to be proud of what is a Badge of our Infamy; and we ought to be content with mean Garments, when our first Parents had only those of plain Skins. 'Tis supposed the Beasts off which these were taken, were not slain for Food, but for Sacrifice, to typify the great Sacrifice which in the latter End of the World would be offered once for all. We need not think that a whole Species was destroyed to make these Coats: For it is not certain what Number of Animals of a sort were created; nor is it known how long after the Creation these Coats were made; perhaps not till the Winter following (g), and by that time, Hares, Conies, and other monthly breeding Animals, had Time to multiply. Finally, *The Lord God sent Adam forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man: and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubims, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life (h)*. This signified the Exclusion of our first Parents, and of all their guilty Race, from that Communion with God which was the Bliss and Glory of Paradise. Man's Acquaintance with God was lessened and lost, and that Correspondence that had been settled between Man and his Maker, was interrupted and broken off; he was driven out as unworthy of that Honour, and incapable of that Service. It was a Mercy God did not cast him down to Hell, as the Angels that

(a) Exod. xxi. 28, 29. (b) Psal. xci. 13. (c) Genes. iii. 16. (d) 1. Tim. ii. 11 — 14. (e) Genes. iii. 17 — 24. (f) Rom. v. 12. (g) Nichol's Conference with a Theist, P. I. p. 244. (h) Genes. iii. 23, 24.

that sinned ; but sent him only to a Place of Toil and Labour, to till the Ground : Yet he debarred him from re-entring Paradise, by Cherubims and a flaming Sword set to keep the Way to the Tree of Life : Which did signify God's present Displeasure with Man for his Sin ; that the holy Angels were at War with him, and that all Access to Life by the Tenor of the Covenant of Works, or by the Way of spotless Innocence, was for ever shut up. But blessed be God, our Redeemer, the promised Seed, has opened a new and living Way to the heavenly Paradise, and to the Tree of Life in the midst thereof. He hath removed the flaming Sword : Through him God and his holy Angels are reconciled to us, and through his gracious Covenant we have Access to eternal Happiness. By this Account of the Fall we have the plain and obvious Rise of the Origin of Evil, of the Depravation of Man's Will, of the Pains of child-bearing Women beyond other Females, of the Barrenness of the Earth and many other Things, which the Heathen Philosophers could never truly find out : And here we see how the Hopes of the Salvation of fallen Man by the promised Seed, our Redeemer, were ushered into the World.

§ 7. THOUGH God drove our first Parents out of Paradise, he did not write them childless ; he gave them the Benefit of that Blessing, *Be fruitful, and multiply*. Their eldest Son seems to have been *Cain*, which signifies Possession : For *Eve*, when she bare him, said, *I have gotten a man from the Lord* (a). Perhaps she promised more Comfort in this Son than she afterwards found. Her next Son was *Abel*, whose Name signifies Vanity : And indeed the longer we live in this World, the more we may see of the Vanity thereof. Each of these young Men had a Calling : Though they were Heirs-apparent of the World, their Birth noble, and their Possessions great, they were not brought up in Idleness. *Abel* chose that of a Herdsman, an Employment that did befriend Contemplation and Devotion ; but *Cain* was a Tiller of Ground. *In process of time* (b), or as the Original bears, *At the end of days*, (that is, either at the End of the Year, when they kept the Feast of In-gathering ; or at the End of the Days of the Week, on the seventh Day, which was then their Sabbath ; or at some set Time) *Cain* and *Abel* brought to *Adam*, as the Priest of the Family, each of them an Offering to the Lord. For the doing of which, we have reason to think, there was a divine Appointment given to *Adam*, as a Token of God's Favour to him and his Offspring, notwithstanding their Apostacy. These Oblations had different Success : *God had respect to Abel and to his offering* : And he shewed his Acceptance thereof probably by Fire from Heaven ; at least this is the Opinion of several antient *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers quoted by the learned *Heidegger* (c). But to *Cain* and his Offering he had no Respect. There was good reason for this Difference : First, from the Characters of the Persons offering ; *Cain* was a wicked Man, who led a bad Life, under the reigning Power of Sin, the World and the Flesh ; and therefore his *sacrifice was an abomination to the Lord* (d). But *Abel* was a righteous Man ; our Lord calls him the *righteous Abel* (e) : His Heart was upright, and his Life religious ; and therefore his Prayer was God's Delight. Secondly, There was a Difference in the Principle on which they went : For *Abel* offered in Faith (f) ; which *Cain* did not : *Abel* offered with an Eye to God's Will as his Rule, his Glory as his End, and in dependence on the Promise of the Redeemer ; but *Cain* made his Oblation only to imitate his Brother, to save his Credit ; not in Faith : And so it turned Sin to him. *Abel* was a penitent Believer, like the Publican that went away justified : *Cain* was unhumiliated, having his Confidence in himself, like the proud *Pharisee* ; and so was not justified before God. And instead of being angry with himself for his Infidelity and Hypocrisy, by which he had forfeited divine Acceptance, he flew out in Anger and Malice against his Brother, pick'd a Quarrel with him in the Field, killed him, and became the first Murderer, and his Brother the first Martyr. We read of no other that died since the Sin of *Adam*. The first who died, was a Saint, to shew that the promised Seed was so far victorious over him who had the Power of Death : God would secure to himself the first Fruits, making the first who went to the Grave go to Heaven.

Cain being convicted of the Lord for this unnatural Murder (g), he was sentenced to an unsettled and disquiet Condition in the Earth : *A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be*. Of this Sentence he complains, as hard and severe ; but was more concerned for his Punishment than for his Sin against God. In this Case he separated from the Worship and religious Assemblies of the People of God : He forsook *Adam's* Family and Altar, with all Pretensions to the Fear of God ; was willing to disclaim the Privileges of the Church, that he might not be under her Precepts. The sacred Text says, *Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden*. The Land he dwelt in was the Land of *Nod* ; that is, of Shaking and Trembling : For the Terrors of his Spirit, from the Consciousness of his Guilt, made him a *Magor Miffabib*, a Terror to himself, and to all round about him ;

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(a) Genes. iv. 1. (b) Genes. iv. 3. (c) *Historia Patriarcharum*, Vol. 1. p. 189. (d) Prov. xv. 8. (e) Math. xxiii. 35. (f) Heb. xi. 4. (g) Genes. iv. 9. & 17.

him; which perhaps was the Mark that God set upon *Cain*, lest any finding him, should kill him. The most certain Sign of the Situation of this Land of *Nod* is that in the sacred Text; that it was on the east of *Eden*; which some (a) conjecture to have been in that Part of *Babylonia*, called *Susiana*. We need not enquire whence could he have People sufficient to inhabit that Land, and to build a City so soon after the Creation; for it appears that *Seth* was born in the Year of the World 130 (b). Now if we suppose that *Abel* was killed only a Year or two before the Birth of *Seth*; that is, in the Year of the World 128, as is very likely, then the World might be well stocked with Inhabitants in these Parts, at least before that Time, even of the Posterity of *Cain* and *Abel*: For granting that these two married in the Year of the World 19, they might each had eight Children in the Year 27; from these in the 30th Year of the World might proceed 64 Persons; in the 74th Year 512; in the 98th Year 4096 Persons; and in the 122d Year 32,768: If we add the other Children born during that Time to *Adam* and *Eve*, with their Descendents; with these also who might spring from other Children of *Cain* and *Abel*, and their Children, we will find the whole a very considerable Number. Monsieur *Saurin* (c) reckons 421,164 Males capable to beget Children; so that it is easy to conceive, that by this Time both the Land of *Nod* might be inhabited, and there might be Abundance of People to build a City.

The Race of *Cain* was not much better than himself; they followed his Footsteps in Wickedness. Hence *Augustin* (d) makes them a Society of evil Men; who shall be punished by the Devil in everlasting Torments; but among the Children of *Seth* the Church of God was to be found, and these who were predestinated to reign with God in Glory. The Names of *Cain*'s Posterity are but just mentioned; three or four of them are in one Verse, *Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch*.—*To Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech* (e). But the Names of the holy Seed are at more Length afterwards insisted upon. In the wicked Race of *Cain*, *Lamech* appears to be the first Author of Polygamy; for the Text says, *He took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah* (f). This was contrary to the primary Institution of Marriage: *Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: (not unto his Wives) and they shall be one flesh* (g); which is confirmed by the Prophet *Malachi* (h): *And did not he make one? therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously with the wife of his youth*. Wherefore our Lord does very justly prohibit Polygamy: Nor have the Contenders for this Practice any great Credit by the first Founder thereof, *Lamech*, a rough, fierce, imperious Man, who either committed Murder, or boasted that he would do it, and be avenged on any body that would attack him (i). In the Offspring of *Lamech* we have the Founders of several useful Arts; *Jabal* was a famous Shepherd, who delighted in keeping Cattle; *Jubal* was a famous Musician, and particularly an Organist; the first who gave Rules for this Art; *Tubal-Cain* was a famous Smith, who greatly improved the Art of working in Brasses and Iron; to whom the Origin of this Art may be more truly ascribed, than to *Vulcan* among the Heathens: And indeed the holy Scriptures give a more true Account of the first Inventors of useful Arts, than the Writings of profane Authors. But among all these of *Cain*'s Race, there is not a Father of the Faithful, nor one who taught the Knowledge of God.

§ 8. AMONG the Race of *Seth*, in which the Church of God was continued, *Enoch* excelled in Piety. It is twice recorded of him, *that he walked with God* (k). The ungodly and profane are without God in the World, but *Enoch* walked with God; which supposes Reconciliation to him; for two cannot walk together, except they be agreed (l), and includes all the Parts of a godly, righteous and sober Life: For it is to live a Life of Communion with God, both in Ordinances and Duties; it is to make God's Word our Rule, and his Glory our End in all our Actions; to have our constant Care and Endeavour in every thing to please God, and in nothing to offend him; to comply with his Will, and to be Followers of him as dear Children. 'Tis also recorded, that *Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him* (m). All which the Apostle might infer from what is written concerning *Enoch* by *Moses*, That this pious Patriarch, who walked with God, did faithfully warn that Generation in which he lived, of the coming of the Lord to judge the World; that hereby he might encourage those who served God with the Hope of a glorious Reward, and make the Wicked forsake their evil Ways, that they might not be condemned by the righteous Judge of all the Earth. I know an idle Story, called the *Book of Enoch*, is published by the learned *Joseph Scaliger* in Greek (n), and

(a) Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 1. p. 197. (b) Genes. v. 3. (c) Saurin's Dissert. on the Old Testam. Vol. 1. p. 36. Engl. Edit. (d) De Civitate Dei, lib. 15. cap. 1. (e) Genes. iv. 17, 18. (f) Genes. iv. 19. (g) Genes. ii. 24. (h) Mal. ii. 15. (i) Genes. iv. 23. (k) Genes. v. 22, 24. (l) Amos iii. 3. (m) Jude 14, 15. (n) Vid. Scaligeri Notas in Eusebium, p. 244.

and *Heidegger* (a) hath given us a *Latin* Version thereof; which the Curious may consult. But that Writing seems to be nothing but a fabulous Collection of some *Jew* or other, most unworthy of that holy Patriarch: For it tells that the Angels, whom he calls *Egregori*, did burn with Desire after the Daughters of Men, and begat Children upon them; which does not agree with the angelical Nature. It gives strange Names to above twenty Angels, who assembled, and bound themselves by an Oath, upon the Top of Mount *Hermon*, and did many incredible Things. In short, the whole of it is a spurious lying Piece, that hath no Foundation, and agrees neither with Scripture nor Reason.

As *Enoch* was eminent in Holiness, and active to promote the same among others in this corrupt Generation; so the Lord gave him a great Reward, by a glorious Removal into a better World: *He was not: for God took him* (b): And, as the Apostle tells us, *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him* (c). The Time of his Translation was, when he had lived 365 Years; which, as Mens Ages went then, was in the midst of his Days: 987 Years after the Creation of the World, 57 Years after *Adam's* Death, and 69 Years before *Noah's* Birth. As to the Manner of his Translation; He was not any longer in the World; *He was not found*; not found by his Friends, who sought him as the Sons of the Prophets did *Elijah* (d); not found by his Enemies, who as some think were in quest of him, to put him to Death in their Rage against him for his eminent Piety and faithful Warnings: For it appears by his Prophecy (e), that there were then many ungodly Sinners who spoke hard Speeches, and 'tis like did hard Things too against God's People. But God hid him from their Rage in Heaven; he carried him Body and Soul home to himself in the heavenly Paradise by the Ministry of Angels, as afterwards he took *Elijah*. No doubt his Body was changed, to fit the same to dwell in that eternal Rest, even as the Saints Bodies shall be, that are found alive at Christ's second Coming; for *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption* (f). This Translation was not only an Evidence of the Faith of the Reality of a future State in that early Age of the Church, and of the Possibility of the Body's Existence in Glory, and that through the Messiah, the promised Seed of the Woman, Believers should be carried thither; but also it was an Encouragement to the Hope of all that walk with God, that they shall be ever with him: And finally, *Enoch* before the giving of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, and *Elijah* under the Law, were Types of our Redeemer's ascending afterwards in Soul and Body to Heaven, where they are to keep his glorified Body Company.

§ 9. T H O U G H there were some eminent Saints in this Period of the Church; and indeed in the worst of Times, there are always some who are sanctified by the Spirit of God; (our Redeemer will never be a King without Subjects;) yet the Wickedness of those Times was very great, which God at length punished by a sweeping Deluge. The sacred Scriptures give us several Instances of their Wickedness; one is, in their mixed Marriages: *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose* (g). By the Sons of God here, we understand the Professors of Religion who called on the Name of the Lord: They married the Daughters of Men; that is, the Profane, Strangers to God and Godliness. The Posterity of *Seth* did not keep themselves by the Seed of the Church, as they ought to have done, both for the Preservation of their own Purity, and in detestation of the Apostacy of others, but mingled themselves with the excommunicated Race of *Cain*. I know many of the Fathers of the Christian Church, as *Justin Martyr*, *Tatian*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eusebius*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and others, went into another Exposition of this Text, taking the Sons of God to be the Angels. To this Error they were led by *Josephus* (h) and *Philo* (i); and perhaps also by the *Septuagint*: For *Augustin* tells us, *That the Seventy Interpreters call the Sons of God, Angels* (k); which indeed all Copies have not, for some name them only the Sons of God: And many *Jewish* Authors quoted by *Heidegger* (l), explain this Point the same way. But by whatever Authors the Fathers were led into this Opinion, 'tis certain they were in a Mistake; for to beget Children by Mixtures with Women, is contrary to the angelical Nature of Spirits, and much more to that of holy Angels. 'Tis also inconsistent with sacred Scripture; for the Place we are discoursing of (m), declares God's Displeasure with Men, and not with Angels: And our Lord says, *That in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels of God in heaven* (n). By which it appears, that the Angels neither marry, nor are given in Marriage; and in that respect, blessed Saints in Glory are like unto them. Of these promiscuous Mixtures, between the Professors of the true Religion, and the Posterity of *Cain*, were born Giants, called in the *Hebrew*, *Nephilim* (o); the Sense of which hath been much controverted. I conceive by it may be meant, first, that

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(a) Heideggeri hist. Patriarcharum, Vol. i. p. 267, — 270. (b) Genes. v. 24. (c) Heb. xi. 5. (d) 2 Kings, ii. 17. (e) Jude, 15. (f) 1 Cor. xv. 50. (g) Genes. vi. 2. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 4. (i) Philo de Gigantibus. (k) Augustin. de civitate Dei, lib. 15. cap. 23. (l) Heideggeri hist. Patriarcharum, Vol. i. p. 282, & seq. (m) Genes. vi. 1, — 7. (n) Matth. xxii. 30. (o) Genes. vi. 4.

they were Men of great Bulk, Strength and Stature. There have been some few Men of this sort in several Ages and Places, and particularly in the Land of Canaan; as we find, *There we saw the giants the sons of Anak, which come of the giants, men of great stature (a) : Og king of Basban of the remnant of the giants ; his bed-stead was of iron : — nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it (b).* Though his Bed be supposed two or three Cubits longer than himself, he was still of a great Stature : And Goliath's Height was six Cubits and a Span (c). Secondly, These Giants, or *Nephilim*, were Men of fierce and cruel Dispositions, who daringly invaded the Rights of their Neighbours, trampling upon all that was just and sacred : And therefore God threatens, *That his spirit should no more strive with man (d).* They had grieved him by obstinate sinning, contrary to the Warnings given them by *Enoch*, by *Noah*, and by their own Consciences, which provoked him to withdraw his Favour. Indeed the whole Race of Mankind then in the World, except *Noah* and his Family, seemed to have joined in a general Conspiracy against Heaven, to violate its Laws, and corrupt its Worship ; for the sacred Text tells us, *That God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. — The earth also was corrupt before God ; and the earth was filled with Violence. God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt : for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the Earth (e).* There was nothing but Impiety against God, and Injustice and Violence towards Men : There was no Order, nor regular Government ; no Man safe in his Possession ; nothing but Murders, Rapes and Robberies, with all sort of Wickedness ; which is the Shame of humane Nature, and the Ruin of humane Society.

It is questioned if the Age before the Flood was guilty of Idolatry ; and 'tis very likely that the wicked Posterity of *Cain* were defiled with it : And that is included in that Expression, *God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* It seems very parallel to that of the Apostle, *They became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. — And they changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things (f).* And *Moses* uses the same Expression concerning the Age soon after the Flood (g). Now 'tis certain that soon after the Flood the People fell into Idolatry, till in the Time of *Abraham* the Worship of the true God was restored in his Family ; therefore *Joshua* makes express mention of the Gods whom their Fathers worshiped on the other Side of the Flood (h). What was the particular kind of Idolatry of which they were guilty, is no where specified ; only the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon* the *Phœnician*, preserved by *Eusebius (i)* ; of which I have discoursed more fully in another Essay (k), hath ten Generations ; which the learned Dr. *Cumberland (l)* takes to be these of the Line of *Cain*, viz. 1. *Protogonus*, whom he makes *Adam*, 2. *Genus*, or *Cain*, 3. *Lux*, 4. *Cassius*, 5. *Memcumos*, 6. *Agreus*, 7. *Crusor*, 8. *Technites*, 9. *Agros*, 10. *Aminos*, and the Flood ends that Line. In the fifth Generation of *Memcumos* and *Hypsuranius* it is said, *He consecrated two stêlai, Rudder-stones or Pillars, to Fire and Wind, and he bowed down to, or worshipped them, and poured out to them the Blood of such wild Beasts as had been caught in hunting ; but when these were dead, such as remained consecrated to them Stumps of Wood and Stones, worshipping them, and keeping anniversary Feasts to them.* But I incline not to depend too much on this imperfect dubious Fragment ; only it seems probable that *Cham*, who had learned Idolatry from some of the old wicked World before the Flood, practised the same soon after it, and from him it was transmitted to *Canaan*, to *Egypt*, and to the rest of his Dominions.

§ 10. I go now to consider the Chronology of this Period, which according to the *Hebrew* Copies of the sacred Scriptures stands thus : *Adam* begat *Seth*, in the 130th Year of his Life ; *Seth* begat *Enos*, in the 105th Year of his Life ; *Enos* begat *Cainan*, in the 90th Year of his Life ; *Cainan* begat *Mahalaleel*, in the 70th Year of his Life ; *Mahalaleel* in the 65th Year of his Age, begat *Jared* ; *Jared* in the 162d Year of his Age, begat *Enoch* ; *Enoch* in the 65th Year of his Life, begat *Methuselah* ; *Methuselah* in the 187th Year of his Life begat *Lamech* ; *Lamech* in the 182d Year of his Age, begat *Noah (m)* ; and *Noah* was 600 Years old when the Flood began (n) : By adding these Sums together, the Total appears to be 1656 Years. To this the *Hebrew* Writers (o) agree, with the greater Part of Chronologers and Historians. 'Tis true, most Copies of the Septuagint make the Duration of Time from the Creation to the Flood, to be 2262 Years, and other Copies make it 2242 (p). And many of the Fathers being ignorant of the *Hebrew* Text, (except *Origen* and *Jerom*) did follow this Version. And the *Samaritan* Pentateuch makes the Years of this Period to be 1307, and some

Copies

(a) Numb. xiii. 32, 33. (b) Deut. iii. 11. (c) 1 Sam. xvii. 4. (d) Genes. vi. 3. (e) Genes. vi. 5, 11, 12. (f) Rom. i. 21, 23. (g) Genes. viii. 21. (h) Josh. xxiv. 2, 15. (i) De Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 9, 10. (k) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 151, — 153, and p. 258, — 264. (l) Phœnician Hist. near the Beginning. (m) Genes. v. 1, — 28. (n) Genes. vii. 6. (o) Seder Olam Rabba ab initio. (p) Spanhemii hist. Eccl. Col. 271.

Copies 1327. But we are to follow the *Hebrew Text*, as the Original, which always agrees to it self, being indicted by the Spirit of God, and not Translations, when they contradict the Text.

These Patriarchs had a long Time in the World; *Adam* lived 930 Years, *Seth* 912, *Enos* 905, *Cainan* 910, *Mabalaleel* 895, *Jared* 962, *Enoch* 365 Years, and was translated, as hath been already observed, *Methuselah* 969, *Lamech* 777 (a) and *Noah* lived 950 Years (b), whereof 600 before the Flood, and 350 after it. We are not to think that they had no Children before those mentioned (c), in whom the Church and the promised Seed was continued; they might have had Sons and Daughters before those, as well as after them. As to the Causes of their long Life, *Josephus* says, *That these Men being pretious in God's Sight, being lately created by him, living upon the most wholesome Food, prolonged their Time so long; and as a Reward of their Virtue, for the more accurate and certain Use and Experience of Astrology and Geometry, which Arts they had invented, God gave them so long Lives* (d). But if a Life of so great Length had been given to Men as a Reward of their Piety and Vertue, why not to *David*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, and other religious Persons, as well as to these Patriarchs? And whatever may be said of natural Causes, as the Earth's being then more fruitful, the Products thereof more strengthning, the Air more healthful, and the Influences more benign; yet I rather chuse to resolve the Cause of this Dispensation into the Power (e) and Providence of God. He prolonged the Lives of these Ante-diluvians for the more speedy replenishing the Earth, and for the more effectual Preservation of the Knowledge of God and Religion in an Age wherein there was no written Word. All these Patriarchs before *Noah* were born before *Adam* died; so as from him they might receive a full and satisfactory Account of the Creation, of Paradise, of the State of Innocence, the Fall from it, the first Promise of Salvation, with those divine Precepts which concerned religious Worship and a holy Life: And after *Adam's* Death, *Noah* and *Shem* might learn all this from *Methuselah* and others, who had conversed with him. To render the Longevity of the Patriarchs more probable, some Authors (f) have given large Catalogues of long Livers in modern Times; as the Countess of *Desmond*, who lived to 190 Years; *Thomas Parre* in *Alderbury*, who lived to 150; *John of Times*, Knight, and Armour-bearer to *Charles* the Great, who is said to have lived to 360, and many others. But whether these Instances be true or false, they are no way parallel to the Case of the Patriarchs, whose long Life was not a Burden, as it is now: But this Event is rather to be ascribed to the Care of Almighty God, to preserve in his Church the Knowledge of his Will, and the Purity of his Worship. Nor are we to diminish the Time of the Ante-diluvians, by supposing that their Years were lunar, or that they consisted of only two, three or four Months. *Diodorus Siculus* (g) indeed tells us, that the *Egyptian* Year consisted sometimes of a few Months; and *Plutarch* (h) owns, that it consisted sometimes but of one Month. At this rate, the Patriarchs might begin to beget Children at seven or eight Years of Age; which is incredible. Besides, 'tis evident from sacred Scripture, that the *Jewish* Year consisted of twelve Months, and each Month had above twenty Days; for we read of the twenty fifth Day of the twelfth Month (i), and of the seven and twentieth Day of the Month (k): And if we compare *Gen. vii. 11, 24*, with *Gen. viii. 4*, we may observe, that in five Months there were a hundred and fifty Days; which makes thirty Days for each of these Months. To measure the Years of the Life of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, or others mentioned in Scripture, by a few Months, would make them to live shorter than Men do at present; which is not to be allowed, since the Scripture gives no Ground for it: But we are to reckon that the Patriarchs, who understood the Times and Seasons, reckoned full Years, or near full; for to do otherwise, would be to confound sacred Chronology.

Some learned Men, as *John Morinus* among the *Papists*, and of the *Protestants* *Lewis Capel*, *Isaac Vossius*, and *Brian Walton* (l), who published the *English Polyglott Bible*, a great and useful Work, contend, that in calculating this Period, we ought to follow the Computation of the *Septuagint*: But we affirm that the *Hebrew Text* is the Standard and Rule for reckoning the Years of the patriarchal Age; which we prove by these Reasons. First, The *Hebrew Text* is the Original, in which the Spirit of God indicted the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, and consequently authentick; which ought to be trusted rather than any Streams derived from thence, or any Translations made by Men liable to Error, such as the *Seventy Interpreters* were. For this Original the Church hath watched with great Care in all Ages: The *Jews*, to whom were committed the oracles of God (m), use their greatest Diligence to preserve it pure and entire. Hence, in so great a Course of Years as have passed since the first writing thereof, (as *Josephus* (n) observes) no Person durst either add, take away, nor misplace any thing therein.

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Indeed

(a) *Genes. v. 5 — 31.* (b) *Genes. ix. 29.* (c) *Genes. v.* (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 11.* (e) *Henry on Genes. v.* (f) *Heideg. Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 1. p. 359, & seqq.* *Rawleigh's Hist. of the World, P. I. p. 66.* *Turner's Wonders of Nature, p. 30.* *Dr. Patrick on Genes. v. 5.* (g) *Diod. Sicul. lib. 1. cap. 26.* (h) *Plutarchus in Numa.* (i) *Jerem. lii. 31.* (k) *Genes. viii. 14.* (l) *Vid. Capelli Chronol. S. apud Walton. Prolegomenis, p. 2 — 6, & Walton. Proleg. 9. p. 346 & seqq.* (m) *Rom. iii. 2.* (n) *Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 1. p. 1037. ab init. in edit. Colon. 1691.*

Indeed to this Day they take the greatest Pains in transcribing it ; and the *Maforeths* number the very Letters. Besides, God seems by his Promise to have engaged his Providence to preserve this Fountain pure and entire : *One jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the law* (a). Secondly, There is no Cause nor Occasion can be justly offered for corrupting the *Hebrew* Text, but many may be shewn for Vitiations in the *Septuagint*. These *Alexandrian* Interpreters might have committed Errors in the Chronology of the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian Patriarchs, to please the *Egyptians*, and to make the Age of these Antients more conform to the long *Dynasties* of the Kings of that Country. There are many different Readings of the *Septuagint*, even in the present Affair ; but in the *Hebrew* all Copies agree. Of the *Septuagint* there were many different Versions, of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, (of which I shall discourse in another Part of this History) all which *Origen* collected in his *Hexapla*, and many different Copies which disagree among themselves. Besides, there are many Errors, Mistakes and wrong Translations in the *Septuagint* ; of which the learned *Daniel Chamier* (b) hath made a considerable Collection : And the very learned Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made many Observations (c), whereby it appears how corrupt that Version is ; which the learned Men who stand for that Version have never to this Day answered. And to all this I may add, that the most ancient Versions, as the *Chaldee* Paraphrast of *Onkelos*, the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and even the vulgar *Latin* (d), which the Church of *Rome* declare for, follow the *Hebrew* Text in the Numbers of this Period. Thirdly, If we go into the Numbers of the *Septuagint* in the Lives of the Patriarchs, we disturb and overturn all Chronology. For according to the *Hebrew* Text, before the Flood there are only 1656 Years, and from the Flood to the calling of *Abraham* into *Canaan* are only 427 Years, according to the largest Calculation, (we reckon fewer afterwards :) But by the *Septuagint* Version, there are before the Flood 2262 Years, and after the Flood to the calling of *Abraham* 1172 Years. Here is an Addition of 1351 Years beyond what learned Men either of old or of late could discover, either by Eclipses or any astronomical Observations, and of which we have no History, sacred or prophane, except only in the Imagination of the Authors of the *Septuagint*, and its Advocates, in opposition to the *Hebrew* Text. Fourthly, To call the Authority of the *Hebrew* into question where no various Reading is pretended, may be of very dangerous Consequence, either to lead many to return to the *Romish* Church, as the supreme Judge of Controversies, or others to Scepticism and Atheism. Fifthly, There is another Argument against the Authority of the *Septuagint*, that had great Weight with *Augustin* (e) and *Jerom* (f), to reject the Calculation thereof in the Age of the ante-diluvian Patriarchs, and to cleave to that of the *Hebrew* Text : And this is taken from the Age of *Methuselah* ; who, even according to the *Septuagint* (g), lived 969 Years : But the particulars do not agree with the general Sum ; for *Methuselah*, by that Version, lived 167 Years, and begat *Lamech* ; *Lamech* lived 188 Years, and begat *Noah* ; and in the 600th Year of *Noah*'s Life, the Flood came, and drowned the World : Consequently *Methuselah* was 955 Years old at the Flood ; how could he then live 969, and yet neither be destroyed by the Flood, nor preserved in the Ark ? Or if he was destroyed by the Deluge, how lived he 969 Years, while 14 Years are wanting of that Sum when the World was deluged ? Those who stand for the Numbers of the Seventy may untie this Knot, which, so far as I see, may pinch them to this very Day. Nor have they any other Way to loose it, than by owning an Error in their favourite Version, or flying to different Readings. But by the Calculation of the *Hebrew* Text there is no such Difficulty : For there *Methuselah* lived 187 Years, and begat *Lamech* ; *Lamech* lived 182 Years, and begat *Noah* ; and in the 600th Year of *Noah*, the Flood came ; here are just 969 Years to *Methuselah* : So that according to the *Hebrew* Text, which always agrees with it self, he died that very Year when the universal Flood came upon the World. The Objections of the Learned on the other side of the Question are of no great Weight : For the Years when Men are capable to beget Children do not necessarily bear a Proportion to the fourth or fifth Part of their Life ; nor is it evident that the Patriarchs had no Children before those in whom the Church was continued, recorded in the fifth Chapter of *Genesis*. The Authority of *Josephus* is of no great Force : For he seems not to have drawn many Parts of the sacred History in his *Antiquities*, from the Fountain of the *Hebrew* Text, but rather from the Streams of the *Greek* Version ; nor do his particular Years in Chronology very well agree with his general Sums, as hath been demonstrated by *Heidegger* (h) and others ; to whom, and to our learned Countryman Mr. *Bailie* (i), I remit those who desire to make further Enquiries into this Matter, and proceed to

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(a) Matth. v. 18. (b) *Panstratia Catholica*, lib. 13. p. 468, — 493. (c) *Lightfooti Opera*, Tom. 2. p. m. 932, — 940. & opera posthuma, p. 1, — 26. edit. Ultrajecti 1699. (d) Vide *Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Exerc. 13.* (e) *August. de civitate Dei*, lib. 15. cap. 11. (f) *Hieronymi quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, operum Tom. 4. fol. m. 92. (g) *Vid. Septuaginta juxta exemplar Vaticanum in Gen. v. 27, 28.* (h) *Heidegg. hist. Patriarcharum exerc. 13. § 16.* (i) *In opere hist. & chronologico*, p. 7, — 13.

P E R I O D II.

From the Flood in the Days of Noah, to the Promise made to Abraham,
Genel. xv. 13.

Containing the Space of 370 Years.

THE Wickedness of Man having become very great, God said, *I will destroy from the face of the earth, both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air* — (a). The original Word rendred to *destroy*, signifies to *wipe*, as Dirt is wiped from a Place that should be clean; God by his destroying Judgments would wipe off these wicked Men from the Earth, as filthy Spots unworthy to tread on his Ground. In this consuming Calamity Noah was distinguished by a particular Mark of Favour, *Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.* — *He was a just man, and perfect in his generations; and walked with God* (b). Perhaps he was not so acceptable to the Men of that wicked Age; for he prophesied against them, and reproved them for their Sin (c): But God put Honour upon him, because of his singular Piety and Holiness, whereby he shined as a Light in the World, in the midst of a crooked and perverse Generation, walking with God, as *Enoch* had done before him. God could have consumed all Mankind by a flaming Sword turning every way, or by the Sword of an Angel, as he did to the first-born of the *Egyptians*, and to the Army of the *Assyrians*; and then there needed no more, than to set a Mark on *Noah* and his Family for their Preservation: But he chose to execute this Judgment by a Flood of Waters (d); the Reasons to be sure were wise and just, though unknown to us; the Lord hath many Arrows in his Quiver, and he uses which he pleaseth.

But before God brought on this Stroke on the World, he established his Covenant with *Noah* (e). He brings him within the Covenant of Grace, as the Fountain of distinguishing Favours, assuring him, that he would be to him a God; and that out of his Seed he would take to himself a People; that he would continue his kind Providence towards them, to preserve him and his Sons, his Wife, and his Sons Wives. In order to this end *Noah* is commanded, *Make thee an ark of gopher-wood: rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof: with lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it.* — *And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee: they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind: two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. Thus did Noah: according to all that God commanded him, so did he* (f). Many learned Men have wrote large Dissertations concerning the Ark (g). My intended Brevity obliges me to comprehend what I shall offer in as few Words as I can. The Ark was made of *Gopher-wood*, which Mr. *Fuller* (h) conjectures to be the same with the *Cypress*; for he observes, that take away the Termination from the Greek Word *κυνδρυσσος*, and there will remain *κυνδρ*, which has all the radical Letters of *Gopher*. That this is a lasting and durable Wood, not apt to breed Worms, nor to rot; hence *Bochart* takes notice (i), that in the second Book of *Thucydides*, there is mention made of *λάρνακες κυνδρίσσιναι*, *Cypress Arks*, or *Coffins*, in which they buried those who died in the Wars for their Country, because that Timber did not soon consume. The *Cypress* is also fit for Shipping: *Babylonia* and the neighbouring Parts did abound with it (k); and therefore the Fleet of *Alexander the Great* built at *Babylon*, was all of it; as we learn from *Arrian* (l). Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (m) conceives it very probable, that the Ark might be made of Cedar, because that Timber is easy to cut, light to carry, of a sweet Smell, not subject to mouldring or rotting for a long Time; it is of great Length, and therefore fit for Shipping, for it will serve for all the Parts of a Vessel, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards, and Plenty thereof grows not only in *Libanus*, but in all the Mountains of the East,

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(a) Genel. vi. 7. (b) Genel. vi. 8, 9. (c) 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. (d) Genel. vi. 17. (e) Genel. vi. 18. (f) Genel. vi. 14, — 21. (g) Buteo de Arca Noæ. Heidegg. hist. Patriarch. exercit. 17. Poli Critica. Saurin's Dissertation 8. Dr. Wells's Geograph. of the Old Test. Vol. 1. Chap. 2. Sp. Wilkins's Real Charact. &c. (h) Miscellanea sacr. lib. 4. cap. 5. (i) Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 25. (k) Dr. Wells's Geograph. of the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 67, 68. (l) Arrian de Expedir. Alexandri, lib. 7. p. 761. (m) Rawleigh's Hist. Part 1. p. 3.

particularly in these where the Ark rested. But after all, the Word *Gopher* being of the *ἀπαξ λεγομένων*, that but once occurs in Scripture, we need not be peremptory about the Nature of the Timber; it is certain that *Noah* obeyed the Command of God; *according to all the Lord commanded, so did he*. Nor need we determine the Time spent in building the Ark; it is plain that God gave *Noah* Warning of the approaching Calamity, 120 Years before it came to pass (a): During which Time, he exhorted that Generation to turn from their wicked Ways, and God with great Long-suffering waited upon them; but that for all that Time *Noah* was building the Ark, is not said: And in Matters of this kind where the Scripture doth not determine, we need not be peremptory.

We have a more certain Account of the Dimensions of the Ark; for *Moses* records, that by the Command of God it was 300 Cubits in Length, 50 in Breadth, and 30 in Height or Depth. By which Proportion it had six Parts of Length, to one of Breadth, and ten Times in Length, to one of Depth. Of which *St. Augustin* says, *It is the Figure of the City of God, as a Stranger in this World saved by the Cross; whereon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, did hang; for the very Proportion of the Length, Height and Breadth, answereth that of a Man's Body, in which our Lord truly came to us; for the Length of a humane Body, from the Crown of his Head, to the Sole of his Foot, is Six-fold to his Breadth, from one Side to another, and Ten-fold to his Depth, from Back to Belly* (b). But if we consider the Dimensions of the Ark, with respect to the Creatures and their Provisions it was to contain, we will find it well fitted for the Purposes for which it was intended; for the Length, 300 Cubits, being multiplied by the Breadth, 50 Cubits, and the Product by the Height, 30 Cubits, shows the whole Content to have been 450,000 Cubits. Now if we take this for the common Cubit of a Foot and a Half, or 18 Inches in Length; by which sort of Cubit, the Bed of *Og King of Bashan* (c); the Stature of *Goliath* (d); the Measure of the Altar, and most other Things in Scripture are to be computed, then we shall find the Ark to have been 450 Foot in Length, 75 Foot in Breadth, and 45 Foot in Depth, which Proportions being multiplied one into another, do show that the Ark contained 1,518,750 cubical Feet: Hence *M. Peletier* (e) reckons that it did contain 42,413 Ton, so that it must be larger than forty Ships of a 1000 Ton each. It appears from the sacred Text that this Ark had three Stories; and the whole Height being 30 Cubits, or 45 Foot, if this be equally divided among the three Stories, then each of them will be 10 Cubits, or 15 Foot high, only deducing one Cubit, or a Foot and a Half for the Slop of the Roof, or Cover of the upper Story. It is also probable, that the lowest Story was allotted to four-footed Animals, as most commodious for them; the middle Story for their Provender, or what they were to live upon; and the upper Story partly to Birds, and what they were to eat; and partly to *Noah* and his Family, with his Utensils and Plenishing. Now each Story had Room enough to receive what was to be put therein; for it was not needful to preserve these Creatures in the Ark, that could live in the Waters, or Fowls which sit or swim on them: And in a Ship of this Bulk, there may be Room enough found for eighty nine distinct Species of Beasts, which are all that need to be preserved, or, lest any should be omitted, for one hundred several kinds in one Story, Meat for them in the second; and for Birds which are far less in Bulk, and also for *Noah's* Family in the third. There are three sorts of Beasts whose Bodies are best known, the Cow, the Sheep and the Wolf; to which the rest may be reduced: For one Elephant may take up as much Room as four Cows, one Lyon as two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of the clean Creatures there were three kinds, the Beeve, the Sheep and the Goat; these entred by sevens into the Ark (f); two Couple for preserving Breed, one Couple for Food; and a single one for Sacrifice. Thanks be to God that there are not Herds of Lions, as of Oxen, nor Flocks of Tygers, as of Sheep: The most innocent and useful Creatures are the most numerous. Of the unclean Beasts these entred by two, the Male and his Female. All these when inclosed, would not in all make up three hundred Beasts; many of them were of little Size; all of them were idle, and constantly under Horror and Amazement, which would make them take less Room, and eat less Food than at another Time: But granting that they did take an ordinary Allowance, and that the carnivorous Creatures fed on Sheep, there was Room enough for all of them, and their Provisions for a whole Year's Time within the Ark, as is more fully demonstrated by the Author's above cited. This Ark was to be pitched within and without with Pitch, which some suppose to be a kind of Bitumen, whereof there is a great Quantity in the Lake of *Sodom*, and also in the Region of *Babylon*; and it hath this Quality, that it melts not with the Sun, but with the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax. The Ark was furnished with a Door in the Side thereof, and a Window, or one collectively, may be put for more Windows, to give Light, and to let in the Air. So that in short, if one had consulted the most able Mathematician to adjust the

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(a) Genes. vi. 3. (b) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 15. cap. 26. (c) Deut. iii. 11. (d) 1 Sam. xvii. 4. (e) apud Saurin. Dissert. on the Old Testam. Vol. 1. p. 50. (f) Genes. vii. 2.

Proportions of the Ark; for the Uses to which it was intended, it could not have been made with greater Exactness, than in the Idea *Moses* hath given thereof: So little Ground is there for the Cavils of wanton Wits on this Head.

§ 2. In the *six hundred year of Noab's life*; he having by divine Appointment shut himself up within the Ark, with all the Creatures necessary for replenishing the Earth; *on the seventeenth day of the second month*, divine Vengeance began to appear against the Wickedness of that Age; *for then the fountains of the great deep were broken up; and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights (a)*. This Judgment could not be but then very great, for the World having continued since the Creation sixteen Centuries was well stocked with People. Even the learned Dr. *Thomas Burnet (b)* owns this, by reckoning that if we allow them to increase in a quadruple Proportion; that is to say, in the first Century 10, in the second 40, and so forward; then in the sixteenth Century, there will be 10,737,418,240 People on the Earth; and I doubt not but there might be many more, and other Animals might multiply in Proportion; so as by this Calculation when this Destruction happened, the World would be rather more fully replenished than it is at present. To sweep off all these at once, except eight Persons; and the Beasts preserved in the Ark, would be a terrible Calamity. Our Saviour tells us, *They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entred into the ark: and the flood came and destroyed them all (c)*. They were drowned in Security and Sensuality, before they were drowned in these Waters. In vain might they try Means for their Preservation; the Tops of the Hills, the tallest Trees, nor the loftiest Mountains could give them no Relief. *Noah* himself could not help them; they had refused his Exhortations, and would take none of his Counsel: Now God had shut the Door of the Ark, and it could not be opened; so will it be at the great Day, they who are not found in Christ, the true Ark of our Salvation, will certainly be undone for ever.

The Judgment will appear to be greater, if we consider it as universal; which is affirmed by the inspired Historian: *The waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth: and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; and every man. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. — Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark (d)*. All Nations have believed it: Their antient Histories, even those that are lost, make mention of it; as may be seen in the Fragments cited by *Eusebius (e)* and *Josephus (f)*. *Martinus* relates the same of the *Chinese*; *Josephus Acosta*, *Herera* and *De Laet (g)*, of the *Americans*; and *Lucian (h)* tells the same of the Deluge at *Hierapolis* in *Syria*; where he blends the *Mosaic* Account with Fables. Late Observations have given also a Demonstration thereof: The Beds of Shells which are often found in the Tops of the highest Mountains, petrified Bones and Teeth of Fishes which are found hundreds of Miles from the Sea, and Trees buried many Fathoms under Ground, are very clear Evidences that the Waters have some time or other overflowed the highest Part of the Earth; which was the Deluge we contend for. It cannot be said with any Probability, that all these subterraneous Bodies are only the mimical and mock Productions of Nature: For the nicest Examination, either by the Eye or by the Microscope, do attest that they are real Shells: And it may be experimented that they are real Bones, by burning them; for they'll first turn into a Coal, and afterwards into a Calx, as other Bones do.

Notwithstanding these things are so evident, it hath been objected, That there is not Water enough in the World to reach up to the Top of the highest Mountains, some of which are at present three Miles of perpendicular Height, and at the time of *Moses* might be much more; a considerable Part being washed down by the Rains since: Now, where shall we find Water to cover the Earth above three Miles high quite round? *Moses* tells us only, *That the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights (i)*. But by Rains for forty Days and forty Nights the Water would not rise above 160 Foot above the Ground (k); which could never cover the Tops of Mountains. Nor is there Water enough in the Sea to produce this Effect: For the Sea, take one Place of it with another, is scarce a Quarter of a Mile deep; though in some Parts it may be half a Mile; yet towards the Shore 'tis but three or four Fathoms. Now, if this were all pumped out of the Sea, and kept by a Miracle stagnating upon the Earth; it would cover the whole Earth no deeper than a Quarter of a Mile, and there would want two Miles three Quarters of the Height which *Moses* assigns, upon supposition that the Earth and the Sea are of equal Extent: But to raise it to the Top of the highest

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(a) Genes. vii. 11, 12. (b) Burnet's Theory of the Earth, p. 23. edit. 1684. (c) Luke xvii. 26, 27. (d) Genes. vii. 19, — 24. (e) Eusebius de Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 7, 8, 12. See Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 170, 171. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. & contra Appion. lib. 1. (g) See Nichol's Conference with a Theist, Part 2. p. 199. (h) Lucian de Dea Syra. (i) Genes. vii. 11, 12. (k) Burnet's Theory of the Earth, p. 13, & seqq.

Mountains, would take twelve Quarters of Miles deep in Water, that is twelve Oceans to be laid on the Sea, and twelve Oceans on the Land.

These Difficulties have been apprehended so great, that some ingenious Gentlemen (a) have of late contrived several new Hypotheses to solve them; which have been with abundance of mathematical Learning answered by others (b). Yet these new Schemes are a good Argument against Infidels, because they shew the Possibility of a Deluge to be effectuated by the Hand of Omnipotence; which is, without doubt, absolutely necessary to accomplish it. The Sum of Dr. Burnet's Hypothesis is, That the ante-diluvian Earth was in a direct Line under the Circle that is above the Sun; that its Situation was parallel to the *Ecliptic* and to the *Zodiac*; that every Country enjoyed a perpetual Spring, till the Deluge altered that Situation; and brought the Earth into a Line oblique with the Sun, which causes the Diversity of Seasons; that the said ante-diluvian Earth was as a Globe, the Surface whereof was uniform, having neither Mountains, Precipices nor Caverns, Ponds, Lakes, Rivers nor Seas, except some drilling Streams from the Poles: All the Waters in Nature were shut up in the Bowels of the Earth, as in a thick and smooth Crust, which was broken and shivered by an Act of divine Vengeance that had decreed to destroy Mankind by a Flood, whereby these inclosed Waters gushed out with Impetuosity, and overspread all Parts. The Doctor's Book is writ in a lofty and plausible Style, with a good deal of Learning, so as to captivate the Incautious, and make him apt to swallow down that for Truth, which I am apt to think, from the Author's Character, he designed only for a philosophical Romance. But there are many things in this Hypothesis which do ly very contrary, not only to Scripture, but even to the mechanical Laws of Nature the Author goes by. Moses, in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, describes the same Form of the Earth which we now have. Our Redeemer, the eternal Wisdom of God, speaks thus: *I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth: when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled; before the hills was I brought forth (c)*; importing, That the Mountains, the Hills, the Depths, and the Fountains abounding with Water, were from the Beginning of Time; but our Redeemer was before any of these, and therefore from Eternity. Besides, how comes the Theorist to exclude the annual Motion of the Earth, and its Motion of Parallelism to the Poles, from his new World, allowing it only a Motion round an Axis parallel to the Poles of the *Ecliptic*; and consequently to take away the Vicissitude of Seasons, one of the greatest Beauties of this Earth, leaving the greater Part of it uninhabitable? How inconsistent is this with, *God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven: — and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years (d)*? With as little Reason he excludes from his primitive Earth the Seas, Hills and great Rivers, allowing only some Streams flowing from the Poles, and sinking towards the torrid Zone (e); which he makes uninhabitable. By this means the World without the Sea would be a sort of Prison, where Men would be locked up, without Intercourse, without Arts or any useful Invention. Without Hills Men would be bereaved of the Ornament and Convenience of Metals, Minerals and Stones; would want Money, domestick Utensils, and Quarries for Building: Nay without Hills to drain off Mists and Rains, and Seas to evaporate the Mists and Rains, 'tis unaccountable how there should be such a Thing as a River in the World. And I suppose the easy Descent of Rivers upon the Declivity of a smooth Oval as big as the Earth, is not agreeable to the Laws of Hydrostaticks, and the usual Current of Waters. How comes then the Theorist to call the present Earth a *disfigured Mass (f)*, when none but our glorious God could have framed a Work wherein so great Wisdom appears? as hath been already (g) observed. Nor is that Part of the Theorist's Notion less difficult to conceive than the rest; how a Crust, of so vast a Thickness as that of the Earth must be, should be broken by any natural Force, especially when it is equally supported by the subterraneous Waters. As to any Fissures or Cracks by the Heat of the Sun, they are demonstrated in the hottest Countries not to go many Yards into the Ground: And every Ditcher can tell, that the Heat of the Sun-beams does not go so many Inches under Ground, as this Hypothesis must suppose Miles. Nor does the Regularity of Mountains answer the accidental Fragments of such a Crust.

Moreover, there may be an easier Way of accounting for the want of a sufficient Quantity of Water in the Sea, and in the Rain of forty Days, to raise the Flood fifteen Cubits, or seven Yards and a half, above the highest Hills, than either by Dr. Burnet's Theory, or Mr. Whiston's Trajection of a Comet. To explain this, I may use some of the Words of Dr. Nichols. *There is a vast Quantity of Waters under Ground, and an Abyss within the outward Crust of the Earth; as I think evident to any who considers, that in many Places the Sea disgorges it self into the Bowels of the Earth, and does not pass off by any out Current. The Mediterranean*

(a) Dr. Thomas Burnet, Dr. Woodward, Mr. Whiston. (b) Keil's Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory, with Remarks on Mr. Whiston; Dr. Nichol's Conference with a Theist, Part 2. and others. (c) Prov. viii. 23 — 26. (d) Genes. i. 5. (e) Burnet's Theory, Part 2. Ch. 5. p. 231. (f) Burnet's Theory, p. m. 156. (g) Above, p. 4. & seqq.

diterranean Sea is a sufficient Instance of this : For considering how many and how vast Rivers run into it, and it having no visible Out-let ; what should become of the Waters ? Nay considering there are two Currents of the Sea into it, one at the Streights of Gibraltar, and another vastly strong from the Pontus Euxinus, against which Ships do with Difficulty bear up ; it must be allowed that the Sea does empty it self by subterranean Passages into some great Receptacle of Waters underneath : For otherwise, many Ages ago the Mediterranean had overflowed and drowned several Countries on the adjacent Shores. Nay the fathomless Bottoms there, which some have tried in vain with so much Cordage to reach, is a most evident Proof of the Truth of this Assertion : And the same holds likewise in the Caspian Sea. And I think there is little doubt to be made but those dangerous Gulphs and Eddies which the Sailors shun in many Parts of the Seas, are only great Holes or subterranean Passages through which the upper Sea is gulphing down into the Abyss beneath. Now, if there be such a great Receptacle of Waters below the Earth, then the Earth must be hollow, and only a superior Crust concluding within it an Abyss of Waters. — Now, suppose the Diameter of the Earth or terraqueous Globe to be, as it is, eight thousand Miles or thereby, and the Thickness of the Crust to be a thirty second Part, then the Crust will be two hundred and fifty Miles thick, which will be Solidity enough to contain the internal Waters, to resist the chapping from the Sun, and to keep a Consistency in all the rapid Motion of the Earth. Or, let it be an eight Part, then the Earth's Crust will be five hundred Miles thick, which to be sure is abundantly sufficient. Now upon either of these two Suppositions, there will be Water enough, when drawn out on the Surface of the Earth, to drown the World to a far greater Height than what Moses relates. Now it is but supposing that God by a miraculous Power sucked out of the Abyss by proper Passages, as much Water as was sufficient to drown the World to the Height Moses assigns ; and after this was done, and the suspending Force taken off, the Waters descending by the same Passages, left the Earth dry as it was before (a). This is at least a possible Account of the Deluge ; nor is it unreasonable to suppose a miraculous Power in causing this universal Flood : For if it came to pass by natural Causes, there must have been a Deluge, whether the ante-diluvian World were so wicked or no ; though they had repented upon Noah's Instructions, they could not have escaped this Calamity. It is then plain that the Deluge did not depend upon natural and necessary Causes, but upon the holy providential Power of God over-ruling the Power of Nature, that might either bring the Flood upon the World, or withhold it according to his good Pleasure and Wisdom, or as the Deserts of Mankind did require. The same learned Author explains the Possibility of a Deluge thus, *It is most generally among the best Philosophers agreed, that the Moon is the Cause of the Tides ; and that the nigher she is to the Sea at the Time of her Southing, she raises the Water higher, by the Attraction of it towards her. So that if by the supernatural Power of God the Moon were brought very near to the Earth, or the Earth to the Moon, such a vast Tide might be raised, upon Supposition that there is a Communication between the Abyss and the upper Seas, as the World should be drowned to the Height that Moses assigns. A Rain of forty Days having made a Land-flood sufficient to bear up the Ark ; the Torrent of the Abyss would carry it without Danger to a greater Height. Nor are we to suppose that there was only forty Days Rain ; for it is probable that it rained till the Waters began to dry ; the Sea being as large again as formerly, must supply a greater Quantity of Vapours than could be suspended in the Air, and therefore must fall down in frequent Spouts or Rains. This is a possible Account of the Deluge, and a sufficient Confutation of those who deny it as an Impossibility (b).* I may add, that the learned Sir Walter Rawleigh (c), who wrote before these Theorists were born, and many hundred Years before him Seneca (d), do explain the Deluge much the same Way as we have done. Upon the whole then, we have no Ground to doubt of the Truth or Possibility of Moses's Account, that when the fountains of the great deep, or Abyss, were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, the World was deluged. And though we should not be able to conceive how the Waters prevailed so high, we must not imagine another Shape of this Earth than what God in infinite Wisdom did frame.

§ 3. NOAH remained in the Ark the Space of one whole solar Year ; for upon the Death of Methuselah, God commanded Noah in the second Month and tenth Day, (which some (e) compute to be our 30th of November,) in the Year of the World 1656, to go into the Ark, and to receive thither all living Creatures, which came by Direction of Providence in seven Days. On the 17th Day of the second Month, in the 600th Year of Noah's Life, the Flood began, by the Fountains of the great Deep being broken up, and the Windows of Heaven being opened (f). And in the 601st Year of Noah's Life, the 27th Day of the second Month, was the Earth dried, and Noah came out of the Ark (g). We have also several Particulars of this Year on Record ; 150 Days the Waters prevailed ; that is, five Months, allowing 30 Days to each Month, and at the End of the 150 Days the Waters abated

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(a) Conference with a Theist, Part 2. p. 203, — 206. (b) Conference with a Theist, Part 2. p. 214, — 218. (c) Rawleigh's Hist. of the World, Part 1. p. 90. (d) Senec. Natural. Question. lib. 3. cap. 27, 30. (e) Saurin's Dissertations, Vol. 1. p. 62. (f) Genes. vii. 1, — 11. (g) Genes. viii. 13, — 16.

bated (a). And on the seventh Month, the 17th Day of the Month; the Ark rested on the Mountains of *Ararat* (b); that is, about the 6th of our *May*, the Waters decreased continually, till the 1st Day of the tenth Month; that is, about the 20th of our *July*, were the Tops of the Mountains seen (c). At the End of 40 Days; that is, about *August* 28th, *Noah* opened the Windows of the Ark, and sent out the Raven (d); then he sent forth a Dove, which returned the same Day. After 7 Days more, he again sent forth the Dove, about our 10th of *September*; which returned with an Olive-leaf pluck'd off (e). After other 7 Days, *September* 17th, he again sent forth the Dove, which returned not to him (f). In the 1st Day of the first Month; that is New-year's Day, *Noah* removed the Covering off the Ark, and behold the Face of the Ground was dry; and on the 27th Day of the second Month of this new Year, at God's Command who had shut him in, *Noah* came out of the Ark, and all that were with him, safe and in good Condition (g); after they had been inclosed there one lunar Year, and 11 Days, or one whole solar Year.

§ 4. The Ark rested on the Mountains of *Ararat*. It hath been questioned by the learned where these Mountains are: The *Sibylline* Verses say, that they lay in *Phrygia*; but we are not to believe it, more than what is said in another Part of these pretended Oracles, that the *Sibyl* was *Noah's* Daughter-in-law. The learned *Bochart*, who hath pointed out this Mistake, hath also discovered the Ground thereof (h); namely, that there is in *Phrygia* a City called *Apamea*, *απαμεια*, which is the same Greek Word that the Seventy Interpreters use to denote the Ark of *Noah*, though that Surname might be imposed upon that City, because it was inclosed in the Shape of an Ark, by three Rivers that surround it. But the more common Opinion is, that *Ararat* where the Ark rested lies in *Armenia*, a great Country near *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, mentioned in several other Texts of sacred Scripture (i). The *Chaldee* Paraphrast calls these Mountains by the Name of *Kardu*. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (k) is of Opinion, that the Mountain where the Ark rested lay more to the East than *Armenia*, because it is said, *As they journeyed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there* (l). From which he infers, that *Nimrod* and all that were with him, came from the East unto *Shinar* or *Babylonia*; and therefore the Ark of *Noah* rested, and took the Land to the East thereof. I humbly conceive it is not easy now, nor perhaps very necessary to determine in what precise Hill the Ark rested; it is sufficient that it was on a Hill called by *Moses* *Ararat*, which seems to have been situated on some Part of that vast Ridge of Mountains that lies to the North-east of *Assyria*. The Enemies of our Religion have no Ground to object that such a Vessel as the Ark must draw above fifteen Cubits of Water, and therefore could not get up to the Top of one of the highest Mountains, which had no more than fifteen Cubits Water on the Top of them. For we do not affirm that the Mountain *Ararat* is one of the highest in the World; nor that the Ark was stopped upon one of its highest Points. Besides, it is not by the Burden of a Vessel, but by the Structure and Form of its Building, that we can judge how much Water it ought to draw; and the Ark being intended not for sailing, but for floating, does prove that it did not need any great Depth of Water to swim in. Nor can it be objected that a laden Vessel cannot carry its Burden, but upon the Water, and that when it is a-ground, its own Weight will burst it; for it is known by the Experience of sea-faring Men, that a Vessel will bear the Weight of its own Loading when it is a-ground, if it be not driven thither by a Storm, or when the Ground is even and sandy, such as we may suppose the Mountain *Ararat* after the Deluge.

§ 5. *NOAH's* first Care after his Deliverance was, to return Thanks to his Deliverer. If ever the Sense of Gratitude and Fear produced a sincere Homage, it was upon this Occasion; for he had so many Objects representing the Ruins of an overturned World by the divine Vengeance, and also of the divine Mercy sparing himself and his Family, as could not but move him. *He built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour* (m). He had taken in to the Ark of every clean Beast and of Fowls by Sevens (n). And though he had so small a Number to begin the World with, yet, to prove the Sincerity of his Love and Gratitude, he cheerfully gave the seventh to God, as an Acknowledgment that all was his Due, and owing to him. Serving God with our Little, is the Way to make it more: And the first thing *Noah* did in this new World, was to worship God. Here is the first mention we have of an *Altar*; though I shall not affirm that *Adam*, *Abel*, or the other ante-diluvian Patriarchs, had no Altars to represent typically our Redeemer, that was to be lifted up on the Cross: Yet it is sure that *Noah* worshipped in the manner God had appointed; for the Lord graciously accepted of it: He smelled a sweet Savour of Rest, and was well pleased with these hopeful Beginnings. Herein he had Respect not so much to *Noah's* Sacrifice, as to that of our

(a) Genes. vii. 24. viii. 3. (b) Genes. viii. 4. (c) Genes. viii. 5. (d) Genes. viii. 6, 7. (e) Genes. viii. 8, — 11. (f) Genes. viii. 12. (g) Genes. viii. 13. — 16. (h) *Bocharti Phaleg*, lib. 1. cap. 31. (i) 2 Kings xix. 37. *Isaiah* xxxvii. 38. *Jerem.* li. 27. (k) *Hist. of the World*, Part 1. p. 208. (l) Genes. xi. 2. (m) Genes. viii. 20, 21. (n) Genes. vii. 2, 3.

our Redeemer, in whom he was well pleased, as *an offering of a sweet smelling savour* (a). Noab might believe, that the World was restored for the sake of the Redeemer, the promised Seed : Upon his Account he was preserved in the Ark, and had the Hope of a better Life, through him who in the Fulness of Time hath by one Offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

§ 6. THE Faith of these Events concerning the Deluge, is abundantly evident by the Authority of *Moses* the inspired Penman, who was faithful to God who appointed him in all his House ; and might be confirmed by the Testimony of profane Authors, who had some indistinct traditional Knowledge thereof. Of these I shall only name a few. *Apollodorus* tells us : *Jupiter having decreed to drown a Part of the World, Deucalion by the Advice of his Father made an Ark of Wood, with all Provisions necessary for Life, and went into it with his Wife Pyrrha. Jupiter showed down such a prodigious Quantity of Water, that almost all Greece was drowned. All they who dwelt there perished, excepting some few who got up on the highest Mountains, where they sought for Shelter. — Deucalion being carried up on the Water nine Days and so many Nights, landed at Parnassus ; and so soon as the Flood was abated, offered Sacrifices to Jupiter Phyxius ; who sent Mercury to ask him what he wanted : And Deucalion prayed that he might be a Restorer of Mankind* (b). Any body may here see, how applicable the Account that *Moses* gives of the Flood is to this Story. *Ovid* (c) hath the same described in elegant Verse. But learned Authors having produced all that can be advanced on this Subject, I have marked the Places at the Foot of the Page (d), to which I remit the Curious ; and shall offer a Passage or two concerning what some of the learned Heathens called their Great Year, or Revolution of Years ; and here let *Censorinus* speak, saying, *There is moreover a great Year, which Aristotle calls the greatest ; of which Year the great Winter is the Flood, κατακλυσμὸς, which we call the Deluge ; the Summer is the Conflagration, ἐκπύρωσις, the burning of the World : For by Turns in that Time the World, it seems, will be both burnt and drown'd. This great Year when the Sun, the Moon and the Planets, all return to the same very Sign in which they once were, Aristarchus thinks will consist of 2484 Years ; Arctes Dyrachinus, of 5552 ; Heraclitus and Linus, of 10,800 ; Dion, of 10,884 ; Orpheus, of 100,020 ; Callander, of 3,600,000 ; and others think it infinite, and that it will never return to the same Point* (e). *Seneca* tells us : *The antient Order shall be recalled ; every Creature shall be new born ; Man shall be free of Evil, brought forth under lucky Stars : But their Integrity will not last, except only while they are new. Wickedness will soon return : Vertue is hard to be found, and requires some noble Teacher ; but Vice is learned without a Master* (f). The learned *Heidegger* (g) does produce more Testimonies on this Head. But though the Heathens had some uncertain traditional or conjectural Knowledge about some great Events, yet they knew nothing of the Time when either the Creation or the Flood was ; which *Censorinus*, a learned Heathen, who wrote about the Year of our Lord 239, when *Ulpian* and *Pontianus* were Consuls, owns, saying, *If the Time of the Origin of the World had come to Mens Knowledge, we would begin our Calculation from thence* (h). He calls the Time from the Creation of the World to the Flood ἀδύνατον (i) ; because they could not comprehend whether it had a Beginning, or always was, or of how many Years it consisted. And *Ptolemy* the Astronomer owns, *To know the Time of the World, or the Observations of manifold Times, we think inconsistent to those who desire to learn or to know the Truth* (k). But what these learned Heathens could not comprehend, it not being manifested to them by the Light of Nature, we can understand by the invaluable Benefit of divine Revelation in the holy Scriptures, where the Characters of these antient Times, and the Years of which each Period consisted, are plainly discovered. To return to the sacred History,

§ 7. GOD sealed the Approbation of *Noab's* Sacrifice by gracious Promises. It may be granted, that after the Deluge the Vapours that exhaled from the vast Number of dead Carcasses poisoned the Air, the Mixture of fresh and salt Waters that had spread over the whole Earth, rendred it less fertile, and served for the full Execution of that Decree pronounced against the first Man, *Cursed is the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life* (l) : Yet the Lord of his great Goodness promised never more to drown the Earth by an universal Deluge, but to keep up a constant Order of Seasons, though the Wickedness of Man should be great : *The Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake ; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth : neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease* (m). The last Verse does intimate, that these Seasons had not been interrupted, but

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(a) Eph. v. 2. (b) Apoll. Bibliotheca lib. 1. (c) Metamorph. lib. 1. fab. 7. (d) Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. Grot. Annot. ad lib. 1. de Veritate relig. § 16. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarcharum Vol. 1. p. 571 — 582. Saurin's Dissert. p. 71 — 73. Above, p. 25. (e) Cens. de die Natali, cap. 18. p. m. 130. (f) Sen. Nat. Quæst. lib. 3. cap. 30. in fine. (g) Hist. Patriarch. Exerc. 19. de Palingenesia mundi ab initio. (h) Cens. cap. 20. p. m. 150. (i) Ibid. cap. 21. p. 154. (k) Ptolem. Μεγάλη συντάξις lib. 3. (l) Genes. iii. 17. (m) Genes. viii. 22, 23.

only during the Deluge; and doth overthrow the Hypothesis of the Theorist, who pretends (a), that before that Time there reigned upon the Earth a perpetual Spring, and that the Succession of Seasons is one of the Effects produced by the Plague of the Flood. This Covenant God sealed with the *Rain-bow* (b). The Seal was natural enough. 'Tis like the Bow might be seen in the Clouds before, when second Causes concurred; but it was never a Seal of the Covenant till now; that it was made so by divine Institution. It appears, when one Part of the Sky is clear, to signify Mercy remembered in the midst of Wrath. 'Tis a Reflexion of the Beams of the Sun; and indeed all the Glory of the Seals of the Covenant is derived from Christ the Sun of Righteousness: And it hath fiery Colours in it, to signify, that though God will not again drown the World with Water; yet when the Mystery of God shall be finished, the World shall be consumed with Fire.

God settled his Covenant of Providence with *Noah* and his Sons; for he said unto them, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. And the fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered* (c). God hath given the Earth to the Children of Men for a Possession and Habitation. Though it be not now a Paradise; but a Wilderness, it is better than what we deserve. He gives them a Blessing, by the Virtue whereof Mankind should be both multiplied and preserved on the Earth, so as in a little Time all the habitable Parts thereof should be more or less replenished. He grants them Power over inferior Creatures; *The fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast*: Which revives a former Grant (d), only with this Difference, that Man in Innocency ruled by Love, fallen Man rules by Fear; yet the Grant is of great Benefit to us. For those Creatures that are any way useful, are reclaimed; and we use them either for Service or Food, or both, as they shall be capable. The Horse and the Ox patiently submit to the Bridle and Yoke. And those Creatures that are any way hurtful to us, are reclaimed: For though now and then Man may be hurt by them, yet they do not combine to rise up in Rebellion against Man; else God by those might as effectually destroy the World as by the Flood. What is it that keeps Wolves out of our Towns, and Lions out of our Streets, but this Fear and Dread? Yea some of them have been tamed (e).

At the same Time God gave *Noah* a Grant of Maintenance and Subsistence of animal Food. *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things* (f). It hath been questioned, whether Man was allowed to feed on Flesh and other animal Food before the Deluge. *Heidegger* (g) hath at great Length maintained the Affirmative. The Arguments for his Cause are, That the Permission to kill and eat Flesh, and other animal Food, is included in the universal Dominion God gave to *Adam* (h); otherwise Man's Dominion had been more extensive after he sinned, than it was before. Wherefore serves Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and the Fowl of the Air, if it be not for Food? 'Tis evident that the ante-diluvian Patriarchs offered Sacrifices; *Abel brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof* (i). Now, *they which minister about holy things, eat also, live of the things of the temple; and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar* (k). When *Adam* and *Eve* were clothed with Coats of Skins (l), how do we know that the Flesh of these Creatures, from which the Skins were taken, was not made Use of for Food? The Distinction of Beasts into clean and unclean, was known before the Flood (m): And the main Reason of that Distinction was, that the clean were allowed for Food and Sacrifice, which the unclean were not. Lastly, in 1656 Years, which ran before the Flood, Beasts and other Creatures would multiply to so great a Number, as to be dangerous rather than profitable to Man, if it had not been allowed to him to kill and eat. If these Arguments hold, the Grant (n) does explain, revive and confirm the former Concession after the Creation (o) to shew the Compassion of God to *Noah* and his Posterity after the Deluge. *Pareus* (p) and *Spanheim* (q) insist upon the same Arguments more briefly. I shall not further go upon this Point, since neither Side of the Question doth nearly touch any Article of Faith; but leave to every one to judge of what is advanced, as they please.

§ 8. As the Lord gave to *Noah* and his Posterity Privileges, so he also gave them Precepts. *But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat. And surely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it; and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man* (r). Man must not do Prejudice to his own Life, by eating that Food which is unwholesome and hurtful. *Flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, that is raw Flesh, shall you not eat,*

(a) Burnet's Theory of the Earth, Book 2. Ch. 1. p. m. 177 — 180. (b) Genes. ix. 12 — 17. (c) Genes. ix. 1, 2. (d) Genes. i. 28. (e) James iii. 7. (f) Genes. ix. 3. (g) Disput. contra Curcellæum, & Hist. Patriarch. Exerc. 15. Vol. 1. p. 390 — 439. & Bocharti Hierozoicon lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 11. (h) Genes. i. 28, 29. (i) Genes. iv. 4. (k) 1 Cor. ix. 13. (l) Genes. iii. 21. (m) Genes. vii. 2, 3. (n) Genes. ix. 3. (o) Genes. i. 28. (p) in Genes. ix. 3. (q) Hist. Eccl. folio, Col. 287. (r) Genes. ix. 4 — 6.

eat, as the Beasts of Prey do. It was necessary to add this Limitation to the Grant of Liberty to eat Flesh, lest People, instead of nourishing their Bodies, should destroy them. Tho' Man was a Lord of the Creatures, he must be restrained by the divine Law. We must not be riotous eaters of flesh, nor barbarous and cruel to inferior Creatures; and especially this declareth, that during the Continuance of the Law of Sacrifices, in which *Blood made Atonement for the Soul* (a), the Blood of the Sacrifices pointed out the Blood of Christ the Messiah, as the Blood of Atonement; and therefore Blood must not be look'd on as a common Thing; must not be eaten, but must be poured out before the Lord. But now the great and true Sacrifice being offered, the Obligation of the Law ceaseth, with the Reason thereof (b): The Law here also enjoins, that Man must not take away his own Life; *your Blood of your Lives will I require*. And to shew how tender God was of the Life of Man; Beasts must not be suffered to hurt him: The Beast that kills a Man must be put to Death; which was confirmed by the Law of *Moses* (c). The Law also here requires, that wilful Murderers be put to Death; God will punish them: *At the Hand of every Man's Brother will I require the Life of Man*. The righteous God will revenge the Blood of the murdered upon the Murderer; he will make Inquisition for Blood, when Men cannot, or do not. In this World, or in the next, he will discover Murders that are hid from Man's Eye, or too great for Man's Hand. The Magistrate ought to punish them; *whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*. This doth not prohibit all just War (d); only appoints Magistrates, as the Ministers of God, to protect the Innocent, and to be a Terror to Evil-doers. Before the Flood, as it would seem by the Story of *Cain*, God took the Punishment of Murder into his own Hands; but now he commits this to Men in Authority. Wilful Murder ought always to be punished; it is a Sin which the Lord would not pardon in a Prince (e); and therefore a Prince should not pardon it in a Subject. There is a Reason annexed to the Law: *For in the Image of God made he Man*; intimating, that such Remains of God's Image are still upon fallen Man, that he who unjustly kills him, defaceth the divine Image, and doth Dishonour to his Maker. Magistrates have the Image of God's Power, and Saints the Image of his Holiness; and therefore these who shed their Blood, incur a double Guilt.

The *Jews* here reckon seven Precepts; whereof six had been from *Adam's* Time, and the seventh was given to *Noah*. The first of these is against Idolatry; Worship of Stars, Images, &c. the second against blaspheming the Name of God; the third against shedding of Blood; the fourth against unlawful carnal Mixtures; of which they name several Sorts, as of a Man with his Mother, or with his Father's Wife, or with his Sister by the Mother Side, or with Mankind, or with a Beast; all which they count forbidden by *Gen. ii. 24.* and *xx. 12.* The fifth Precept was against Robbery; the sixth requiring to punish Malefactors; the seventh, as above mentioned, which they take to forbid eating any Member of the Flesh of a Beast taken from it alive. Whosoever transgressed any of these Commands wilfully, the *Jews* reckoned he was to be killed with the Sword (f). The Heathens, who were willing to obey these seven Precepts, though they received not Circumcision, nor observed the other Ordinances given to *Israel*, were suffered to dwell as Strangers among the *Israelites* (g), and were called *Profelytes of the gate*. These who desire to see a large Treatise upon these *Noachic* Precepts, may consult the learned *Selden* (h).

§ 9. BUT before I leave this Subject it may be observed, that there are many Footsteps of antient Religion and Justice before the Law given by *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*. Thus it is recorded to the Commendation of *Abraham*, *That he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment* (i). *Job* in his antient Book speaks of Idolatry, *as an iniquity to be punished by the judge* (k); and wishes *that his words were written; that they were printed in a book. That they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever* (l). Out of such patriarchal Laws *Moses* did judge the People, when *Jethro* his Father-in-law came to see him (m): Which seems to have been before the solemn giving of the Law (n). Hence in his last Song he warns *Israel*, *Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee. When the most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam* (o). The Religion of the holy Patriarchs was an Example to all their Posterity, and was further confirmed by the *Mosaic* Law. *Enoch* and *Noah* walked with God, and others ought to have followed their Example: *Adam* and *Eve* could tell their Posterity of the Creation and the Fall; could shew them that their Bodies were formed without a Navel in their Belly, which all have who ly in their Mother's Womb. *Methuselah* who lived till *Shem* was near 100 Years old, could tell what Traditions

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(a) Levit. xvii. 11. (b) Vid. Heidegg. de Libertate Christiana à lege cibaria vetere, quæ erat de sanguine & suffocato. (c) Exod. xxi. 28. (d) Vid. Grotium de Jure belli, lib. 1. cap. 2. § 5. (e) 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4. (f) Maimonides in Misnah, Treat. of Kings, Ch. 9. Ainsworth. in Genes. ix. 4. (g) Exod. xii. 45. Levit. xxii. 10. (h) De jure naturæ & gentium, lib. 1. (i) Genes. xviii. 19. (k) Job xxxi. 26—28. (l) Job xix. 23, 24. (m) Exod. xviii. 13—16. (n) See Dr. Cumberland's Origines gentium, tit. de legibus patriarch. p. 399 & seqq. (o) Deut. xxxii. 7, 8.

he had from *Adam*; and *Shem* who remained alive 500 Years after the Flood, could instruct good Men till after *Isaac* was born: And we shall have occasion to hear more of them afterwards. These Patterns and Laws were enforced by Promises and Threats; for we find it promised to *Abraham*; *I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward* (a). And he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God (b): That is, the heavenly Country. *Cain*, for murdering his Brother, was condemned to be a Fugitive and a Vagabond. When the Wickedness of Man became great, the whole ante-diluvian World was swept away by the Flood. *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* were remarkably punished by Fire (c). And the *New Testament* tells us, that they were made an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly (d). And are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire (e): Nor did they in that Age want Judges to execute the Laws; for the Patriarchs seem to have had a great Authority over their own Families. *Judah* commanded *Tamar* his Daughter-in-law, for a supposed Crime, to be burnt (f): But when he discovered the Truth of the Matter, he absolved her. *Abraham* made War on four Kings (g); which could not be done, without a Power of Life and Death. *Job*, before the giving of the Law, gives Account of himself as a just Judge; who delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish, (says he) came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem (h).

§ 10. AFTER God had signally preserved *Noah*, and established his Covenant with him, he began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard (i). He began, doth not necessarily imply that he had never been an Husbandman before; but that now after the Flood, he was one who kept Ground in his own Hand, and occupied it. But his Sin and Shame are also upon Record; he drank of the wine, and was drunken, and he was uncovered within his tent (k). Perhaps when he had gathered in his Vintage, he appointed a Day of Feasting and Mirth, with his Sons and their Children about him, on a Design at the End of the Entertainment to bless them. At this Occasion it seems he drank of the Wine, more than his Head at that Age would bear. We never find him blamed for this Sin, either before or after; but God hath left this on Record, to shew that the fairest Copy hath its Blemishes. Sometimes they who with Watchfulness and Resolution, by the Grace of God, have kept their Integrity in great Temptation, have through Security and Carelessness been afterwards surprised into Sin; and therefore we should always be on our Guard. 'Tis added, he was uncovered within his tent. Drunkenness uncovers, disgraces and exposes Men to Shame and Contempt. 'Tis like this was some Years after the Flood, for *Canaan* the Son of *Ham* was then born (l). *Ham* the younger Son of *Noah* acted a very wicked Part; he saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. If this Sight had been accidental or involuntary, it would not have been so great a Crime; but *Ham* seems to have pleased himself with the Sight. Perhaps he had been himself drunk at other Occasions, and reproved for it by his religious Father, whom he was therefore pleased to see thus overcome. Yea he also told it to his two Brethren without in the Street, in a scornful deriding Manner. 'Tis a Folly to make a Mock of Sin, and particularly of Infirmities in Parents (m). But *Shem* and *Japheth*, the elder Sons, acted a better Part to cover their Father's Nakedness (n): They not only would not see it themselves, but took Care that no other might see it; teaching us with the Mantle of Love and Charity to cover the Infirmities of others. *Noah* awoke from his wine (o); and probably being penitent for what he had done, the Spirit of Prophecy comes upon him, And he said, Cursed be *Canaan*; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And, Blessed be the Lord God of *Shem*; and *Canaan* shall be his servant. God shall enlarge *Japheth*, and he shall dwell in the tents of *Shem*; and *Canaan* shall be his servant (p). Where there is an illustrious Prediction of what should befall *Noah's* Sons; and indeed of what Providence shall order to be the Lot of the World for many Ages, who are all come of them. The Patriarch cursed *Canaan*; it seems he was involved in his Father's Guilt, and under him the Sentence of *Ham* his Parent is contained. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren; that is, a most vile and despicable Servant; which points out the Victories obtained by *Israel* over the *Canaanites*, whereby they were either all put to the Sword, or to the basest Services; like the *Gibeonites*, to be Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water. It is also observable, there is no Promise that the Posterity of *Ham* shall dwell in the Tents of *Shem*, or be converted to the Church: And if we look to the Accomplishment, though God had once famous Churches in *Egypt*, and the Coast of *Africa*, who are of the Posterity of *Cham*; yet at present, and for several preceeding Ages, almost all *Africa*, except the Church of *Abyssinia*, are all Heathens or Mahometans; Christianity hath little Footing there. The Blessing of *Shem*, of whom were descended the *Jews*, and other People in *Asia*, is very rich. *Blessed*

(a) Genes. xv. 1. (b) Heb. xi. 10. (c) Genes. xix. 24, 25. (d) 2 Pet. ii. 6. (e) Jude 7. (f) Genes. xxxviii. 24. (g) Genes. xiv. (h) Job. xxix. 12, — 17. (i) Genes. ix. 20. (k) Genes. ix. 21. (l) Genes. ix. 22. (m) Prov. xxx. 17. (n) Genes. ix. 23. (o) Genes. ix. 24. (p) Genes. ix. 25, — 27.

sed be the Lord God of Shem ; God shall be his God, when the Seed of *Cham* and *Japheth* shall turn to Idolatry ; as they did soon after the Flood. God shall have pure Worship from the Seed of *Shem*. There *Jehovah* shall have a Church, which shall continue till our Redeemer, the blessed Messiah, shall be born of them. *Shem* signifies a Name ; the Name of our Lord shall endure for ever ; it shall last like the Sun. There is also a special Blessing given to *Japheth* ; God shall enlarge *Japheth* ; he seems to have been the elder Son of *Noah* ; and to his Posterity were the isles of the Gentiles divided (a). In Progress of Time they replenished all *Europe*, *Asia* the Lesser, with some Parts of the Greater, and perhaps *America* too. The Word *enlarge*, may be rendred *perswade* : And indeed when the *Jews*, the Seed of *Shem*, were unchurched for rejecting our Redeemer, the Gentiles of the Seed of *Japheth* were perswaded by Gospel-grace to come into the true Church, by subjecting themselves to Christ our Lord. Of this Seed of *Japheth* the great Body of the Christian Church consisted in Apostolick Times, and doth to this Day. And it is compared to Tents, because of our sojourning Condition in this World : 'Tis better to dwell in Tents with God, than in Palaces without him.

§ II. WHEN Men began to multiply upon the Earth after the Flood, the old Distinction between the Sons of God, and the Sons of Men, or the Holy and Profane, soon appeared : For as they journeyed from the east, they found a plain in the land of *Shinar* ; and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth (b). This Attempt seems in Order of Time, to have been before they were divided in their lands ; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations (c) : For this Separation appears by the Text last named, to have been after the Confusion of Languages procured by their wicked Aim in Building. The Time of erecting this Tower, is supposed to be about 140 Years after the Flood : And they carried on their Work in the Land of *Shinar* ; by which we understand some Part of the Province of *Babylon* : For we find the Vessels of the House of God were carried into the Land of *Shinar* (d) ; that is, into *Babylon*. What we render a *Babylonish* Garment, is in the Original a Garment of *Shinar* (e). Thus also *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* (f), is in the *Samaritan* Version (g) King of *Babel*. The City *Babel* itself, with *Erech*, *Accad* and *Calneh*, were in the Land of *Shinar* (h). There they built their Tower of well burnt Brick ; for that Country afforded no free Stone : And 'tis said by Abundance of Authors, quoted by the learned *Bochart* (i), that the Walls of *Babylon* were made of Brick. They made Use of Slime for Cement. We find in *Herodote* (k), and *Strabo* (l), that this *Bitumen* was in great Plenty in that Province, and most proper for this Purpose. And some Authors (m), conceive, that this was the same Tower that was afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter Belus* at *Babylon* ; which *Herodote* (n) describes, as of a prodigious Bulk and Height. Whatever be of this, that Tower, and *Babylon* itself, are many Years ago utterly destroyed, as shall be afterwards observed.

It may be here enquired, For what Reason did these wicked Men build such a City and Tower, and why this Project was so displeasing to God ? *Josepheus* tells us, That they imagined that they would rear up a Tower so great and high, as no Waters of a Deluge could reach it ; and they would revenge the Death of their Predecessors (o). But had they designed to have preserved themselves from a second Deluge, they would not have chosen so low Ground, as the Plain of *Shinar*, but rather the Top of some high Mountain. Nor did they need to fear such a general Inundation, since God had secured them from it by his Bow in the Cloud, as a Seal of his Promise. The other Reason is as vain ; and so is the Fable told by the Poets (p), concerning the Giants endeavouring to get up to Heaven, by putting one Mountain upon another. The true Aim of the Builders is told by the inspired Historian ; Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. Hence it seems they endeavoured to affront God ; in defiance of him they would do it, without seeking his Counsel, or depending on his Assistance. Hereby they hoped to make to themselves a Name, even by doing something to be talked of now ; and to give Posterity to know that there had been such Men in the World, they would leave a Monument of their Pride, Ambition and Folly. They did it also to prevent their Dispersion ; Lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. God ordered them to replenish the earth (q). No, say they, we will not, we will build a City, and a Tower to be the Head of our Kingdom, and the Centre of our Unity. 'Tis like the Hand of an ambitious oppressing *Nimrod* was in this, to lay a Foundation for an universal Monarchy ; he would have so many Men under his Eye, that he might have them under his Power.

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(a) Genes. x. 5. (b) Genes. xi. 2, — 4. (c) Genes. x. 5. (d) Dan. i. 2. (e) Josh. vii. 21. (f) Genes. xiv. 1. (g) See Dr. Cumberland's Origines Gentium, p. 237. (h) Genes. x. 10. (i) Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 11. (k) Lib. 1. cap. 179. (l) Lib. 16. p. 743. (m) See Saurin's Dissertat. on the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 84. (n) Lib. 1. cap. 181. (o) Josephe. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. (p) Vide Ovid. Metam. lib. 1. fab. 5. (q) Genes. ix. 1.

Lastly, Dr. *Tennison* (a), sometime Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hath a singular Conjecture on this Head ; he pretends that the Crime of these Builders consisted in Idolatry ; and that this Tower was erected as a Monument to the Sun, which had contributed to dry the Earth after the Flood : And that the famous Pyramids of *Egypt* afterwards raised, were, like the Tower of *Babel*, consecrated to Heathen Deities. We do not question, but Idolatry began early after the Deluge, especially among the Posterity of *Gham* and *Japheth*. But whatever be in the learned Primate's Opinion ; we see from the Account given by *Moses*, sufficient Ground for the divine Displeasure at these daring Builders, who had separate from the Professors of the true Religion, and erected this Tower to perpetuate their Separation. And therefore God having taken Cognisance of their Cause, resolved to punish them. *And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language ; — Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth : and they left off to build the City. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound their language* (b). God might have struck them dead by an Angel, or by Thunder ; he could crush them a thousand Ways, but he chose to do it by confounding their Language, that they might not understand, nor help one another. This was a Miracle, and a Proof of the Power that God hath upon the Minds and Tongues of Men. It was a Judgment upon those Builders ; for being thus deprived of the Knowledge of the antient and holy Language, they were incapable of Communion with the true Church, among whom it was retained. We suffer by it to this Day, in all the Inconveniencies we sustain by the Diversity of Tongues ; in all the Labour we endure to learn the Languages we have occasion for, and in these Controversies which arise from striving about Words, and not understanding one another's Speech : And therefore the Project to frame an universal Character, in order to an universal Language, is but vain ; for it is striving against a divine Sentence, by which the Languages of Nations will be divided while the World stands : Yet the Gift of Tongues bestowed upon the Apostles (c), contributed greatly to the gathering together the Children of God that were scattered abroad, and uniting them to Christ ; that with one Mind and Mouth they might glorify him. When the Lord says, *Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language* ; this was not spoken to Angels, as if God had need either of their Advice or Assistance ; but God speaks it to himself, or to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, equally concerned in this Act of Vengeance.

§ 12. QUESTIONS have been moved ; What was the primitive Language God at first gave to *Adam* ? and, Into how many Tongues or Dialects this was divided at the Confusion ? The inspired Historian assures us, that before this Confusion at *Babel*, *the whole earth was of one language and of one speech* (d). Now, it is most probable that this one Language before the Confusion, was the *Hebrew*, which *Adam* spoke in Innocence, and continued among his Posterity till this Time ; and long afterwards it remained among the Offspring of *Shem*, *Heber* and *Abraham*, who were of the true Church, down to the *Babylonish* Captivity, for above three thousand Years. And in this Tongue the whole Scriptures of the *Old Testament* are writ, except it be a few Chapters in the *Chaldee*. After the Return from the Captivity, the *Hebrew* Dialect was corrupted by a Mixture of *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, the Language of *Ashdod*, and the like. But that the one Language before the Confusion, was the *Hebrew*, may be further confirmed. First, Because the Etymology of proper Names in Scripture is always taken from the *Hebrew*, to express their Natures. Thus *Eden* signifies a Garden of Pleasure ; the Land of *Nod*, to which *Cain* was banished, signifies Trembling ; *Babel*, Confusion, because the Tongues were there confounded : *Cain* signifies to get or acquire, because *Eve* said, *I have got a man from the Lord* ; *Seth*, to add or substitute, because his Mother said when he was born, *God hath added to me another seed* ; *Adam* from *Adamah*, to point out that he was taken out of the Earth : The first Woman is called *Ischab*, being taken from Man ; *Pelag* is named from Dividing, because in his Days the Earth was divided ; *Japheth* signifies to enlarge, because it is said of *Japheth*, *Elohim le Japheth*, God shall enlarge *Japheth* : And the same may be seen in many other Names, if we look into *Hebrew* Lexicons. The very Names which *Adam* gave to Cattle, to Fowls of the Air and Beasts of the Field, do in the *Hebrew* point out their Natures ; as may be seen in Criticks (e) learned in that Language. Secondly, The Language then in use by *Noah* and his Posterity was one of the Oriental Tongues ; but of all these the *Hebrew* is the most pure and excellent, having no exotick Words like the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Samaritan*, *Ethiopic*, or even like the modern *Rabbinic* or *Talmudic*. It is the Mother of all the rest ; it consists of Roots of three Letters ; and in all the Books of the *Old Testament* hath a sweet Harmony and Consistency with it self ; yea from it many of the most antient *European* Languages seem to proceed : And therefore justly deserves to be esteemed

(a) Of Idolatry, chap. 4. (b) Gencl. xi. 6—9. (c) Acts ii. (d) Gencl. xi. 6. (e) Bochart. de animalibus, lib. i. cap. 11. & passim. Leusdeni Philologus Hebraeus, p. m. 166. Bocharti Phaleg, lib. i. cap. 15. Heidegg. hist. Patriarchatum, exercit. 16. Jo. Buxtorf. fil. de antiquitate linguæ Hebrææ, Shuckfords connection, Book II.

steemed the primitive. As to the other Point, Into how many Tongues or Dialects this one was divided, the Scripture doth not determine; neither need we do it. Some have conjectured that there were seventy several Languages, because *Noah* had seventy Grand-children; fourteen by *Japheth*, thirty by *Cham*, and twenty six by *Shem*: But the Consequence is not firm. Nor can we from the Languages that are at present in the World conclude what Number there was at the Confusion of *Babel*; for Language often changes, and is in a perpetual Flux. From the *Æolic Greek*, as some conceive, the *Latin* is derived; and from the corrupted *Latin* flows the modern *French*, *Italian* and *Spanish*. Nor need we determine how this Confusion of Tongues was effectuated: 'Tis sufficient to observe that it was a Miracle, and an Act of divine Vengeance, whereby God could easily blot out the former Ideas affixed to such and such Words; and make such Families affix new Ideas to their Words, or to new Words, or in any other Method he pleased. This Confusion of Languages hindered the several Families from conversing together, from prosecuting the Design they had undertaken by common Consent; and put them upon a Necessity of parting, and inhabiting several Countries. We are told, that *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations* (a); which imports that this Separation was made after the Confusion of Tongues. It is true, we are also assured that in the Days of *Peleg* the Earth was divided (b); and he was born in the 101st Year after the Flood. But *Peleg* lived in all 239 Years; and the dividing of the Earth among *Noah's* Sons and their Offspring was not entirely done at his Birth: It might be carried on gradually all the Days of his Life, which extended to 340 Years after the Flood. Thus his Father might give him his Name by the Spirit of Prophecy, foreseeing this great Event would happen during his Life; for it is no unusual thing in sacred History to give prophetic Names to Children. And it may be justly observed, that this Division of the Earth was not performed in a confused irregular Way, wherein every one went where he pleased; but in a decent orderly Way: For the forecited Text tells us, *they were divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations*. And in this appears the wise and just Providence of God, that he distributed the Languages according to the Difference of Families and Nations, so as each several Nation, with all the Families and Branches thereof, should have one and the same Tongue; whereby Union, Love and Commerce were preserved among themselves, and the Nations were distinguished one from another: Which was fit and necessary for many Reasons; as, that the Church of God confin'd to the *Hebrew* Nation might neither be mixed with, nor infected by Idolaters; and that it might be evident to the World, that the Messiah was born of the Seed of *Abraham* according to God's Promise.

§ 13. A Difficulty hath been moved; How could *Noah's* three Sons and their Wives produce a sufficient Number of Men to found those several Nations whereof we read in Scripture and other credible Authors, within three or four hundred Years after the Flood? In answer to this it may be observed, That the Constitution of long-liv'd Men after the Flood must be much stronger than ours, and consequently more fit to propagate Mankind to great Numbers. The Scripture hath indeed given us only the Length of the Lives of the Patriarchs in the Line of *Shem*; because the Design of the Spirit of God was, to be more particular in recording the Age of those who in a direct Line were the Ancestors of those to whom he gave the divine Law, and of whom the Messiah our Saviour was to come. But the Measure that *Moses* gives of these Mens Lives near the Flood, is the best Guide to assist us in estimating the Lives of their Contemporaries (c): For though Heathen Authors tell us in the general, that the former Ages were longer liv'd than the latter, yet none of them descend into Particulars to determine the Number of Years, that we may see by what Degrees the Life of Mankind hath been shortned: Only by the *Mosaic* History we find, that the long Lives before the Flood were by Degrees shortned after it. The three first Generations recorded in Scripture after the Flood, *Arphaxad*, *Salah* and *Heber*, lived above 430 Years; yet not so long as their Ancestor *Shem*, who being born 100 Years before the Flood, lived above 500 Years after it. The three next Generations, *Peleg*, *Reu* and *Serug*, lived not much above 230 Years; and from their Time, only *Terah* lived above 200. All the others after him were below that Number: *Moses* came not to above 120; and in his Days he complains that the Age of Man was shortned to about seventy or eighty Years (d): And near this they stand ever since. Now, we may reasonably suppose, that the first three Couples, *Noah's* three Sons and their Wives, in twenty Years Time after the Flood might have thirty Pair, and by a gradual Increase of ten Pair for each Couple, in forty Years Time, till the 340th Year after the Flood, in which *Peleg* died, there might arise a sufficient Number to spread Colonies over the Earth, as appears by the Table at the Foot of next Page (a); where we have a sufficient Number, of Three thousand three hundred and thirty three Millions, three hundred and thirty three thousand

(a) Genes. x. 5. (b) Genes. x. 25. (c) See Dr. Cumberland's *origines gentium*, tract. 4. p. 142, — 160. (d) Psal. xc. 10.

land, three hundred and thirty Pair of Men and Women, to send Colonies over the World. And to so great a Number might the World encrease in 340 Years, which was the Year of *Peleg's* Death, in whose Days the Earth was divided: And there is no Evidence of one Man that died after the Flood, according to the *Hebrew* Text, before him, to put a Stop to the gradual Increase of Mankind. The learned Dr. *Cumberland* Bishop of *Peterburrow*, as before cited, does add several other Considerations to prove this Calculation reasonable: And perhaps, if all the collateral Descents of *Noah's* Posterity were taken in, this might make the Numbers appear greater than in the Table: For here are 350 Years of *Noah's* Life after the Flood, wherein he might beget Children not counted. Nor are the last 160 Years of *Shem* or of his Brothers reckoned, nor the last 160 Years of *Salab* and his Contemporaries, nor the last 191 Years of *Heber* and his Contemporaries; all which would make the total Sum greater.

Besides the Confusion of Languages, other Reasons for the early Dispersion of Mankind into the several Regions of the then known World might be given: As, First, The Fruitfulness of some Countries above others, as *Egypt*, *Canaan*, *Greece* and *Asia minor*, besides the Islands; which being known to *Noah* and his Sons before the Flood, and they acquainting their Offspring therewith, this would excite in them a Desire to be soon possess'd of those fertile Lands, and to leave their first Habitations. Secondly, Their Reason and Observation would assure them, that Plants and Trees would grow and spread of their own accord into Thickets and Woods, so as to make Countries impassible, if Men did not disperse themselves to manure the Ground. And there would be Danger from the Increase of wild Beasts, which would multiply exceedingly, and soon overspread the Earth, so as it would be attended with Hazard to enter into Countries where Lions, Tygers, Wolves, Serpents and the like ravenous Creatures did swarm, if their Increase was not hindred. Therefore the Wisdom of God in the *Mosaic* Law, gives this Reason why the *Canaanites* were not to be consumed all at once, but by little and little (*b*): *Lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee*. Thirdly, There was early so great a Corruption in the Morals of the World after the Flood, that they dared not trust one another; but fearing Surprises, Fraud and Violence, kept at a distance, as their best Security. Fourthly, By such early Removes, they got before others the Title of the first Possessor of a Country; which was most considerable, when there were no Boundaries to Mens Lands set by Law or civil Government, but the first Occupier made himself King of his Family or Retinue, and challenged a Command over the adjacent Parts. Finally, The Travels of *Croesus* and *Astarte*, and of the Sons of the *Dioscuri* by Ships, recorded by *Sanchoniathon*, with those of *Osiris*, the same with *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* and by the Poets, prove a boundless Ambition in those early Ages; which would make them in a little Time to over-run the Earth.

The Names of Countries and Nations being changed, it is not easy peremptorily to fix upon what Regions the Sons, Grandchildren and Great-grandchildren of *Noah* then possessed. I know there are many Authors have wrote upon this Subject, as among the Antients *Josephus* (*c*), *Epiphanius* (*d*), *Jerom* (*e*); also among the Moderns *Monsieur Bockart* (*f*), hath with great Learning gathered together all that almost can be had in any Author to give Light to it. Many others have trode in his Footsteps, as *Heidegger* (*g*), *Hornius* (*h*), Dr. *Wells* (*i*), with a whole Troop of Commentators and Criticks, whom the Curious may consult; and a few Remarks shall suffice us. The Plantations of the World by the Sons of *Noah* and their Offspring, recounted by *Moses* in the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, and by the inspired Author of the first Book of *Chronicles*, are not unprofitable Fables, nor endless Genealogies; but a most valuable Piece of History, wherein the Excellency of the sacred Scripture and of divine Revelation appears above profane Heathen Authors. The Heathens indeed tell us of their *αὐτόχθονες* and *Aborigines*, Men sprung of the Earth, as *Justin* (*k*) explains it; of Men formed of dead Images by *Prometheus*, or by Stones thrown over the Head of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, or born by Serpents Teeth sown by *Cadmus*, as *Ovid* (*l*), with other Poets and fabulous Writers. But none of the Heathen knew the true Origin of Mankind from *Adam* and *Eve*, the first

(a)	Years of the World.	Years after the Flood.	Pairs of Men and Women born:
	1676	20	30
	1716	60	300
	1756	100	3000
	1796	140	30,000
	1836	180	300,000
	1876	220	3,000,000
	1916	260	30,000,000
	1956	300	300,000,000
	1996	340	3,000,000,000

In all 3,333,333,330

(b) Deut. vii. 22. (c) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 6, 7. (d) in Ancorat. cap. 114, 115. (e) De traditionibus Hebraicis in Genesim. (f) in Phaleg. p. m. 70—360. (g) Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 1. p. 658—708. (h) in Arca Noë. (i) Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. 1. (k) lib. 2. cap. 6. Eodem Innati solo. (l) Metamorph. lib. 1. fab. 7. & lib. 5. fab. 1.

first Pair, whom God created, nor from *Noah*, and his Sons and their Wives, the Restorers of the humane Race after the Flood, which we clearly discern from the Scriptures. Hence we may also discover the Accomplishment of the Promise given to *Noah*, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth* (a). Here we have the Origin of Nations more certain than in any other Author; here we see how the Church of God was continued in the Family of *Shem*, down to the Days of *Abraham*, for near four hundred Years; and hence we may have Light to many Passages of the Prophets, where the same Names are given to Nations and People; whose Origin we know from the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*.

§ 14. *JAPHETH* seems to have been the eldest Son of *Noah*; and therefore is called *Japheth the elder* (b). Besides, *Noah* was five hundred years old, and begat *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth* (c); and, *Shem* was an hundred years old, and begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood (d): Now, had *Shem* been *Noah*'s eldest Son, he must have been 102 Years, two Years after the Flood. *Japheth* then is the Son whom *Noah* begat in his 500th Year, and consequently elder than *Shem*. *Moses* begins his Account of the Origin of Nations with the Descendents of *Japheth*: *By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided* (e). By *Isles* the *Hebrews* (who usually travelled to the Land of *Canaan* and of *Egypt* by Ships) understood not only such Countries as are every where surrounded by Sea, but also such Regions as were beyond Sea. Thus, where the Lord speaks of the calling of the Gentiles, 'tis said he shall recover the remnant of the people which shall be left, from *Assyria* and from *Egypt*, and from *Patbros*, and from *Cush*, — and from the islands of the sea (f): Where, by the *Islands of the Sea* must be understood Countries distinct from *Assyria* and *Egypt*, or which may be esteemed the Regions of the Lesser *Asia*, or *Europe*, or these principally. Here the Posterity of *Japheth* are placed: First *Gomer*, who was seated to the North of *Judea*: *Gomer, and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters* (g). *Josephus* (h) tells us that the *Galatians* were called *Gomerites*, and *Bochart* (i) is of Opinion that he settled in that Part of *Phrygia* called *Kate-kauμevn*, consumed, or burnt. The *Hebrew*, *gamar*, signifies to consume; and the Word *Phrygia* comes from *φρὺγίς*, to burn up. *Askenaz*, the first Son of *Gomer*, seems to have fixed in the North-west Part of the Lesser *Asia*. Hence that which is called the *Euxine* Sea, was in antient Times named *Ἀσκανία*, the Sea of *Askenaz*. In honour of this Founder, Kings and great Men in those Parts seem to have taken the Name of *Ascanius*. Of this Name we find one mentioned in the second Book of *Homer's Iliad*, who came to assist *Priamus* at the Siege of *Troy*. The Prophet *Jeremiah*, foretelling the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus* the Great, says, *Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz* (k); whereby may be understood the Inhabitants of these Parts we are speaking of. *Riphat*, the second Son of *Gomer*, is supposed to have seated his Family in the Parts adjoining Eastward to his Brother *Askenaz*. *Josephus* (l) says, the *Babylonians* were originally called *Riphatians*; and *Bochart* (m) finds some Rivers in those Parts that derive their Names from this Planter of their Country. *Togarmah* is the last Son of *Gomer* named by *Moses*; who seems to have fixed his Family to the North of *Judea*: *The house of Togarmah of the north quarters. The house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses, and horsemen, and mules* (n). Now the Country of *Cappadocia*, to the North of *Judea*, was well stocked with Horses, Mules, and abundance of good Horsemen. *Strabo* (o) speaks of a People in these Parts called *Trocmi*, who bear a Resemblance to their Founder's Name. It may be also remarked, that the Offspring of *Gomer* in process of Time spread themselves further into several Parts of *Europe*: For *Herodote* (p) tells us of the *Cimmerii* passing thither from *Asia*. Hence *Dr. Wells* (q) observes, that from them the *Palus Mæotis* was called *Bosphorus Cimericus*; and that they passing up the *Danube*, gave the Name of *Cimbri* to the Germans, and also to the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. From thence they went into *Gaul*; for the *Gauls*, when fighting against the Romans under the Conduct of *C. Marius*, were called *Cimbri*. And from thence they passed into *Britain*: For the *Welsh* to this Day call themselves *Kumero*, or *Kumeraeg*; and hence 'tis like that they were the Descendents of *Gomer*.

The other Sons of *Japheth* were *Magog*, *Madaï*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshech* and *Tiras* (r). *Magog* is esteemed the Father of the *Scythians*, who dwelt on the North-east of the *Euxine* Sea; which seems confirmed by the Prophet *Ezekiel*: *Set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog* (s). These People used Bows and Arrows (t): And it appears from many antient Authors, that the *Scythians* were very skilful in that sort of Weapons. From the *Scythians* are descended the *Parthians*, *Tartars*, *Turks* and *Chinese* (u). *Madaï* is generally look'd upon to be the Father of the *Medes*, who are often in Scripture mentioned with the *Persians*: But the learned *Joseph Mede* thinks *Madaï* had his Lot in *Macedonia*. Here he finds a People

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called

(a) *Genes.* ix. 1. (b) *Genes.* x. 21. (c) *Genes.* v. 32. (d) *Genes.* xi. 10. (e) *Genes.* x. 1 — 5. (f) *Isaiah* xi. 11. (g) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 6. (h) *Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 7. (i) *Phaleg.* lib. 3. cap. 8. (k) *Jerem.* li. 27. (l) *Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 7. (m) *Phaleg.* lib. 3. cap. 10. (n) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 6. and xxvii. 14. (o) *lib.* ii. p. 567. (p) *lib.* i. cap. 15, 16, 103. & *lib.* 4. cap. 11, 12. (q) *Geography of the Old Testam.* Vol. i. p. 126 & seqq. (r) *Genes.* x. 2. (s) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2. (t) *Ezek.* xxxix. 3. (u) *Spanhem. Hist. Eccl.* col. 288. folio.

called *Méshoch*, and from them he conceived the *Méshians* in *Europe* descended. *Méshoch* seems to be the Father of the *Moschs* or *Mostovites* and *Russians*: In *Ezekiel* (a) we hear of the chief Prince of *Méshoch* and *Tubal*. *Tiras* is look'd on as the Father of the *Thracians*. *Tubal* is affirmed by *Josephus* (b) to be the Father of the *Asiatic Iberians*, who were from him originally called *Thoboli*, and were Merchants who traded in Slaves and Vessels of Brass (c). From them 'tis pretended the *Spaniards*, who in antient Times were called *Celtiberians*, are descended: Of which Name there is a Memorial in the River *Ebro* to this Day. Another Son of *Japheth* is *Javan*, who seems to have taken up his Seat in *Greece*: In the Word *Íaves* is preserved the Radicals which make *Javan*. He had four Sons, *Elisbah*, *Tarshish*, *Kittim* and *Dodanim* (d). *Elisbah* seems to have possessed the most considerable Isles lying between *Europe* and *Asia*: For the Prophet *Ezekiel*, among other Merchandize of *Tyre*, mentions *blue and purple from the isles of Elisba* (e), and these Islands did abound in such Commodities. The Name of the *Hellepont* Sea seems also derived from him. He or his Offspring perhaps also possessed some Part of the Continent of *Greece*: For the River *Helisson*, which parted the Territory of the *Philassians* from the *Sicyonians*, and another River called *Ilissus*, with the Names of *Elis*, *Hellus*, *Helles* or *Hellen*, seem to bear some Memory of him. *Tarshish*, another Grand-son of *Japheth*, seated his Family in the South-east Parts of the Lesser *Asia*: For *Tarsus*, a chief Town of *Cilicia*, carries in it evident Marks of its being first founded either by *Tarshish* himself, or by some of his Descendents, who called it so in honour of their Progenitor. This seems to be the *Tarshish* to which the Prophet *Jonah* thought to flee from the Presence of the Lord (f): And it is a City which is often said by the Prophets to have traded with *Tyre*. And in the *New Testament* it is renowned for being the Place where the Apostle *Paul* was born: For he says, *I am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia* (g). From hence 'tis probable that the City and Country Inhabitants of *Tartessus* in *Spain*, much celebrated by the Antients for their Wealth and Trade, did proceed: On which Monsieur *Bochart* (h), and from him *Dr. Wells* (i), do treat more fully. The *Tyrians* and *Phœnicians* might go thither in their Navigations by Sea. *Kittim* seems also to have seated himself in the Lesser *Asia*, and thence in process of Time to have sent Colonies to the neighbouring Isle of *Cyprus*, and afterwards into *Macedonia* and *Italy*: For we find that *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* of *Macedon* came out of the Land of *Chittim* (k). And the Ships of *Chittim* mentioned by *Daniel* (l) are generally understood of the *Roman Fleet*, by the coming whereof *Antiochus* the Great was obliged to desist from his Attempts against their Empire (m). The last Son of *Javan* upon sacred Record is *Dodanim*, who seems to have also settled in the Lesser *Asia*, in the Country called *Doris*: For *Dodanim* being plural, from the singular Number *Dodan*, the *Greeks* might have easily softened it into *Doran*, the Letters *Daleth* and *Resh* (n) being easily interchanged; and hence *Dorus* the Father of the *Dorians*, who were famous in that Country: And therefore the *Dorica castra* are taken by *Virgil* for the whole *Grecian Camp*. From hence a Colony might pass over to the neighbouring Isle of *Rhodes*: For some read *Dodanim*, *Rhodanim*; which seems to be the Sense of the Seventy Interpreters, in rendering the Hebrew *Dodanim* by *Ῥοδανοί* (o).

§ 15. I proceed now to the Settlements of the Children of *Ham*. Though he was cursed by his Father (p), yet this is principally to be understood of the mean and low Condition of *Canaan*, and of his being deprived of the spiritual Blessing. It was not to hinder the Multiplication of the Seed and Offspring of *Ham* to replenish the World; for this had been promised (q), and was not taken away by the Curse afterwards pronounced. *Egypt* is oftner than once in Scripture denoted by the Land of *Ham* (r). Hence 'tis likely *Ham* went thither himself, and there settled with his Son *Mizraim*; and if he lived as long as *Shem*, he might have done so after the Confusion of Languages. And he seems to be the Person pointed out by the *Greeks* under the Name of *Jupiter Ammon*; to whom there was a Temple erected in the Parts of *Libya* adjoining to *Egypt*. There are four Sons of *Ham* mentioned by *Moses*, *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut* and *Canaan* (s). *Cush* seems to have settled in *Arabia*; for *Miriam* and *Aaron* spoke against *Moses*, because of the *Ethiopian* [in the Hebrew, the *Cushite*] Woman whom he had married (t). Now it is certain that *Moses's* Wife was a *Midianitish* Woman (u), and that *Midian* was a Part of *Arabia*, on the Shore of the *Red-sea*. Thus *Habakkuk*, *I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble* (v). Where *Cushan* and *Midian* are Terms applicable to the same Country. In *Job* (x), there is mention made of the Topaz of *Ethiopia*, or of *Cush*; and it is known, that the Topaz is the Product of an Island bordering upon the *Red-sea*. Thus Monsieur *Bochart* (y), and several other learned Men, have very justly illustrated at more Length, that the Word

Cush,

(a) Ezek. xxxviii. 2. (b) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. (c) Ezek. xxvii. 13. (d) Genes. x. 4. (e) Ezek. xxvii. 7. (f) Jon. i. 3. (g) Acts xxii. 2. (h) Phaleg. lib. 3. cap. 7. (i) Geography of the Old Testam. Vol. 1. p. 145 & seqq. (k) 1 Macc. i. 1. (l) xi. 30. (m) See Dr. Patrick on Genes. x. 4. (n) Daleth, Resh. (o) Genes. x. 4. 1 Chron. i. 7. (p) Genes. ix. 24, 25. (q) Genes. ix. 1. (r) See Psal. lxxvii. 51. cv. 23, 27. cvii. 22. (s) Genes. x. 6. (t) Numb. xii. 1. (u) Exod. ii. 15 — 21. (v) Hab. iii. 7. (x) xxviii. 19. (y) Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Cush, which is often in our Version (a) translated *Ethiopia*, is to be understood, not of *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, to the South-east of *Egypt*; but of *Ethiopia* in *Asia*, or in *Arabia*, to the South-east of *Canaan*. The Sons of *Cush* were; *Seba*; who seems to have settled himself in the South-west Part of *Arabia*. There were a People called by his Name; *the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts* (b); *Ethiopia and Seba for thee* (c). *Havilah*, another Son of *Cush*, seems to have inhabited higher to the North in *Arabia*; where we find the Possessions of the *Ishmaelites* from *Havilah* unto *Shur* (d). *Sabtah* probably dwelt in the same Country of *Arabia*; where *Ptolemy* places the City *Saphtba*. *Raamah* and *Sabtechah* seem to have given Origin to another People in the same Region; of whom we hear in *Ezekiel* *Shebah and Raamah were thy merchants* (e). Nor do *Sheba* and *Dedan* appear to be far distant; *Arabia* was very large, and had Room enough for them all. We find mention of the Queen of *Sheba* who came from the uttermost parts of the earth (perhaps from the Southern remote Corners of *Arabia*) to hear of the wisdom of *Solomon* (f). And we hear of the *Sabeans*, who took away *Job's* Oxen and Asses (g); and of the Merchants of *Dedan* (h), who seem all to have lived in some Part of *Arabia*.

I shall afterwards have occasion to write of *Nimrod*, the Son of *Cush*; when I go upon the History of the World during this Period; and therefore I now proceed to *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*. We need not doubt but that he settled in *Egypt*, since the Hebrew Text frequently denotes *Egypt* by his Name, *Abel-mizraim*, the Mourning of the *Egyptians* (i). *Erets-mizraim*, the Land of *Egypt* (k). He was the first deified King of *Egypt*, and is by profane Authors called *Menes*. His Name *Mazor*, in the singular Number, doth also point out *Egypt*; *with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the Rivers of Mazor* (l); that is, of *Egypt*. Our Translation renders it *besieged places*, because *Mazor* also signifies *besieged*, or *straitned*. *Bochart* (m) is of Opinion, that the dual Number, *Mizraim*, points out the two Parts of *Egypt*; the Upper, called by the Greeks *Thebais* and *Heptanomos*, being divided into seven Districts or Governments; and the Lower, called *Delta*, from its triangular Figure; which is also called *Pathros* (n). There are seven Descendents of *Mizraim* reckoned by *Moses*; *Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtubim, and Pathrusim, and Caslubim* (out of whom came *Philistim*) and *Caphtorim* (o). These are seven Nations who proceeded from *Egypt*: The first of them is the *Ludim*; whereby are denoted the *Ethiopians* in the Southern Part of *Africa*; for we read, *I will send those that escape of them, unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and Lud that draw the bow* (p). *The Ethiopians; and the Libyans that handle the shield, and the Lydians that handle and bend the bow* (q): Which agrees exactly with the Characters given by antient Writers to the *Ethiopians*. *Pul* and *Lud* are joined together in the same Text in *Isaiah*, as denoting adjacent Countries; and *Pul* may be the City and Country of *Philæ*, not far from *Syene*, in the Borders of *Ethiopia*. In *Ezekiel* (r), these three are joined; in the Hebrew, *Cush*, and *Phut* and *Lud*: Whereby *Cush* may be meant the *Arabians*; by *Phut*, the Inhabitants of *Africa* near *Cyrenaica*; as shall be shewn by and by; and by *Lud* the *Ethiopians*, who being next Neighbours to the *Egyptians* on the same Continent, it is most reasonable to conclude they came of them. These with other Arguments are insisted on more fully by *Monsieur Bochart* (s), but on them I do not stay. The *Anamim*, may be Inhabitants of the Country about the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*; and the *Nazamonies*, may be of the same Original. The *Lehabim*, may be the *Libyans*; the *Naphtubim*, are also probably enough placed in *Lybia Marmarica*: In *Ptolemy* there is some Remainder of the Name, at a Place named *Aptuchi Fanum*. The *Pathrusim*, are these inhabiting that Part of *Egypt*, called *Pathros*; of which we have before heard. The *Caslubim*, are thought to have settled in the Country on the other Side of *Egypt*, called *Casiotis*, where is also the Mountain *Casius*; both of which retain somewhat of the Name *Caslubim*. *Monsieur Bochart* (t) is of Opinion, that from them descended the *Colchians* in *Asia*. Indeed there are several Passages in antient Authors that favour his Sentiments; for *Herodote* (u) says, that the *Colchians* are from *Egypt*. *Strabo* (v) owns, that many things demonstrate the Alliance of the *Colchians* with the *Egyptians*; and *Diodorus Siculus* (x) tells, that some *Egyptians*, who came from the Lake *Mæotis*, founded the Nation of the *Colchians*. *Moses* adds, *Out of Caslubim came the Philistim and Caphtorim*. We find (y) three Examples recorded by *Moses*, as Instances of divine Providence, to root out one Nation, and plant another in its Place, to encourage the *Israelites* to believe that God would, according to his Promise to their Progenitors, subdue the *Canaanites* before them, and seat them in their Room: He had cast out the *Zamzumim* before the *Ammonites*; the *Horim* before the Children of *Esau*, and the *Avim* by the Hand of the *Caphtorim*. God owns (z); that he brought the *Philistines*

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from

(a) 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. xxi. 16. Ezek. xxx. 9. Isaiah xx. 4. (b) Psal. lxxii. 10. (c) Isaiah xliii. 3. (d) Genes. xxv. 18. (e) Ezek. xxvii. 22. (f) 1 Kings x. Matth. xii. 42. (g) Job i. 14, 15. (h) Ezek. xxvii. 15. (i) Genes. l. 11. (k) Exod. xx. 2. (l) 2 Kings xix. 24. (m) Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 24. (n) Isaiah xi. 11. Jerem. xlv. 1. (o) Genes. x. 13, 14. (p) Isaiah lxvi. 19. (q) Jerem. xlv. 9. (r) Ezek. xxx. v. (s) Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 26. (t) Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 31. (u) lib. 2. cap. 104. (v) lib. 11. p. 498. (x) lib. 1. cap. 55. (y) Deut. ii. 20—23. (z) Amos ix. 7.

from *Caphtor*; and that the *Philistines* were a remnant of the country of *Caphtor* (a). Dr. Cumberland (b) in a pretty large Discourse, hath added other Arguments to prove that these *Caphtorim* came out of *Egypt*, and the Frontiers thereof, about *Pelufium*, antiently *Damiata*; because the *Arabic* Translation of the Pentateuch translates *Caphtorim*, the Men of *Damiata*. And *Moses* owns, that they were descended from *Mizraim*, whom all confess to have settled in *Egypt*: And he takes the Name *Caphtorim* from *Caphtor*, which signifies a large *Pomegranate* or *Globe*, such as use to be set at the Top of noble Pillars; such a Pillar or Pier was *Pelufium*, at the Pass entring into *Egypt*. And he takes the Time of their Migration to be in the Reign of *Satatis*, about the Year of the World 1920, or 264 Years after the Flood.

There is another Son of *Ham*, named *Phut* (c). He and *Mizraim* seem to have divided *Africa* between them; and *Phut* to have spread more Westward into *Mauritania*: For *Pliny* (d) mentions a River there called *Fut*; and *Jerom* (e) tells us, that from him a great River there was called *Phut* to his Day, and the whole Region *Phutensis*. *Bochart* (f) observes, that *Phut* is the same with *Phuts*, scattered, because the Inhabitants were dispersed in their Habitations; by reason of the Barrenness of the Country. Of him we have no Descendents named; but of *Canaan*, the youngest Son of *Ham*, there are severals; for *Moses* tells us, *Canaan* begat *Sidon* his first-born, and *Heth*, and the *Jebeusite*, and the *Emorite*, and the *Girgashite*, and the *Hivite*, and the *Arkite*, and the *Sinite*, and the *Arvadite*, and the *Zemarite*, and the *Hamathite*: and afterward were the families of the *Canaanites* spread abroad (g). *Sidon* his first-born is plainly marked out to us by a great City to the North of *Canaan*. Though *Tyre* be famous for Antiquity in Heathen Authors, yet the Prophet *Isaiah* (h) expressly calls it the Daughter of *Sidon*. In *Josbua* (i) is the first Mention of the strong City *Tyre*; and in the preceeding Verse, *Sidon* is called the Great. Of *Heth* came the *Hittites*, who dwelt in the Southern Parts of the Land of *Canaan*, near *Hebron* (k). The *Jebeusites* were seated about *Jerusalem*, which was originally called *Jebeus* (l). The *Amorites* dwelt in the Mountains (m); and the *Canaanites* dwelt by the Sea, and by the Coast of *Jordan*. The *Girgashite* seem to have seated themselves along the upper Part of that River on the East Side of the Sea of *Tiberias*, where we find in our Saviour's Time a City called *Gergesa*. The *Hivite* dwelt in the Northern Parts of *Canaan*; for we read in *Judges* (n), that the *Hivites* dwelt in Mount *Lebanon*, from Mount *Baal-hermon*, unto the entring in of *Hamath*. As to the remaining Families of *Canaan*, named as above, viz. the *Arkite*, *Sinite*, *Arvadite*, *Zemarite*, and *Hamathite*; they seem to have seated themselves within the true Borders of *Canaan*, but in process of Time being dispossessed by the *Philistines*, they were obliged to crowd themselves closer together in the Heart of the Country (and hence were more generally named *Canaanites*;) or else to seek abroad for new Plantations. According to *Jerom* (o), the *Arvadite* possessed the Isle *Aradus* on the *Phœnician* Coast. The *Zemarite* had the City *Edeffa* in *Cœlesyria*; and the *Hamathite* had the Country unto *Hamath*; which after the Conquest of *Alexander* the Great was called *Epiphania*. In Greek Authors we have scarce any mention of these Nations; they knew only the Sea-coast, which they called *Palestine*; and because they were not acquainted with the inland Part of the Country before the Conquest of *Alexander* the Great, they named the whole *Palestina*; which Name was continued by the *Romans*, and for several Ages of the Christian Church.

§ 16. I go now to the Plantations of the Sons of *Shem*. This Patriarch had five Sons, who in *Genesis* (p) are named *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud* and *Aram*. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites* or *Persians*; of whom we have frequent mention in Scripture, as, *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* (q); Go up, O *Elam*: besiege, O *Media* (r); All the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes* (s); The bow of *Elam* (t); *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Elamites* (u). Hence also the City *Elymais*, where was a rich Heathen Temple, which when *Antiochus* the Great endeavoured to rob of its Treasure, he was killed by the People of the adjacent Country gathered to prevent that Design; as shall be observed in its proper Place. Of *Assur* came the *Assyrians*, who are well known. 'Tis supposed that *Arphaxad* settled in the Southern Part of *Mesopotamia*, near the Plains or Valley of *Shinar*; for it is likely, that after the Flood *Noah* returned and fixed in those Parts, as well knowing the Goodness of the Soil, and the Pleasantness of the Country; which is confirmed by a Town there named *Zama*, from *Zam* or *Shem*: And upon the Confusion of Tongues, and Dispersion of Mankind, the primitive *Hebrew* remaining in the Family of *Arphaxad*, they, with their Grand-fires, continued in those Parts: To which may be added, that a Tract on the East Side of that Country was called *Arrapathitis*, which hath a near Resemblance to the Name of *Arphaxad*. Of *Lud* came the *Lydians*, near the River *Meander*: The Name *Lud* points out the Turnings and Windings, which are very many in that River, as well as in the *Nile* in upper *Egypt*.

Aram

(a) Jerem. xlvii. 4. (b) Discourse on Deut. ii. 23, in his Origin. Gent. p. 24, — 84. (c) Genes. x. 6. (d) Hist. natural. lib. 5. cap. 1. (e) De tradit. Heb. in Genesin. (f) Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 33. (g) Genes. x. 15, — 20. (h) Isaiah xxiii. 12. (i) xix. 29. (k) Genes. xxiii. 7. (l) 1 Chron. xi. 4. (m) Numb. xiii. 29. (n) Judges iii. 3. (o) De tradit. Heb. in Genesin. (p) x. 22. (q) Genes. xiv. 9. (r) Isaiah xxi. 2. (s) Jerem. xxv. 25. (t) Jerem. xlix. 35. (u) Acts ii. 9.

Aram is the last of the Sons of *Shem*; his Portion lay in the Countries called by the *Greeks*, *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*. It is probable that *Armenia* took its Name from *Aram*. As it was called *Mesopotamia* by the *Greeks*, from its Situation between the two Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; so it was named by the *Hebrews*, *Aram Nabarajim*; that is, *Aram* of (or between) the two Rivers. The upper and Northern Part thereof is distinguished by the Name of *Padan Aram*: And in *Hosea* (a), it is in the *Hebrew*, *Sede Aram*, the Land (or the fruitful Land) of *Aram*. The Children of *Aram* were *Uz*, and *Chul*, and *Gether*, and *Masb* (b). As for *Uz*, he is supposed to have been the Builder of the City *Damascus*. Hence the Land of *Uz*, often mentioned in Scripture, did denote the Country about *Damascus*, so as to comprehend a good Part of *Arabia Deserta*, and to extend it self to *Arabia Petrea*. The Family of *Hul* or *Chul* may with probability be placed in *Armenia* the Greater: For there we find the Names of several Places beginning with the Radicals of *Chul*; as *Cholua*, *Cholua-ta*, and *Cholobetene*. It is not certain where *Gether* seated himself; whether, according to *Bochart*, near the River *Centrites*, which *Xenophon* (c) says parts the *Carduchi* from *Armenia*; or in *Albania*, bordering on *Armenia*, where once there was a City named *Getara*, and a River called *Getras*. It is more generally agreed, that *Masb* fixed his Family near the Mountain *Mafius*, where is the River *Mafia* (d), which seems to bear his Name. It is thought that *Salah* the Son of *Arphaxad* inhabited *Susiana*; because *Ptolemy* (e) says that the *Elymæans* dwell in the maritime Parts of *Susiana*. We need not much enquire where his Posterity *Heber*, *Ren*, *Saruch*, *Nabor*, and *Terah* the Father of *Abraham* lived: For they being of the holy Seed, in whom the Church was preserved, and among whom the *Hebrew* Tongue was kept up, whose Genealogy and Times are carefully recorded in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, probably dwelt for most part in the same Country with *Noah* and *Shem* after the Flood, till *Abram* was called into the Land of *Canaan*; of which we shall hear afterwards. There is a Passage in *Judith* (f) which gives some Light concerning the Habitation of *Ren* or *Regu*, (For the different Pronunciation of that Name flows from the different reading of the Letter *Gnâjin*.) That Text says, that *Nebuchadnezzar* King of the *Affyrians* fought against *Arphaxad*, and overcame him, in a large Field in the Country of *Ragau*.

Joktan the Son of *Heber* was blessed with a numerous Offspring of thirteen Sons (g). According to *Josephus*, *Jerom* and others, these were Founders of so many Nations in *India*. But *Bochart*, and they who follow him, place them in the innermost Parts of *Arabia* the Happy: For there is a City in the Territory of *Mecca* named *Baisath-Jecktan* (h). And the main Character which *Moses* gives to the Place where these Sons of *Joktan* dwelt, from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar* (i), agrees well with this *Arabia*: For *Pliny* tells us, that there is a Port called *Mufa* or *Mesha* in the Kingdom of *Aden* in *Arabia*, which is most convenient for Merchants going to the Indies; and the whole Country is well peopled, the capital City where their King resides being called *Sephar* (k). From these Parts of *Arabia*, some of the Posterity of *Joktan* might go to people the *East Indies*; for *Ophir*, the Name of one of them, seems to be retained at *Ceylan*; which Island bids fair to be the *Ophir* of *Solomon*, from whence he brought Gold, *Almug*-trees and pretious Stones; and once in three Years, Gold and Silver, Ivory, Apes and Peacocks (l): All which Commodities are to be had at *Ceylan*. But I cannot insist on each particular: They that would have learned Dissertations on each of *Joktan*'s Sons, may consult *Bochart* (m) himself.

Thus we have seen how many Parts of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa* were peopled by the Sons of *Noah* and their Offspring, after their Families, in their Nations. It is not to be doubted, but that *America* was also replenished by some of the Posterity of *Shem* or *Japheth*. The most industrious Navigators have never to this very Day been able to sail from the North round the Eastern Parts of *Tartary*, nor to discover if it be joined to some Corner of *America*, or very near it. If it be not joined, certainly some of these North-east Coasts are very near *America*: And People might transport themselves, with some of their Cattle, from the one into the other; which by a great Fruitfulness in those early Ages, might overspread and replenish that whole Hemisphere of the World: Or they might pass thither by Sea from *China*, or by the narrow Seas, from *Norway* into *Iceland*, from thence into *Greenland*, and thence into the *Mexican America*; or from some other Part. Cattle, Fowls and other Creatures, might go thither by swimming, by flying, or by the Care of Men. Though the History of this Event be not on Record, yet this is a probable Account thereof; which is all that we design here, having discoursed of it more fully in another Essay (n). To conclude, It is certain, that by *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japheth*, the Sons of *Noah*, and their Descendents, the whole Earth was peopled: And though the Origin of some Nations, and their particular Progenitors should

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be

(a) xii. 12. (b) Genes. x. 23. (c) De Expeditione Cyri, lib. 4. p. m. 322. (d) Xenoph. de Expedit. Cyri, lib. 1. p. 256. (e) lib. 6. cap. 3. (f) i. 5. (g) Genes. x. 26, — 30. (h) Bochart. Phaleg. p. m. 111. (i) Genes. x. 30. (k) Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 6. cap. 23. (l) 1 Kings x. 11, 22. (m) Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 15, — 30. (n) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 2. p. 307, — 311.

be uncertain or mistaken; yet the *Mosaic Account* will still hold, that *by these were the nations divided in the earth, after the flood* (a).

§ 17. IDOLATRY had as it were over-run the World some Ages after the Deluge, and even involved the Posterity of *Shem*. God chose a Family, which he decreed should stop this Torrent, and become the Restorer of, and a Sanctuary for true Religion. This was the Family of *Abram*, that famous Man, an Example of Piety; upon whose Life the sacred History hath dwelt longer, as may be further observed in the next Period, than upon all the other Events in the Ages preceding his Birth. *Terah*, the Father of this Patriarch, dwelt in *Ur*, a City of *Babylon* or *Chaldea* (b). From thence he went into *Haran*, the same Place perhaps that was afterwards called *Carra*, where *Crausus* the *Roman* General received a great Overthrow. There *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, and the father of *Nabor*, served other gods (c). From thence *Abram* was called to go into a Country God would shew him (d). *Stephen* the Protomartyr speaks of this in a very lofty Manner: *The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham; — and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charan: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed into this land wherein ye now dwell* (e). These Beginnings of the Hebrew Nation were very small, yet they were signally blessed. God, by the Prophet *Isaiah*, thus speaks of them: *Who raised up the righteous man from the east, called him to his foot, gave the nations before him, and made him rule over kings? Look unto Abraham your father, — for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him* (f). *Abram's* Obedience to the divine Call, was a signal Evidence of his Faith: *By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out not knowing whither he went* (g). It was no easy Matter, to go out from his own Country, from his Kindred, and from his Father's House; a Cottage at home seems sweeter than a Palace in a strange Land: Yet *Abram's* Faith overcame all these Difficulties. He had the Promise of the divine Blessing and Protection: He hoped that God would afterwards give his Seed that Land for an Inheritance; and *by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country; looking for a city, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God*.

§ 18. HAVING taken a View of the most remarkable Events in sacred History during this Period, I proceed to consider the Chronology, from the Flood to the Promise made to *Abram*, *Gen. xv. 13.* which, according to the *Hebrew Account*, stands thus: *Shem* begat *Arphaxad* two Years after the Flood; *Arphaxad*, when aged 35, had *Salah*; *Salah*, when aged 30, had *Heber*; *Heber*, when aged 34, had *Peleg*; *Peleg*, when aged 30, had *Reu*; *Reu*, when aged 32, had *Serug*; *Serug*, when aged 30, had *Nabor*; *Nabor*, when aged 29, had *Terah*; *Terah*, when aged 70, had *Abram*. All which are evident from *Gen. xi. 10, — 26.* *Abram*, in the 75th Year of his Age, departed, on the Call of God, from *Haran* into the Land of *Canaan* (h). From his coming into the Land of *Canaan* unto the Promise made to him *Gen. xv. 13.* we reckon three Years. All which Particulars being put together, make three hundred and seventy Years. As to the last of these, we find *Sarai* took *Agar* her Maid, and gave her to her Husband *Abram* to be his Wife, after he had dwelt ten Years in the Land of *Canaan* (i). But we need not, with the learned *David Pareus* (k), fix down these ten Years to the Time before the Promise: For it appears from the inspired Historian, that the Promise *Gen. xv. 13.* was made soon after *Abram* came into the Land of *Canaan*, to comfort him with the Hope of a numerous Issue when *Sarai* his Wife bare him no Children; and the rest of these ten Years come in under the next Period.

These Patriarchs lived to a great Age, though not so long as the Ante-diluvians. *Shem* lived 100 Years before he begat *Arphaxad*, two Years after the Flood, and 500 Years after that, in all 600; and died in the Year of the World 2188; *Arphaxad* lived 438 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2096; *Salah* lived 433 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2126; *Heber* lived 464 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2157; *Peleg* lived 239 Years, and died in the Year of the World 1996; *Reu* lived 239 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2026; *Serug* lived 230 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2049; *Nabor* lived 148 Years, and died in the Year of the World 1997; *Terah* lived 205 Years, and died in the Year of the World 2083.

The *Greek Version* of the *Septuagint* makes the Years of this Period rise to a far greater Number: For there we find that *Arphaxad* begat *Cainan* when aged 135 Years; *Cainan* begat *Salah* when aged 130; *Salah* had *Heber* when aged 130; *Heber* had *Phaleg* when aged 134; *Phaleg* had *Reu* when aged 130; *Reu* had *Serug* when aged 132; *Serug* had *Nabor* when aged 130; *Nabor* had *Terah* when aged 179; *Terah* had *Abram* when aged 70: These, with two Years of *Shem* before the Birth of *Arphaxad*, make from the Flood to the Birth of *Abram*

(a) *Genes. x. 32.* (b) *Genes. xi. 31.* (c) *Josh. xxiv. 2, 15.* (d) *Genes. xii. 1.* (e) *Acts vii. 2, — 4.* (f) *Isaiah xli. 1. li. 2.* (g) *Heb. xi. 8.* (h) *Genes. xii. 4.* (i) *Genes. xvi. 3.* (k) in *Chronog. sacr. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

Abram one thousand one hundred and seventy two Years, according to the *Vatican Copy* of the *Septuagint*; by inserting *Cainan* between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, and by adding a hundred Years to the Lives of most of the Patriarchs more than is in the *Hebrew Text* when they begat Children. Other Copies of the *Septuagint* differ in a few Years; as may be seen collected by the learned *Spanheim* (a); and yet some Men of good Learning, as *Isaac Vossius*, *Walton*, *Morinus* and others, do contend for this Calculation.

But there is no Cause to depart from the Chronology of the *Hebrew Bible*. The four first Reasons I have advanced for the Calculation of the *Hebrew* under the former Period (b), hold for the same under this: To which I now add, that there is no Ground to depart from the original Text, unless it were corrupted; but no such Corruption can be pretended before Christ's Days, since neither our Saviour himself, nor his Apostles, did warn the Church of it; but on the contrary he commands all People to search into it (c); and the Apostles commend these who did so (d). Nor could the Text be corrupted since our Saviour's Days: The many Copies dispersed among Christians and others; the great Care of the Christian and Jewish Church; and the special Providence of God doth prevent any Hazard that way: Yea the very Texts which our Lord and his Apostles quote out of *Moses* and the Prophets; and which serve to prove him to be the true Messiah, do remain to this Day no way vitiated. There is another Argument insisted on by the learned Dr. *Cumberland* Bishop of *Peterborough*; That these who contend for the Numbers of the *Septuagint* must either reject, as some do, the concurrent Testimony of the *Heathen Greeks*, and the *Christian Fathers*; concerning the antient Kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Egypt*; or, must remove all these Monarchies further from the Flood, than they can reasonably believe *Ham* or his Grandchild can reach to. Here also *Varro's* Testimony must have weight, that there were about 1600 Years between the first Flood and the *Olympiads*; which Number is exceeded seven or eight hundred Tears by the *Septuagint's* Account. And this, says he, besides other Considerations, inclines me to the *Hebrew Numbers* of the Patriarchs generating, rather than to the *Seventy's*; because by the Numbers of the *Seventy*, there must be about nine hundred Tears between the Flood, and the first Tear of *Ninus*; which certainly is too much Distance between a Grandfather, and his Grandchild's beginning to reign (e). Moreover, when Mens Bodies were so robust, and the Blessing of Fruitfulness so great, 'tis more likely that the Patriarchs began to have Children about the thirtieth, than about the one hundred and thirtieth Year of their Age. The first is asserted by the *Hebrew Text*; the latter by the *Seventy*. The Arguments of learned Men who are on the other side of the Question, are of no great Strength. They plead, that the Numbers of the *Septuagint* give more Time for the dividing and planting of the World in the Days of *Peleg*; but we have before (f) observed, that the Division of the Earth among *Noah's* Sons, was done gradually during *Peleg's* Life; which extends to 340 Years after the Flood. And that this Division was not completely done at *Peleg's* Birth, may be further confirmed, because *Joktan*, the younger Brother of *Peleg*, had thirteen Sons (g); who were Fathers of so many several Nations; which must have been many Years after *Peleg's* Birth, since they were his Nephews; begotten by his younger Brother: And we have before (h) demonstrated, that before *Peleg's* Death there were abundance of People descended of *Noah* to people the World. Nor can it be pleaded, that the Numbers in the *Septuagint* agree better with the Histories of the first Kingdoms of the World; for we shall afterwards see, that there are no real Facts in the Histories of these Nations, but what may be accounted for by the Numbers of the *Hebrew Text*. And we must not depart from the Original, for the sake of precarious Suppositions that can never be proved: Of which kind are the other Arguments, which they who stand for the Chronology of the *Septuagint* do advance; as our learned Countryman Mr. *Baillie* (i) hath more fully made appear.

The inserting of *Cainan* between *Arphaxad* and *Salah* in the *Septuagint* Version (k), hath been justly questioned; since there is no such Person appearing in the *Hebrew Text*: And the Difficulty is the greater, that the Evangelist *Luke* (l), in the Genealogy of our Lord, mentions this *Cainan*. Nevertheless we may affirm, that there never was such a Person as *Cainan*, the Son of *Arphaxad*, and Father of *Salah*; which is proved by the Authority of the *Hebrew Text* (m); where the Genealogy is repeated thus, *Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah*. The *Septuagint*, in the Text last named, is not very consistent; for in the *Roman* and *Paris* Editions *Cainan* is omitted, and they give the Genealogy thus, *Τῷ Σημ, Ἐλάμ, καὶ Ἀσσορ, καὶ Ἀρφαξάδ, Σαλά, Ἐβερ, &c.* But who can recount all the Variations in the several Editions of that Book? The learned Primate, *Usher* (n), hath given a considerable Number of Differences in the very Years of the Age of this *Cainan*; and through the whole *Septuagint* there are many things added, many things left out, and passed by. *Jerom*, in his Commentaries up-

(a) Hist. Eccles. Vet. Test. folio. col. 285, 286. (b) Above, p. 21, 22. (c) John v. 39. (d) Acts xvii. 11. (e) Origines antiquissimæ p. 177, 178, 187. (f) Above, p. 35. (g) Genes. x. 25, — 30. (h) Above, p. 35, 36. (i) Opera Hist. & Chronolog. p. 20, — 26. (k) Genes. x. 24. xi. 12, 13. (l) l. iii. 36. (m) Genes. x. 24, xi. 12, 13. 1 Chron. i. 24. (n) in Chronol. sacr. p. 31. in annexis ad annales in edit. 1721.

on the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Chap. xvii. finding the four first Verses there omitted; (*The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron; &c.*) as may be seen in most Editions of the *Septuagint* to this Day, which begin with the fifth Verse of that Chapter; discourses thus: "I cannot understand why the *Septuagint* have omitted these Words, as they have done also with these of *Isaiab*, ii. 22. *Cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?* unless it be to cover the Sins of their own People. But there are so many Errors of this kind in that Version, that if I would recount them all, I should be obliged to write not only one; but many Books." And Primate *Usher* (a) remarks, that there are so many Errors in the *Septuagint* Copy of *Esther*, that it was long before that Book was received by the Christian Church. The like may be found in their Translation of *Job*. Nor, says *Bochart*, need we seek Examples at a distance, since this very Genealogy, according to the *Septuagint*, is all full of Anachronisms, vastly different both from the Hebrew; and the vulgar Version (b).

As to the Evangelist *Luke's* inserting *Cainan* in our Lord's Genealogy: St. *Luke* writing among the *Hellenist Jews* and Gentiles, who understood almost only the Greek Language, was obliged to make use of that Translation which they had among their Hands, which he took as he found it, without any Observation or Remark. And the Evangelist doth not oblige the wary Reader to conclude, that this *Cainan* was really the Son of *Arphaxad*; but propounding to himself to set down our Saviour's Ancestors, were they really so, or commonly so reputed; he begins, speaking of *Jesus* (c), being (as was supposed) *ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἡλίου, &c.* Nor are we obliged, from this *Cainan's* being inserted in the Genealogy, to infer that he was the Son of *Arphaxad*, more than from the Apostle's telling, that *Melchisedec* king of *Salem* was without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life (d), we are to conclude that he had no Parents; was neither born, nor died: Or from the same Evangelist (e) calling *Joseph* our Lord's Father; we are to conclude that he was begotten of him. All that St. *Luke* asserts is, that our Lord was supposed to have descended of this *Cainan*. The learned Monsieur *Bochart* (f), and his Followers, have another way of untying this Knot; namely, that the Name of this *Cainan* had crept into the sacred Text by an Error of the Transcribers. Indeed they have some probable Grounds for this; for the antient Manuscript that *Beza* used, and was gifted to the publick Library at Cambridge, wants this *Cainan*: Nor is he to be found in some other Manuscripts of the *New Testament* which Bishop *Usher* (g) quotes. Nor is there any mention of him by *Philo*, nor by *Josephus* (h). *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*, a learned Author in the second Century, who follows the *Septuagint* Version, says expressly, *Ἀρφαξὰδ ἐτεκνῶσε Σαλὰ*; *Arphaxad* begat *Salah* (i); without any mention of *Cainan*, though by some Mistake he is inserted in the *Latin* Version of that Book. *Irenæus* (k), in the same Age, owns, that in *Luke's* Genealogy from *Adam* to *Christ*, there are seventy two Generations; but if *Cainan* be inserted, there will be seventy three. *Julius Africanus* (l), in his *Greek Chronicle* transcribed by *Eusebius*, hath once and again, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, and *Arphaxad* being 135 Years old, begat *Salah*. *Epiphanius* (m) reckons from *Adam* to *Jacob*, twenty two Generations; but if *Cainan* be inserted, there will be twenty three. And the same Author (n) elsewhere says, that *Arphaxad* being 135 Years old, begat *Salah*. To which I may add *Origen* (o), who affirms, that from *Adam* to *Noah* there are ten Generations, and other ten from *Noah* to *Abraham*; though if *Cainan* be inserted in the latter, there will be eleven. After all, *Bochart* thinks it probable, that the Transcribers of *Luke's* Gospel, finding *Cainan*, the Son of *Enos*, in the thirty seventh Verse of the third Chapter, by some Mistake or other put him in also in Verse thirty sixth: And this having been so continued in the following Copies, hath occasioned this Controversy.

There is another Question debated among the Orthodox upon this Period, viz. What was the Year of *Abraham's* Birth? One Opinion is, that *Abram* was born in the Year of his Father *Terah* 130; and the main Support thereof is, that *Stephen*, the Proto-martyr, assures us, that *Abram* removed from *Haran* when his father was dead, into the Land of *Canaan*, wherein the *Jews* then dwelt. Now *Terah* lived 205 Years (p), and *Abram* departed out of *Haran*, when 75 Years old (q); and if 75 be taken from 205, there remains 130 as the Year of *Abram's* Birth. This Calculation is maintained by *Calvin*, *Usher*, *Pareus*, *Rivet*, *Ainsworth*, *Capel*, *Heidegger*, and many other learned and sound Divines. The other Opinion is, that *Abram* was born in the 70th Year of *Terah*, according to the twenty sixth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*. And this is supported by the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, by all the *Jews*, by *Luther*, by *Joseph Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and at great Length by our Country-

(a) Chronolog. sacr. p. 32. (b) Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 13. (c) Luke iii. 23. (d) Heb. vii. 2, 3. (e) Luke ii. 48. (f) Phaleg. p. m. 102, 103. (g) Ubi supra, p. 34. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. (i) Theoph. ad Autolycom, lib. 3. p. 134. cum annexis ad Just. Martyrem, edit. 1686. (k) Lib. 3. cap. 33. ab init. (l) Vide Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri p. 9. (m) Tom. 2. de ponderibus, § 22. p. 180. (n) Tom. 1. hæc. 55. p. 473. (o) Tract. 20. in Joann. (p) Genes. xi. 32. (q) Genes. xii. 4.

Countryman Mr. Baillie (a); to whose Sentiments I accede, for these Reasons: Whereof the first is taken from the plain Words of *Moses*, Gen. xi. 26. *Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nabor, and Haran.* These three Sons were not all born in the 70th Year of their Father's Age; but then he began to beget Sons, of whom *Abram* was the first-born; as appears both by Verses 26. and 27. If it be excepted, That the Scripture sometimes names, for the sake of their Dignity, the younger before the elder, as in the Order of *Noah's* Sons, *Shem, Ham* and *Japheth*; I answer, as hath been before observed, That *Moses* expressly calls *Japheth* the elder (b), and *Ham* the younger Son (c): But it is no where said in Scripture, that *Abram* was the younger Son of *Terah*; and therefore there is no Ground to invert the Order in which *Moses* hath placed him. If it be further excepted, That *Sarai*, *Abram's* Wife, was the same with *Ischab* the Daughter of *Haran* his Brother (d); and *Sarai* was only ten Years younger than *Abram* himself (e); consequently *Haran* must be elder than *Abram*, otherwise he could not have had a Daughter only ten Years younger: I answer, That this is all built on a false and precarious Supposition; for it is plain that *Sarai* was the Daughter of *Terah*: *And indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother: and she became my wife* (f). Such Marriages were then practised, before the Law (g) was enacted. A second Reason for this Assertion is, If *Abram* had not been born in the 70th Year of his Father *Terah*, according to *Moses's* Words, the Year of this eminent Patriarch's Birth, who is the Father of the Faithful, and in whom the second and third Period of the World is connected, will be left uncertain; the sacred Chronology will be interrupted in his Person, yea vitiated by an Addition of sixty Years, without any solid Ground. Thirdly, The Year of the Nativity of all the rest of the Patriarchs in whom the Church was continued, and of whom Christ came, is delivered by *Moses* in very plain Words, without any necessity to search it out by far fetched Consequences; why then should *Abram*, with whom God established his Covenant, and promised that our Saviour should come of his Seed, be deprived of this Prerogative? The Church is no way so much concerned in the Birth-year of *Nabor* or *Haran*, as in that of this Patriarch; why then should their Nativity be so plain from Gen. xi. 26. and *Abram's* left at an Uncertainty, till *Stephen* uttered his Speech, 2000 Years after *Abram* was born? Nor is the Difficulty from the Words of the Proto-martyr (h) so great, as to oblige us to invert the Order of the *Mosaic* Chronology, or to conclude that *Abram* was born in the 130th Year of his Father *Terah*. For if we suppose that *Abraham*, when 75 Years old, according to Gen. xii. 4. (his Father being then 145 Years) did go from *Haran* to the Land of *Canaan*; and that his Father living 60 Years longer, *Abram* returned sometimes to visit his Parent; but at last, when his Father was dead, he went into *Canaan*, stayed there, and never returned more to *Haran*, nor to any Part of *Mesopotamia*: If this be granted, as is no way unreasonable, then the Difficulty is removed; the Birth-year of *Abram* fixed by *Moses* stands firm, and the *Mosaic* Chronology, with the Proto-martyr's Speech, sweetly agree.

§ 19. I proceed to consider what Remains we have of the History of the World during this Period. *Porphyrins* (i) tells us, that when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*, *Calisthenes* the Philosopher sent to *Aristotle* the astronomical Observations made in the Heavens by the *Chaldeans* for 1903 Years. Now, if we suppose *Babylon* taken by *Alexander* in the Year of the World 3622; by taking 1903 out of that Sum, we fall into the Year of the World 1719, sixty three Years after the Flood. About which Time 'tis supposed *Babylon* was founded by *Nimrod*, the Grandchild of *Ham*. Hence that Country is called *the land of Nimrod* (k), and *an ancient nation* (l).

The Kingdom of *Egypt* did commence during this Period. *Constantinus Manasses* (m) reckons 1663 Years from the founding thereof to the reducing it under the Power of *Cambyfes* the *Persian*. Now, *Cambyfes* subdued *Egypt* in the Year of the World 3426; and by reckoning back 1663, we fall into the Year of the World 1763; which is 107 Years after the Flood: At which Time *Mizraim* the Son of *Ham* (named by *Eratosthenes* (n), *Menes*) was the first King of *Egypt*. From him the whole Kingdom of *Egypt* is called *the land of Mizraim*; and from his Father, *the land of Ham*, as hath been before (o) observed. Hence the *Pharaohs*, who were afterwards Sovereigns there, are designed *the sons of ancient kings* (p). And *Eratosthenes's* Table of the *Egyptian* Kings doth not contradict the sacred Scripture Chronology (q).

Some Authors also place the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Sicyon* in *Greece* about this Time: For the learned *Scaliger* and Primate *Usher* make *Ægialeus* to have governed there in the Year of the *Julian* Period 2625, which is in the Year of the World 1862. But I shall have occasion afterwards to discourse of the uncertain Chronology of these *Grecian* Kingdoms, in a Digression concerning the Affairs and Learning of *Greece*.

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(a) Opere Hist. & Chronolog. p. 30. — 34. (b) Genes. x. 21. (c) Genes. ix. 24. (d) Genes. xi. 29. (e) Genes. xvii. 17. (f) Genes. xx. 12. (g) Levit. xviii. (h) Acts vii. 4. (i) apud Simplicium lib. 2. de Cælo. Vid. Usserii Annal. p. 5. (k) Micah v. 6. (l) Jerem. v. 15. (m) apud Usserium, Annal. p. 5. (n) apud Syncellum inter scriptores Byzantinos, p. 91. (o) Above, p. 38, 39. (p) Isaiah xix. 11. (q) See Dr. Cumberland's Phœnician History.

The Affair of the greatest Moment in the History of the World during this Period, is the *Affyrian* Kingdom; which was founded by *Nimrod*, the Great-grandchild of *Noah*. The most certain History of the Rise thereof we have in *Genesis*, x. 8, — 12. *Cush* begat *Nimrod*: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, *Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord*. And the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calneh*, in the land of *Shinar*. Out of that land went forth *Asbur*, and builded *Nineveh*, and the city *Rehoboth*, and *Calab*; and *Resen* between *Nineveh* and *Calab*: the same is a great city. I before (a) reserved to speak of this Text, and therefore shall now offer some brief Remarks upon it. *Nimrod*, as we find in the sacred Historian, was well skill'd in Hunting; so as it became a Proverb, *Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter*. Wild Beasts by this time became numerous, and troublesome to the Parts adjoining to the Nation of *Cush*; the Deserts of *Arabia* being convenient for their Harbour. Hereupon he having got together a Body of stout young Men of his own Kindred, by degrees he became a great Master of the Art of destroying Beasts of Prey, by which he not only got himself into the Favour of the adjoining Countries, but also inured himself and his Companions to Fatigue and Hardship, and to manage dextrously offensive Weapons. Being thus trained up in the Art of War, he invaded the neighbouring Parts of the Nation of *Shem*, which fell to the Lot of the Family of *Arphaxad*; and so became Master of the fruitful Vale of the Land of *Shinar*. There he pitched upon the Place, where the City and Tower of *Babel* had been begun, to build the Capital of his Kingdom. Here *Babylon* became in process of Time a very great City, though probably not till the *Babylonish* Empire was raised to its Grandeur. Then it stood on each Side of the *Euphrates*, with Streets running from North to South parallel with the River, and others crossing these from East to West. The Compass of the Walls was 365 Furlongs (b), that is about 45 Miles: The Height of them was 50 Cubits, and the Breadth so great as Carts or Coaches might pass one another on the Top without Danger. Over the *Euphrates* there was a sumptuous Bridge, and at each End thereof a magnificent Palace. It was famous for its pensile Gardens, so named because at a distance they seem'd to hang in the Air, being born up with square Pillars at a considerable Height from the Ground; and there are said to have grown Trees eight Cubits thick in the Body, and fifty Foot high. In this City there was also a magnificent Temple, dedicated to *Belus* or *Jupiter*, and in the middle thereof a Tower, which some suppose to have been Part of that begun before the Confusion of Tongues. The City was first built by *Nimrod*, afterwards enlarged by *Semiramis*, and finally encreased in Bulk and Beauty by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who in his Pride ascribed to himself the whole Glory thereof, saying, *Is not this great Babylon that I have built* (c)? But of the different Fates and Revolutions of this great City, and also of its Desolation and Ruin, we may hear more afterwards in the Progress of this History.

Erech is the same that occurs in *Ptolemy* under the Name of *Arecca*, and is placed by him in the most Southern Turning of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. *Accad* is by the Seventy Interpreters writ *Αρχαδ*, *Archad*: And some Footsteps of the Name are thought to be preserved in the River *Argades*, mentioned by *Ctesias* as near *Sittace*, at some distance from the River *Tigris*, giving Name formerly to *Sittacene*, a Country lying between *Babylon* and *Susa*. *Calneh* in the Land of *Shinar*, seems to be the same which is called *Calno* (d), *Canneh* (e), and *Calneh* (f). 'Tis said by the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and also by *Eusebius*, to be the same with *Ctesiphon* upon the *Tigris*, about three Miles from *Seleucia*, and for some time the Capital of the *Parthians*. *Nimrod's* Kingdom at first seems to have extended no further than these Cities in the Land of *Shinar*; but in *Genesis*, x. 11, 12. Out of that land went forth *Asbur*, and builded *Nineveh*, and the city *Rehoboth*, and *Calab*, and *Resen* between *Nineveh* and *Calab*: the same is a great city. There is a marginal Reading of the 11th Verse, *He went forth into Affyria*, which is approved by the learned *Bochart* (g), *Heidegger* (h), *Dr. Wells* (i) and others. And indeed it clears the Sense: For thus the Connexion is evident; "The Beginning of the Kingdom of *Nimrod* was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calneh*; but afterwards he extended his Kingdom further, and out of the Land of *Shinar* he, that is, *Nimrod* made an Invasion into *Affyria*, and built *Nineveh*, with the other Cities before named." For it would be incongruous to mention *Asbur* the Son of *Shem*, in the Genealogy of the Sons of *Ham*, and to give Account of his Actions before he had mentioned his Birth in the 22d Verse. As for *Nineveh*; it is generally named by the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, *Ninus*; and the Word *Nin-ave* signifies in the *Hebrew*, the Dwelling of *Ninus*; who was the Son of *Nimrod*. As to the Situation of this once famous City, it can hardly now be discovered; which seems to be the Meaning of *Nabum* i. 8. *With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof*; and iii. 7. *Nineveh is laid waste, who will remove her?* Only 'tis probable that it once flourished on the East Side of the River *Tigris*, not far from the River *Ly-*

cus.

(a) Above, p. 39. (b) *Diod. Sicul. lib. 2. cap. 7.* — 11. (c) *Dan. iv. 30.* (d) *Isaiah x. 9.* (e) *Ezek. xxvii. 23.* (f) *Amos vi. 2.* (g) *Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1x.* (h) *Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 1. p. 699.* (i) *Geography of the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 232 & seqq.*

cus. As to the Greatness of *Nineveh* : the Prophet *Jonah* calls it an exceeding great City (a). *Strabo* (b) says the City *Ninus*, situated in the Plains of *Aturia*, was greater than *Babylon*; but was soon destroyed after the Ruin of the *Syrians*. *Diodorus Siculus* (c) gives a more particular Account thereof : That it was 150 Furlongs [that is, near nineteen Miles] in Length, 90 Furlongs [that is, somewhat above eleven Miles] in Breadth, and 480 Furlongs [that is, about sixty Miles] in Compass; the Walls were 100 Foot high, and so broad that three Carts might go a-breast on the Top of them; and along these Walls were 1500 Turrets each of them 200 Foot high. This Description of it agrees with that of the Prophet *Jonah* (d); that it was an exceeding great city, of three days journey; for twenty Miles was reckoned as much as a Man could well go in a Day in these antient Times : And it may well be supposed that in it there were more than six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left (e). For if this be taken of Infants under two Years old, these generally make in Numbers the fifth Part of a City; and thus the whole Inhabitants of that Place would be no more than six hundred thousand Souls : And the City of *London* hath many more at this Day. To this Greatness *Nineveh* had increased in the Days of the Prophet *Jonah*, about thirteen hundred Years after this; and yet it might be but a little Place when *Nimrod* first founded it.

The other Cities founded by *Nimrod* having suffered the same Fate with *Nineveh*, little Certainty can now be had about them. We have a City named *Reboboth* in *Genesis* xxxvi. 37. where *Saul* an *Idumæan* King was born : But that was at too great Distance from *Assyria*. *Bochart* (f) then conjectures, that the *Reboboth* in *Genesis* x. 11. was the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Birtha*, to the West of the River *Tigris*. *Calab* seems to be the chief City of *Calacene*, mentioned by *Strabo* (g) : And perhaps the same with *Halab* in which the King of *Assyria* placed some of the ten Tribes whom he carried into Captivity (h). As to *Resen* between *Nineveh* and *Calab*, a great City; *Bochart* (i) can find none in antient Authors so like it as *Larissa*, described by *Xenophon*; who tells, That the Greeks, in their Return after the Death of *Cyrus* the younger, when they came to the River *Tigris*, found a great desolate City named *Larissa*, where in former Times the *Medes* dwelt. It had a Wall twenty five foot in Breadth, one hundred in Height, and two Parasangs in Compass, built of Brick, upon a Foundation of Stone twenty Foot high. The King of *Persia*, when he ruined the Kingdom of the *Medes*, was not able to seize this City; but the Sun being suddenly eclipsed, the Inhabitants became so discouraged that the Town was taken (k). There being then no City in those Parts bearing a Greek Name, 'tis likely the Greeks asking of what City these were the Ruins, the *Assyrians* might answer, *le Resen*, that is, of *Resen*; and hence *Xenophon* expressed it by *Larissa*. To conclude this Point : These Cities being founded by *Nimrod*, do declare him to have been a great Prince. And this is the best Foundation for the *Assyrian* Kingdom that I know.

But the History of the *Assyrian* Empire, which we have in *Diodorus Siculus* (l), and *Justin* (m), is very uncertain, if not fabulous. The Sum of the Story is : In this Book (says *Diodorus*) we shall describe Affairs in Asia in antient Times, beginning with the Kingdom of the *Assyrians*. Of their primitive Kings, called *Indigenæ*, neither are their Acts famous, nor doth any Memory of them remain. The first who extended that Empire was *Ninus*, who being a warlike Prince, and desiring to do great Things, gathered the stoutest Men in the Country, and having trained them to the use of Arms, he entred into an Alliance with *Ariæus* King of *Arabia*; by whose Assistance he subdued the *Babylonians*, and imposed a Tribute upon them, after he had taken their King captive, and killed him with his Children. Then having entred *Armenia* with a great Army, and destroyed several Cities, he so terrified the rest, that King *Barzanes* submitted to him. Thus *Ninus* having become very powerful, subdued *Pharnus* King of *Media* in Battle, and crucified him with his Wife and seven Children. Thereafter in the Space of seventeen Years he overcame all Asia, except *India* and *Bactria*; but no Author declares the Particulars of his Victories. Of the maritime Provinces he subdued, according to *Ctesias*, whom we follow (says *Diodorus*) *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, the Lower *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*; and besides these, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myfia*, *Troas*, *Phrygia* at the *Hellepont*, with *Propontis*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and all the barbarous Nations even to *Tanais*; and also *Persia*, *Sufiana*, and *Caspiana*, with many other Nations on which we do not stay. But the War against the *Bactrians* being more difficult, he delayed it to another Occasion; returning from this Expedition he built a City, which he called by his own Name, *Ninus*, (above described) at the River *Euphrates*. Then being taken with the Beauty and Virtue of a Woman at *Afcalon*, of uncertain Birth (which *Diodorus* discourses of at great Length, though at the same Time he owns his Narration fabulous) *Semiramis* by Name; he took her to Wife, and governed all Things by her Inclination with good Success; for having gathered together an Army of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, two hundred and ten thousand Horse, and six hundred thousand

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(a) *Jonah* iii. 3. (b) lib. 16. p. 737. (c) lib. 2. cap. 3. (d) iii. 3. (e) *Jonah* iv. 11. (f) *Phaleg*. p. m. 290. (g) lib. 11. p. 503. (h) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. xviii. 11. (i) *Phaleg*. p. 291, 292. (k) *Xenophon* de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 3. operum p. m. 308. (l) lib. 2. cap. 1, — 22. (m) lib. 1. cap. 1, 2.

thousand armed Chariots ; (Numbers incredible in those Days !) with these Ninus advanced against Oxyartes King of Bactria, who met him with an Army of four hundred thousand Men. But the Bactrians being defeated, and the City Bactra taken by the Direction and Valour of Semiramis, she was thereon advanced to be Queen, and her former Husband hanged himself. Ninus having settled his Affairs in Bactria, his Queen Semiramis brought him forth a Son, named Ninias, and the King dying, left to her the Administration of the Kingdom. Semiramis, to render herself famous, erected a great sepulchral Monument to her deceased Husband, and built the City Babylon (before described) with other remarkable Places, and then brought Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya, all the way to the Temple of Jupiter Hammon, under her Power, and returned to Asia. Where hearing that Stabrobates, or Staurobates, King of India, governed a rich Country, she resolved to take it from him. To this end she prepared a great Army and Fleet, but being told of the mighty Elephants in India, to have something like them, she caused three hundred thousand Hides of Oxen to be dressed, and these stuffed with Straw, under which there was a Camel to bear the Machine, and a Man to guide it, whereby she made a Resemblance of these Creatures at a distance. Her Army (a) consisted of three Millions of Foot, one Million of Horse ; of Chariots one hundred thousand ; of those who fought on the Backs of Camels, as many ; of Camels for the Baggage, two hundred thousand ; and of Gallies with brazen Heads, to transport her Army over the River Indus, two thousand. 'Tis incredible, that either her Country could afford such Numbers, or that to which she was to march could supply them with Necessaries. Notwithstanding all this vast Preparation, she returned without Success. Strabo (b) says, that she fled out of India, only with twenty Men attending her. Justin (c) gives her the Character of a lewd Woman, who seeking to draw her Son into her Embraces, was killed by him, after she had reigned, from the Death of Ninus, forty two Years. Her Son Ninias and his Successors, to the Number of thirty, led an effeminate Life among Whores. Neither have we any thing more about them than their bare Names in Eusebius's *Chronicon*, and those who have borrowed from him : Yet the Kingdom is said, by Diodorus Siculus (d), to have continued in their Race 1360, and by Justin, 1300 Years ; till in the Reign of Sardanapalus, Nineveh was destroyed by Arbaces, and their Empire transferred to the Medes.

This is the Sum of what we have on Record by Heathen Authors concerning the *Assyrian* Empire ; which Diodorus delivers more fully, and after him Justin and Velleius Paterculus (e) more briefly, and many modern Authors after them. Upon the whole, allow me to offer a few Remarks, with which I conclude this Period. This whole Narrative concerning Ninus, Semiramis, and their Successors, is uncertain, if not fabulous ; and that for these Reasons : First, the whole is founded upon the Authority of Ctesias the *Cnidian*, Physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, who wrote a *Persian* History in twenty three Books ; of which only now a few Fragments preserved by Photius remain. But valuable Authors, who had seen Ctesias intire, give him a bad Character ; for Plutarch (f) calls him a fabulous vain Man, and a great Liar. A. Gellius (g) reckons him among the fabulous Writers ; and Aristotle (h) says, he is an Author who deserves no Credit. And if we judge either by the incredible Things in this Story, or by the Fragments of Ctesias concerning *Indian* and *Persian* Affairs that remain, these great Men have not given him this Character without Ground. Secondly, 'Tis false that the *Assyrian* Kings governed all Asia, from the *Hellepont* to *India*, and stretched their Conquests over *Egypt* and *Lybia* : For how could this be, when six hundred thousand armed *Israelites* stayed forty Years in the Wilderness of *Arabia*, without ever being noticed by these Princes ? And the same People, under the Command of Joshua, invaded the Land of *Canaan*, threw out and destroyed the native Inhabitants of that Country, which was a Part of the Territory of these supposed *Assyrian* Kings, who never so much as questioned them for disturbing and oppressing their Subjects. There is not the least mention of any of the Judges or Governors of *Israel* ; nor of Saul, David, nor Solomon paying Toll, Tribute or Custom to these *Assyrians*. Yea the *Israelites*, during all that Time, were an independent State (i). David had no King nor Lord, but only his Redeemer over him (k). Of Solomon it is expressly said, That he reigned over all kingdoms, from the river unto the land of the *Philistines*, and unto the border of *Egypt* : they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life. For he had dominion over all the region on this side the river (l) ; that is, the River *Euphrates*. Nor do we find, that any *Syrian* King disturbed the *Israelites* before Benhadad (m), in the Reign of Ahab over the ten Tribes in *Samaria*, about the Year of the World 3042. All the great Monarchies of the *Babylonians*, *Persians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, oppressed *Judah* and *Jerusalem* in their Turns ; as we shall find in the Sequel of this History : How comes it, that we never read that these *Assyrians* ever touched them, nor that the People of God were saved by a Miracle from their Power ? If from the sacred Scriptures we look into other Au-

thors,

(a) Suidas in voce Semiramis. (b) Lib. 15. p. 686, & 722. (c) Lib. 1. cap. 2. (d) Lib. 2. cap. 21. (e) Lib. 1. cap. 6. (f) In Artaxerxe. (g) Noctes Atticæ, lib. 9. cap. 4. (h) Hist. Animalium, lib. 8. (i) Vide Jameson. Spici-leg. cap. 3. (k) Psal. cx. 1. (l) 1 Kings iv. 21, 24. (m) 1 Kings xx.

thors, we may see the *Lydian*, the *Pergamenian* Kingdoms, many *Grecian* Kings and States; with the Kings of *Troy* mentioned by *Homer*; none of which ever acknowledged any Potentate in *Asia*, nor any where, reigning over them as their Superior. Particularly the *Egyptian* Kings appear never to have been subdued, nor made tributary to any before the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Words of *Daniel* (a), to this Monarch, when interpreting his prophetic Dream, *Thou art this head of gold*, makes me think, that there was never any King before him that had any thing like an universal Monarchy. Finally, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (b) owns, that the antient *Assyrian* Kingdom, which reaches back to the fabulous Times, had but a small Part of *Asia* in Possession. Thirdly, The Time and Continuance of this *Assyrian* Kingdom is uncertain, as well as the Extent thereof; for there is a very disagreeing Account of it among antient Authors; *Diodorus Siculus*, as already observed, says it continued 1360 Years; and *Justin*, from *Trogus Pompeius*, expresses it to be precisely 1300. I find the learned Dr. *Cumberland* Bishop of *Peterburrow* (c) is of Opinion, that there is an Error in the Numbers of *Diodorus* crept into the late Editions of that Author; and Sir *John Marsham* (d) is of the same Mind, because *Syncellus*, *Scaliger* in his *Greek Eusebius*, and some others, in citing this Passage of *Diodorus*, have 1306, which they take to be the true Reading. Taking then the Number in *Justin* to be true, if we suppose that the same commences about 100 Years after the Flood, in the Year of the World 1756, then the same will end in the Year of the World 3056; which according to *Helvicus's* Tables, is the third of *Joam* King of *Judah*: And this, according to Dr. *Cumberland*, doth not contradict Scripture Chronology. But still the Extent of this Kingdom doth not agree with Scripture History, as before observed: And there is yet a Difference among the Antients about the Continuance; for *Velleius Paterculus* (e) makes the *Assyrian* Monarchy to have continued 1070 Years; and *Herodotus* (f), a more antient Historian than any we have named, says, *That when the Assyrians had possessed the Upper Asia 520 Years, the Medes revolted from them, and fighting for their Freedom against the Assyrians, did shake off their Yoke, and asserted their Liberty*. And *Appianus Alexandrinus* (g) tells; *That the Time of the Assyrian, Median and Persian Empires being all put together, will not be above 900 Years*. These Inconsistencies being compared, may afford this Remark, That neither the Narratives, nor the Chronology of profane Authors, of Affairs before the *Persian* Empire, is to be depended upon. Fourthly, As *Horntus* (h) observes, the very Names of these supposed *Assyrian* Kings are not from *Chaldea* nor *Assyria*, but borrowed from the *Persian*, *Egyptian* or *Greek* Languages; as *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Orus*, *Delbois*, *Setbus* *Altaidas*, *Hormascus*, *Sparteus*, *Amyntas*, *Atossa*, *Nitocris*, &c. After all, though I own that there was an *Assyrian* Kingdom, since we have the Beginning thereof in the Conquests of *Nimrod* upon sacred Record, (i); and the last King *Sardanapalus*, in *Herodotus* (k); and after him in many valuable Authors. Yet neither the Extent of the Dominions of this Kingdom, (whether it was limited within the Provinces of *Chaldea*, *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, on the East Side of the River *Euphrates*; or if it did stretch to some Regions on this Side of that River;) nor the Time of the Duration of that Kingdom; nor the very Names of its Kings, are certain. And the Story of its first Kings and Queens, *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, as transmitted to us by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and others who follow them, is false and fabulous.

PERIOD III.

From the Promise made to Abram, Genes. xv. 13. to the coming of Israel out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 40. Galat. iii. 17.

Containing the Space of 430 Years.

HAVING before (l) observed, that God called *Abram* the Son of *Terah* to the Land of *Canaan*, that his Family might be a Sanctuary for true Religion, I now proceed in the History of this Patriarch. A Jewish Author called R. *Eliezer* (m), who, according to *Vorstius* his Translator, flourished about the Beginning of the fourth Century of the Christian Era, hath very strange Stories about *Abram*; as, "That great Men sought to kill

(a) Daniel ii. 38. (b) Dionysius Halicarnass. lib. 1. cap. 2. (c) Origines antiq. p. 193. (d) Canon Chronicus, p. m. 521. (e) Lib. 1. cap. 6. (f) Lib. 1. cap. 95. (g) Præfatione Operis. (h) De Arca Noe, p. 96. (i) Genes. x. 8, — 12. (k) Lib. 2. cap. 150. See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronolog. of antient Kingdoms amended, Chap. 3. Of the Assyrian Empire, p. 265, & seqq. (l) Above p. 42. (m) Pirke Eliezer p. 16, 59.

“ kill him ; to prevent which Designs, he was hid under Ground thirteen Years, where he neither saw Sun nor Moon : Yet coming out thence, he spoke the holy Tongue, and abhorred Idolatry, trusting only in the Lord : That after this he was thrown into Prison for ten Years, whereof three in *Samaria*, and seven among the *Kordeans*, who cast him into the middle of a fiery Furnace ; but the God of Glory took him out of it : For it is written, *I am the Lord who hath brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees* : That *Shem* taught him the Mystery of Embolism, or of intercalating the Year ; and he was a Priest ; as it is written, *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever.*” But leaving these Fables, of which this Jewish Rabbi hath great Store, I shall notice the Scripture History concerning *Abram* ; where we find, (a), that *Abram* lived as a Stranger in the Land of *Canaan*, having sweet Intercourse with God. By a Famine he was compelled to go into *Egypt* ; where he was in danger of being deprived of *Sarai* his Wife, if not of his Life for her sake : For when the princes of *Pharaoh* saw her, and commended her before *Pharaoh*, she was taken into *Pharaoh's* house. *Abram* himself was also guilty of a Fault, in dissembling his Relation to *Sarai*, and equivocating concerning it, teaching his Wife, and perhaps also all his Attendants, to do so ; for it seems he too much distrusted the Providence of God after he had appeared to him twice. What will become of the Willows, when the Cedars are thus shaken ! Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall. But the Lord plagued *Pharaoh* and his House with great Plagues, though we are not told what these were, and mercifully delivered and enriched *Abram*, as a Fruit of the divine Protection and Blessing promised to him ; which may teach us, that if we, while Strangers on the Earth, obey the Call of God, and look for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God, we may expect the divine Favour. *Abram*, and *Lot* his Nephew, upon their Return from *Egypt* (b), found it inconvenient to stay in the same Country, by reason of the great Plenty they had of Flocks and Herds, and Tents : Wherefore *Abram* shewed his Moderation and peaceable Disposition, by giving to his Nephew his choice to go where he pleased. Whereupon *Lot* chused the Plain of *Jordan*, a well watered and plentiful Country, before the Lord destroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* : But the Men of that Place were wicked, and Sinners before the Lord : Which should teach us, not to look only to the Ease and Plenty of our Habitation, but to shun as far as we can the Society of the Wicked. After *Lot* had separated, the Lord renewed his gracious Promise to *Abram* (c) ; to shew, that whom God loves, he loves to the End, and will give them frequent Proofs thereof, as their Need shall require.

In the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis* we have a Narrative of a War carried on by *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam*, and *Tidal* King of Nations, against the Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim* and *Bela*. Learned Men have made Enquiries who these Aggressors were. Dr. Cumberland (d) observes, that the Chaldee Samaritan Version names the same Person, who is called *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* in the 1st Verse, King of *Babel* in the 9th, making *Shinar* and *Babel* synonymous. The rest of the Kings were confederate with him, and perhaps near adjacent to his Country. Hence the same Author tells us, That *Tidal King of Nations* is in the Samaritan Version called the Sultan of the Hammim, or Descendents from Ham ; which points at the Kingdom by Ham's Posterity at Babylon, and thence spread into Assyria and the neighbouring Countries (e). I do not know on what account the vulgar Version renders *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, King of *Pontus* ; for neither doth the Hebrew favour such a Translation, nor seem any of these Kings to have come from that Part of the World, but from those Parts that lay to the East of the Land of *Canaan*. In their Way they attacked and overrun the Frontiers that led to the Country of the five Kings that lay to the East of the Land of *Canaan* : For the Text tells, Ver. 5, 6. that they smote the Rephaims in *Ashteroth Karnaim*, the Zuzims in *Ham*, the Emims, the Horites in mount *Seir*, the Amalekites and the Amorites. The Overthrow of the King of *Sodom* and his Allies was as a Punishment from God against that People for their Wickedness, and a Fore-runner of their Ruin. *Lot's* being taken Prisoner in the War, shews that it is dangerous to live in a wicked Society, lest we be Partakers of their Judgments. The Victory that God gave to *Abram*, is a Proof of the Blessing and Protection that God gave to that Patriarch ; and shews that War for a just Cause, and a necessary Defence, is lawful.

When *Abram* returned from his Victory, *Melchisedek* king of *Salem* brought forth bread and wine : and he was the priest of the most high God. And he blessed him (f). The Opinions concerning who this *Melchisedek* was, are too many to be here inserted and considered : This hath been more fully done by others (g). Some (b) contend that he was *Shem* the Son of *Noah*. It is certain that *Shem* was then alive ; for he lived five hundred Years after the Flood, and was a very venerable Person for his Piety and Experience. But this Opinion cannot be reconciled with the Apostle's Account of *Melchisedek*, that he was without father, without mother,

(a) Genes. xii. (b) Genes. xiii. (c) Genes. xiii. 14, — 18. (d) Origin of Nations p. 176. (e) Origin of Nations p. 236. (f) Genes. xiv. 18, 19. (g) Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 2. dissert. 2. Saurin on the Old Testam. dissert. 13. (h) Dr. Cumberland, De legibus Patriarch. cap. 3. & multi Hebræi.

mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life (a). I then go into the Opinion of the learned Dr. Owen (b), That *Melchisedek*, though he lived and dwelt in the Land of *Canaan*, then and afterwards possessed by the Posterity of *Ham*; yet was none of the seven Nations which were by the Curse of *Noah* devoted to Bondage and Destruction. God would not raise of their accursed Seed the most glorious Ministry, as to typical Signification, that ever was in the World, until the Son of God came in his own Person. But it is more probable that he was of the Posterity of *Japheth*, who was principally to be regarded as the Father of the Gentiles that were to be converted in the Days of the Messiah, according to the Promise *Gen. ix. 27*. *Melchisedek* was an eminent Type of our blessed Redeemer: For he was King and Priest in one Person; so was our Lord. His Name signifies *King of Righteousness*; our Redeemer is *Jehovah our Righteousness* (c). He was King of *Salem*; our Lord appeared as King of *Zion* (d), and as Prince of Peace. He was Priest of the most high God, being called from among Men to this Office, and therefore was not an Angel; our Lord was called to this Trust, to exercise a Priesthood more excellent and perfect than that of the *Jewish* Priests, or of *Melchisedek* himself. He was without Father or Mother, or is so introduced, his Parents not being named; our Lord was really without Father as Man, and without Mother as the Son of God. He had a Shadow of Eternity, without Beginning of Days or End of Life, neither of them being historically named; our Lord is really the everlasting Father (e), and hath an unchangeable Priesthood (f). He gave Refreshment to *Abram*; our Lord is plentifully stor'd with all spiritual Provision, for the Relief, Support and Comfort of all Believers, in all their Duties and Difficulties, and will give it out to them as their Occasions do require. Finally, *Melchisedek* was a very great Man (g), he blessed *Abram*; our Lord is sent to bless us (h): *Abram* gave him the Tithes; and we are to serve our Lord with a Part of our Goods, as well as of our Time.

God renewed his Promise to *Abram* (i), to assure him that not *Eliezer of Damascus*, but one who should come forth of his own Bowels should be his Heir, and that his Seed should be innumerable as the Stars. *Abram* believed the Lord, and it was counted to him for Righteousness: He believed in the promised Seed, which is Christ (k); he believed in him who justifies the Ungodly (l), and they are absolved only upon the account of Christ. God confirmed the Truth and certain Accomplishment of these Promises by external Signs: For *Abram* having made Sacrifices according to divine Appointment, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold, a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp passed between the pieces. The smoking Furnace signified the Affliction of his Seed in *Egypt* (m); the burning Lamp speaks Comfort in their Affliction; and the Fire passing between the Pieces, completed and consumed the Sacrifice, and testified God's Acceptance thereof, as afterwards in the Case of *Manoah* (n) and of *Solomon* (o). The Lord told *Abram*, that his seed should be strangers in a land that is not theirs, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. (The round Sum is here set down, but the full four hundred and thirty are mentioned *Exod. xii. 40. Gal. iii. 17*.) And that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. All which was accordingly fulfilled. Though the Children of God may meet with Difficulties between the giving of the Promise and the Accomplishment, yet all the good Things shall be performed in due Time.

After *Abram* had lived ten Years in the Land of *Canaan*, we have in *Genesis xvi*. his Marriage to *Hagar*, an *Egyptian*. I see no Reason to say, with Rabbi *Eliezer* (p), that *Hagar* was the Daughter of Pharaoh King of *Egypt* by one of his Concubines, and gifted by him to the Patriarch. This I look upon as a *Jewish* Fable. But we may own, that by *Sarai's* Consent she became *Abram's* secondary Wife: Where, though the Patriarch may be excused, yet he cannot be justified; the Practice being contrary to the primitive Institution of Marriage, and therefore absolutely condemned by the Gospel (q). When it was customary, it seems to have proceeded from an irregular Desire, for the speedier peopling of the World, and increasing the Church: But now it must not be so; our Lord makes the Marriage-union to be between one Man and one Woman only. The Differences that happened in the Family of *Abram* upon that Occasion, shews that such Marriages are often attended with unhappy Consequences. 'Tis true, God took care of the Child that *Hagar* bore, and promised to bless him, because he was the Son of *Abram*. And accordingly we find in History, that *Ismael* had a powerful and numerous Posterity, who subsisted for a long Time: Yet they did not follow the Steps of this holy Patriarch, but were Enemies to the Church of God.

When *Abram* was ninety years old and nine, the Lord appeared to him, and said, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly (r). Extraordinary Appearances seem for

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(a) Heb. vii. 3. (b) on the Hebrews, Vol. 3. p. 93. (c) Jerem. xxiii. 6. (d) Zech. ix. 9. (e) Isaiah ix. 6. (f) Heb. vii. 24. (g) Heb. vii. 4. (h) Acts iii. 26. (i) Genes. xv. (k) Gal. iii. 16. (l) Rom. iv. 5. (m) Isaiah xlvi. 10. (n) Judges xiii. 19, 20. (o) 2 Chron. vii. 1. (p) Pirke, cap. 26. p. m. 60. (q) Matth. xix. 8, 9. (r) Genes. xvii. 1, 2.

Ant. C. some Time to have been intermitted, and the Communion *Abram* had with God, was by the ordinary Way of Ordinances and Providences. The Promise of the Birth of *Isaac* was so long delayed, perhaps to reprove *Abram* for over hasty marrying of *Hagar*, or that, *Abram* and *Sarai* being so far stricken in Age, God's Power might be more magnified, their Faith more tried, and the Child so long waited for, might be beloved indeed. Now God appeared in the *Shechitah*; or in some visible Display of his Glory; whereon *Abram* fell on his face while God talked with him. The Patriarch was so overcome with the Brightness of the divine Glory, as he blushed at the Honour done him. The Intimation was most comfortable: *I am God Almighty, walk before me, and be thou perfect.* God is allsufficient; as the Word *El-shaddai* here used, imports: All in himself, and all to us; to pardon our Sins, supply our Wants, and cure our Maladies; to make us happy in Time, and to Eternity: And the Duty he requires of us, is to walk before God in Integrity. The Lord further promised to *Abram*: *Thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but Abraham. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee; and Kings shall come out of thee* (a). 'Tis here intimated that his Seed should be very numerous, so was *Israel* of old; but that which makes the Promise more conspicuous is, that all Believers in every Age are look'd on as *Abraham's* spiritual Seed (b). He is the Father of these in every Nation, who by Faith enter into Covenant with God. In token of the Certainty of this Favour, his Name was changed from *Abram*, a high Father, to *Abraham*, the Father of a Multitude. Princes dignify their Favourites by new Titles; and this was given to *Abraham* by God, who is indeed the Fountain of Honour. His Wife's Name was also changed from *Sarai*, my Princess or Lady, to *Sarah*, a Princess: From her should come the Messiah, the Prince of the Kings of the Earth. And to strengthen the Faith of *Abraham* it is said, *I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee.* And indeed very many Kings did descend from him; not only the Princes of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, with *Saul*, *David* and all his Race, but the Kings of the ten Tribes; the antient Kings of *Idumæa*, with these descended from *Herod* the Great; of whom in the Sequel of this History: Kings of his Posterity by *Keturah*, in *Africa* and *Arabia*, with these of the *Saracens* in *Babylon*, *Egypt*, *Africa* and *Spain*. But above all, from him, according to the Flesh, did descend the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; in whom all the Nations of the Earth are blessed.

This Covenant with *Abraham* was sealed by the Covenant of Circumcision (c). 'Tis not questioned but other Nations, as well as the *Israelites*, used this Rite, though not in a religious Way; for *Herodotus* (d) and *Diodorus Siculus* (e) affirm it of the *Colchians*, *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*. But the Question is, if it was older among the *Israelites*, than any other Nation, and if it was derived from the true Religion to the Gentiles? And I conceive it is evident from the sacred Scriptures, that this Sign of Circumcision was given by God to the Patriarch *Abraham*, and to his Family and Posterity; to these of them who should worship the God of Heaven and Earth, as a Seal of the Covenant, before such a Rite was used by other Nations. For it is written: *This is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me, and you; Every man-child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you* (f). *All the nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart* (g). *Thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised, with them that be slain by the sword: this is Pharaoh and all his multitude* (h). And this may be further confirmed from the *New Testament*: *Moses gave unto you circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers)* (i). *And he gave him (viz. your Father Abraham) the covenant of circumcision* (k). *And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith* (l). Even *Tacitus*, (m) a Heathen, says, that the *Jews* circumcised themselves, that they might be known by that Mark of Distinction. I know the learned *Sir John Marsham* (n), and *Dr. Spencer* (o) incline to the other side of the Question, that the *Israelites* learned this Rite from the *Egyptians*; and their main Support for this Opinion, are the Words of *Herodote* (p), who says, *That the Colchians, Egyptians and Ethiopians circumcised their Genitals; and these of the Syrians who dwelt in Palestine acknowledged, that they borrowed that Ceremony from the Egyptians.* And *Diodorus Siculus* (q) infers, *That the Colchians are descended from Egypt, because both Nations are circumcised; which Rite hath been borrowed by them, as well as by the Jews.* To which I answer, that all which these Testimonies can prove is, that Circumcision was practised by these Nations when these Authors wrote, which is not denied; but though their Words were more plain, neither *Herodote*, who wrote about a thousand Years after *Moses*, nor *Diodorus Siculus*, who wrote about four hundred Years after *Herodote*, can be Witnesses concerning a Matter of Fact in the Days of the Patriarch *Abraham*. Nor can the Testimony of any Hea-

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(a) Genes. xvii. 4, — 6. (b) Rom. iv. 16, 17. (c) Genes. xvii. 9, — 15. (d) Lib. 2. cap. 30, 104. (e) Lib. 1. cap. 55. (f) Genes. xvii. 10, 11. (g) Jerem. ix. 26. (h) Ezek. xxxi. 18. (i) John vii. 22. (k) Acts vii. 8. (l) Rom. iv. 11. (m) Hist. lib. 5. cap. 5. Circumcidere genitalia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur. (n) Canon Chronicus, p. iii. 74. in edit. Francq. 1695. (o) De legibus ritualibus, lib. 1. p. 227. (p) Lib. 2. cap. 104. (q) Lib. 1. cap. 55.

then Author be depended upon in this Affair; since they were ignorant of the sacred History; and these of them that are now extant, give very false Accounts of any thing that concerned the *Jews*; as I have more fully observed in another Essay (a). Besides, it can never be thought, that *Abraham* would have exposed himself to so painful and dangerous an Operation, as Circumcision, when he was ninety nine Years of Age, out of a fond Conceit to imitate the *Egyptians*: Nay, it was a religious Regard to the express Command of God, that made him receive this Rite as a Seal of the Covenant, and see it performed on all the Males of his Family, and enjoined to all his Posterity. I shall have occasion in another Part of this Work, to write of the Rites used by the modern *Jews* in administering Circumcision; and therefore shall now only further observe, that the spiritual Meaning of this Rite is well expressed by the Apostle: *In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands; in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ* (b). The learned *Witsius* (c) further explains it to this Purpose: Hereby was signified the Corruption and Misery of our Nature that we are to abandon, even as the Skin cut off was thrown away; the painful Cutting signifies that Man deserves to be separated from all good Society, and exposed to Torments: It also discovers, that of *Abraham*, after he was circumcised, should be born an *Isaac*; of whom in the Fulness of Time would descend the *Messiah*, to shed his Blood for us; by which the Covenant was truly sealed. He shall give us spiritual Benefits, to be circumcised in Heart by Regeneration and Sanctification, whereby in due Time we are made fit for the glorious Inheritance; and therefore we are obliged to all the Duties of Religion; to mortify our Lusts; to live in newness of Life, and to suffer cheerfully whatever he calls us to, that we may enjoy him in the Life to come. This Circumcision is peculiar to Males, though Women are included in the Covenant; for Man is the Head of the Woman. It was administered to Children, when eight Days old, and not sooner, that they might gather some Strength to be able to undergo the painful Operation; and that at least one Sabbath might pass over them. It was a bloody Ordinance; for under the *Old Testament* Dispensation, *all things were purged with blood* (d): But the Blood of Christ being now shed, all bloody Ordinances, as a Part of the Wall of Partition, are taken down and abolished; Circumcision gives way to Baptism. Finally, the religious Observance of this Institution was required under a severe Penalty (e), of being cut off from his People, or debarred from Access to Church Privileges, because the Contempt of the Seal, was a despising of the Covenant.

Abraham had another Interview with God (f), probably within a few Days of the former, as a Reward for his cheerful Obedience to the Law of Circumcision. God made him a kind Visit, which he cheerfully entertained; where the Messenger of the Lord declared God's Purpose of Love concerning *Sarah*, that she should have a Son; which she thought too good News to be true, and therefore could not find in her Heart at first to believe it: But being reproved for her Fault, she perceived by laying Circumstances together, that it was a divine Promise made concerning her, and therefore she renounces all distrustful Thoughts about it. We may observe also *Abraham's* commendable Hospitality; of which the Apostle makes this Improvement: *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares* (g). One of these Angels appears to be the Messenger of the Covenant; the Son of God, our Redeemer, as a Prelude of his future Incarnation; for he is called *Adonai* (h); and eight Times *Jehovah* (i), a Name incommunicable to any Creature; and once *the judge of all the earth* (k). The Lord having signified to *Abraham*, his Friend, (whose Piety made him so remarkable, as the Lord gave him this Testimony: *I know that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment*) that the Sin of *Sodom* was so grievous as to bring down Vengeance. *Abraham* interceeds by fervent and importunate Prayer, for Pardon to that guilty People; but since there were not ten Righteous in the City, Indemnity from Punishment could not be given them. Whence we may see, that it is our Duty to pray for one another; and particularly, that the Wrath of God may be turned away from these that are threatned with it (l); that God has a Regard to the Prayers of the Righteous, but when the Number of the Godly is very small; and Impiety, with all kind of wicked Crimes, prevail, the Prayers of the Righteous may not succeed to keep divine Vengeance from a perverse and corrupt Generation.

The Sins which plunged *Sodom* and its neighbouring Cities into such fearful Judgments, were, *pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness* (m); and these were accompanied with dreadful Sensuality and Uncleaness; which provoked the Lord to rain Fire and Brimstone upon them, *from the Lord out of heaven* (n). God himself, by his own immediate Power, and not in the common Course of Nature, inflicted this Judgment; or, God the Son, from God the Father; for the *Father hath committed all judgment to the Son*, he will destroy those

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(a) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. i. p. 173. — 181. (b) Coloss. ii. 11. (c) Oeconomia federum, lib. 4. cap. 8. p. m. 535. (d) Heb. ix. 22. (e) Genes. xviii. 14. (f) Genes. xviii. (g) Heb. xiii. 2. (h) Genes. xviii. 3. (i) Genes. xviii. 13. — 33. (k) Genes. xviii. 25. (l) Ostervald's Reflexions sur les livres, & les chapitres de la Bible, p. 12. (m) Ezek. xvi. 49. (n) Genes. xix. 24.

who reject his Salvation. The Overthrow was great ; all the Cities of that Plain, with all their Inhabitants, Lands and Goods were destroyed. That fruitful Valley remains to this Day a great Lake, or dead Sea, which is called the *Salt Sea* (a). Travellers say, it is about fifty Miles long, and fourteen broad ; having no living Creature in it ; not moved by the Wind ; the Smell thereof is offensive ; *Jordan* falls into it, and is lost ; and it is called *Asphaltis*, from a sort of *Bitumen* or Pitch which it casts up. Not only sacred, but also profane Authors give Account thereof ; for *Strabo* (b) says, *They shew that there is Fire under that Ground by many Signs ; for there are rough burnt Stones near Moasada, Caves in many Places hollow, the Earth covered with Ashes, Drops of Slime falling from Rocks, Rivers very warm, sending out an unfavoury Smell, and Houses turned into Ruins : So that we may easily believe what the People of that Country tell, that in that Place were thirteen Cities well inhabited ; of which Sodom was the chief, being sixteen Furlongs in Compass, but by an Earthquake, and an Eruption of hot, bituminous and sulphurous Waters, all was turned into a Lake.* *Diodorus Siculus* (c), after describing the Lake *Asphaltites*, tells, *The neighbouring Place, by reason of Ground burning below, sends forth a stinking Savour, which makes the People who dwell there, very valstudinary, and short-lived.* *Tacitus* (d), having given Account of this Lake, adds, *Not far from this are Fields, which, they say, once were fruitful, and great Towns well inhabited, but were burnt by Thunder ; of which some Marks still remain, so as the Earth, being like to what is consumed, hath lost its fructifying Virtue, &c.* Further Accounts thereof may be seen in *Pliny* (e), *Solinus* (f), and *Justin* (g), among the Antients ; and by abundance of Travellers and Geographers, among the Moderns ; but the *Mosaic* History of this Judgment is the most certain. It pleased God to give so terrible an Example of the Vengeance which he will execute upon a wicked World ; and therefore the Scripture sets it out as a Pattern of the Ruin of *Israel* (h), of *Babylon* (i), of *Edom* (k), of *Moab* and *Ammon* (l). And it is also typical of the Vengeance of eternal Fire, to which God will condemn the Wicked at the Judgment of the great Day (m) : But the Lord graciously delivered just *Lot*, who was vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked : (For that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds) (n) : But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt (o). We may be sure by the Punishment, that her Sin was great ; there was in it Disobedience to an express Command ; Unbelief, she questioned if *Sodom* would be destroyed, after the divine Sentence was intimated ; Worldly-mindedness, she hankered after her House-goods, and Relations left in the City ; and Apostacy, for she had an Inclination to return to what she had abandoned : And therefore, for a Warning to future Ages, she was struck dead in the Place where she sinned, being turned into a saline Substance, which would last for a long Time, as a Monument not liable to decay. Finally, what happened to *Lot* (p), and to his two Daughters, after they had escaped the Ruin of *Sodom*, shews, that we ought always to be on our guard to shun all Occasions of Sin ; and particularly, to beware of Drunkenness, which, as it is sinful in it self, so it is often attended with sad Consequences.

Abraham journeying from *Mamre*, where he had lived near twenty Years, dwelled between *Cadesb* and *Shur* (q), and sojourned in *Gerar*, which was near *Gaza*, in the Land of the *Philistines* (r). There *Abraham* said of *Sarah* his Wife, she is my Sister ; and *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, sent and took her : She seems yet to have preserved her Beauty, though she was now about ninety Years of Age. But God appeared to that Prince in a Dream, and told him, he should be punished with Death for the Woman he had taken ; for she is a Man's Wife. Whereupon *Abimelech* excused himself, because *Sarah* and *Abraham* had both said, that they were Brother and Sister, and restored her to the Patriarch, reproving him, for saying *she is my sister* ; and gave him Men and Maid-servants, with a thousand Pieces of Silver, and Leave to dwell in whatsoever Part of the Country he thought fit ; and *Abraham* by Prayer prevailed with God to remove the Judgment that *Abimelech* and his Family were under. Where we see that God in every Place covered this Patriarch with his Protection ; and yet *Abraham* was guilty of such an Equivocation, as bordered upon a Lie ; and which, if admitted to be just, would be the Ruin of humane Converse, and an In-let to all Falshood ; and he was also faulty in exposing the Chastity and Honour of his Wife, of which he ought to have been the Protector. While there are Spots in the Moon, we must not expect any thing spotless under it ; and the Scripture is impartial in relating the Blemishes of the most famous Saints. We may also observe, that there was at that Time some Knowledge of the true God where *Abraham* sojourned ; for God appeared to *Abimelech* in a Dream, and that Prince being afraid to offend God by Adultery, which he looked on as a terrible Crime, restored to *Abraham* his Wife. God pardoned his Fault of taking her, committed by Ignorance, and shewed that

(a) Numb. xxxiv. 12. (b) Lib. 16. p. 764. (c) Lib. 19. cap. 108, 109. (d) Hist. lib. 5. cap. 7. (e) Nat. hist. lib. 5. cap. 16. & lib. 35. cap. 15. (f) Cap. 35. edit. Salmasianæ. (g) Lib. 36. cap. 3. (h) Deut. xxix. 23. (i) Isaiah, xlii. 19. (k) Jerem. xlix. 18. (l) Zeph. ii. 9. (m) 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude, 7. (n) 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8. (o) Genes. xix. 26. (p) Genes. xix. 30, — 38. (q) Genes. xx. (r) See Wells's Geograph. of the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 330.

that he had a Regard to the Prayers of pious *Abraham*, by healing *Abimelech*, with his Wife and Servants, of the Plague that had been inflicted upon them.

Isaac, the Son of the Promise, was born when his Father was a hundred Years of Age, and his Mother ninety (a). The Word of God will be fulfilled, though Difficulties intervene between the making of the Promise and the Accomplishment thereof. *Isaac* being a Type of Christ, there must be something extraordinary in his Birth, as well as in his Life. *Abraham* circumcised him when he was eight Days old; his Mother gave him Suck; and when he was weaned, there was a Feast made. *Ismael*, who was fourteen Years older than *Isaac*, being observed mocking the Child of Promise, upon *Sarah's* Desire, he with his Mother were cast out of the Family. There is no Ground to say, with some Jewish Rabbins (b), that a Divorce was given to *Hagar*, that she and her Son might be ejected in this Age, and in the Life to come: But we have better Reason to observe, with the Apostle (c), that all who are born to *Abraham* according to the Flesh, have not a Right to the Promises made to him: Nay, they who mock at the Promise, and are not born again by Regeneration, shall be cast out. Thus the Jews, in New Testament Times, though they were *Abraham's* Seed, yet because they submitted not to the Gospel-covenant, but persecuted the Gospel-church in her Infancy, were unchurched. To go on with the History: Though *Ismael* was cast out, as not having a Right to the Promises made to *Isaac*; yet God took care of him, because he was descended of *Abraham*. The Lord gives temporal Mercies even to those who despise spiritual Favours. *Abraham* sojourned in the Land of the *Philistines* many Days; which, as *Heidegger* (d) remarks, signifies some Years. There he called on the Name of the Lord the everlasting God; and there *Abimelech*, with *Phicol* the chief Captain of his Host, or prime Minister, made a Covenant with him for their mutual Safety.

After all the Trials and Difficulties which *Abraham* had gone through, he meets with one sharper than any of the former: God did tempt *Abraham* (e). He tempted him, not to draw him into Sin, (so Satan tempts,) but to discover his Graces, how strong they were, that they might be found to Praise, Honour and Glory. *Abraham's* Obedience without Hesitation to so difficult a Command as to offer up his beloved Son *Isaac* in sacrifice, upon whom the Hopes of a numerous Posterity and other Promises were entailed, was an illustrious Proof of his Faith; and as such is commended by the Apostle (f). He believed the Resurrection of the Dead, and that God would raise up *Isaac* from the Dead, rather than any of the Promises should fall to the Ground: He believed that he himself had sinned, and that there must be a Sacrifice made to expiate his Guilt; and that since no Sacrifice that could now be offered could be effectual for this end, God would in due Time send the promised Seed to expiate all Sin and Guilt, and to convert many Nations by the Efficacy of his Death, and the Operation of his holy Spirit. This Faith made *Abraham* willing to render Obedience to so difficult a Precept; but the Angel of *Jehovah* (g), who is God himself, the eternal Word, the Angel of the Covenant, our Redeemer, interposed, and provided a Sacrifice, a Ram caught in a Thicket: And *Abraham's* Faith, upon Trial, being approved, God renewed the Covenant with him, and gave him very high Expressions of divine Favour. From the whole, we may see the Love of God to us, in giving his only Son to suffer and die for us: *Abraham* was obliged in Duty and Gratitude to part with *Isaac*; but God was under no Obligations to us; for we were Enemies. We may also observe our Duty to God: We must part with all our Sins, were they never so well beloved, and with all our worldly Enjoyments, when he calls us, with a holy Submission to his Will.

The learned Sir *John Marsham* (h) advances a strange Opinion, That *Abraham* was moved to be willing to offer the Sacrifice of his Son, in imitation of the Heathen *Canaanites*, who before that time offered their Children Victims to their Deities. This can nowise be yielded: For had it been so, *Abraham's* Obedience had proceeded from a wrong Principle. It had been mere Superstition, abominable Cruelty, and Will-worship: Whereas the Obedience of this holy Patriarch did flow from a religious Regard to the Command of God, and Faith in his Ability and Willingness to perform all the Promises made to him. And though abominable humane Sacrifices were too customary among the Heathen, who knew not God, especially before the coming of Christ, of which I have given many Instances in another Essay (i); yet it cannot be proved that such Victims were used in or before *Abraham's* Days: For there is no profane Author by several hundred Years so old as *Moses*, much less so old as *Abraham*, to write of such a Fact. *Philo* (k) the Jew says no such Thing; and this Jew, who lived in the Days of our Saviour, nor *Philo Biblius*, in his Fragments of *Sanchoniathon*, writ in the second Century, nor any other Author cited by this learned Gentleman, can never be com-

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petent

(a) Genes. xxi. (b) Pirke Eliczer cap. 30. p. 69. (c) Rom. ix. 7. Gal. iv. 28, — 31. (d) Hist. Patriarch. Vol. 2. p. 127. (e) Genes. xxii. 1. (f) Heb. xi. 17, — 19. (g) Genes. xxii. 11. (h) Canon Chronicus § 5. p. m. 77 & seqq. tit. Παιδοθυσία. Ex his colligere est, hanc Abrahami tentationem non esse actionem innovatam, sed ad pristinos Canaanitarum mores designatam, &c. (i) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 270, — 281. (k) Περὶ Ἀβραάμ.

petent Witnesses in such an Affair. The learned *Witsius* (a) hath more fully considered every thing Sir *John Marsham* hath advanced on this Head, whom the Curious may consult; my Design allows me not to stay longer upon it.

A. M. 2088. Ant. C. 1862. Vir. Abr. 137. Is. 37. *Sarah*, the Wife of *Abraham*, died at the Age of one hundred and twenty seven Years, at *Kirjath-arba*; the same is *Hebron* in the Land of *Canaan* (b); and *Abraham* came to mourn and weep for her; and soon bought a Burying-place of *Ephron* the *Hittite* for her Interment. *Stephen* the Proto-martyr, in his Speech *Acts* vii. 16. seems to speak of the Sepulchre bought by *Jacob* *Gen.* xxxiii. 19. *Josh.* xxiv. 22. or to name *Emmor* the Father, in stead of *Ephron* the Son. *Abraham* humbly proposes the Purchase; 'tis fairly treated of and agreed, with a great deal of mutual Civility and Respect; the Children of *Heth* owning *Abraham* as a mighty Prince; or as a Prince of God among them. The Purchase-money, being four hundred Shekels of Silver, was justly paid. This is the most antient Monument we have upon any Record of buying and selling by Money. If each Shekel be valued at half an Ounce of Silver, or about half a Crown in our Money, the Price of the whole will be about fifty Pounds *Sterling*. The Conveyance being secured, *Sarah* was buried. From hence we may learn to moderate our Passions for the Death of near Relations, not to neglect nor delay the Duty of burying them; to practise Justice and Civility in our Dealings: And we may also remark, that *Abraham* desired to have his Wife buried in the Land of *Canaan*, being assured by the divine Promises, that his Seed should possess it. And we ought to trust in the Promises of God, particularly in those which relate to the Resurrection of our Body, and Life everlasting; which are secured to us by the Death, Burial, triumphant Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord *Jesus*.

The Marriage of *Isaac* is subjoined to the History of the Death and Burial of *Sarah*, to shew, that as *one generation passeth away, another cometh*; and thus the Entail, both of the humane Race and of the Covenant- blessings, is preserved. The particular Events concerning *Abraham's* Family, with their minute Circumstances, are carefully related; while the Histories of the Kingdoms of the World then in being, with their Revolutions, are buried in Silence. Thus *Moses*, the inspired Penman, particularly narrates the Care of *Abraham*, when he was now a hundred and forty Years old, concerning the Marriage of his Son *Isaac*, and the Charge he gave to *Eleazer* his Servant about it; his Servant's Journey into *Mesopotamia*, into the City of *Nabor* *Abraham's* Brother, to seek a Wife for his young Master; the kind Providence which brought him to be acquainted with *Rebekah*, whose Father, *Bethuel*, was *Isaac's* Cousin german; the Treaty of Marriage with her Relations and herself, their Consent obtained, and the happy Meeting of the married Couple (c). Where we may remark the Faith and Piety of *Abraham* taking care that his Son might not marry a *Canaanitish* or an idolatrous Wife, none of the Family of *Ham*, laid under the Curse; but one of his own Relations, of the Offspring of *Shem*, with whom he might have the Prospect of a Blessing; the Devotion of *Eleazar* his Servant, in the Prayers he put up to God for Success in his Journey; and in the Thanksgivings and Praises which he gave to God when he had prospered: Which may teach us, in every Design we undertake, and particularly in Marriage, to follow the Rules of our holy Religion, to seek God's Counsel, that we may obtain his Blessing.

A. M. 2126. Ant. C. 1824. Vit. Is. 75. Is. & Jac. 25. About the same time when *Isaac* was married, or perhaps in the same Year, *Abraham* took *Keturah* to Wife (d); by whom he had six Sons, in whom the Increase of his Posterity promised to him, was in part fulfilled. *Abraham* gave them Gifts, and sent them away into the East Country: Whereby we understand the Parts of *Arabia* lying Eastward of *Canaan*, where the Names of *Midian*, *Sheba*, *Dedan* and *Ramah*, frequently occur (e). The Patriarch having put his Affairs in Order, gave Portions to *Ismael* and also to his Sons by *Keturah*; but God having made *Isaac* Heir of the Promise, *Abraham* made him Heir of his Estate, and then died, being one hundred and seventy five Years old. What is upon Record of him during the last thirty five Years of his Life, after the Marriage of *Isaac*, is contained in a few Verses (f); where there is no mention of God's extraordinary Appearances to him. All the Days of eminent Saints are not Days of Manifestations, but often slide on silently without Observation. But there is no doubt, that as he had a great Share of God's Affection on Earth, so he is possessed of a high Reward in Heaven. Hence we read of the Blessed sitting down with *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, in the kingdom of heaven (g), and of *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosom (h). By which we are not to understand any *Limbus patrum*, Purgatory, or Place of Punishment, as *Papish* Authors expound that last Text: But by the great Consent, even of Christian Fathers, as *Heidegger* (i) hath at large shewn against *Sixtus Senensis* and others of the Church of *Rome*, this is to be understood of the Happiness of Heaven, where rich and poor Saints meet together, where they have Communion with God and the Father of the Faithful, feasting intimately with *Abraham* at the same Table, as if they rested in his Bosom.

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(a) *Egyptiaca* lib. 3. cap. 7. per totum. (b) *Genes.* xxiii. (c) *Genes.* xxiv. (d) *Genes.* xxv. (e) See Wells's *Geography of the Old Testament*. Vol. 1. Ch. 10. (f) *Genes.* xxv. 1, — 9. (g) *Matth.* viii. 11. (h) *Luke* xvi. 23. (i) *Hist. Patriarch.* Vol. 2. exerc. 10. de sinu Abrahamæ.

The inspired Penman next gives us Account of *Ishmael Abraham's Son*, and of twelve Princes descended from him (a): *They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria*: That is, in the Parts of *Arabia Petrea*; whereof the Western Part towards *Egypt*, is in Scripture called *Shur*; and the Eastern Part towards *Assyria* and the *Persian Gulph*, is named *Havilah*. Accordingly we find the Descendents of *Ishmael*, *Nebajoth* and *Kedar* there situated (b); *Dumab* (c); *Kedemoth* (d); and the *Hagarites*, with *Jetur* and *Nephish* (e).

Before I leave *Abraham* I may notice, that antient Heathen Authors have inserted Parcels of his Life in their Books; as *Berosus*, *Hecataeus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Artapanus* and *Melo*; whose Fragments are cited by *Eusebius* (f), and *Josephus* (g); and also *Justin* (h) hath something concerning him: But the most certain Account of him, and of all other Parts of sacred History, is in the written Word of God.

§ 2. I have already observed some Particulars concerning the Life of *Isaac*; we may further see, that the Pleasures of his married State were interrupted by *Rebekah* his Wife bearing him no Children for twenty Years after their Marriage: For *Isaac* was forty Years old, when he took her to Wife, and he was threescore Years old, when she bare him *Esau* and *Jacob* (i). In this Case *Isaac* and his Wife had Recourse to Prayer, and the Lord graciously heard them; but while she was pregnant, the two Children struck one another in the Womb, as if they had been fighting; whereon she went to enquire of the Lord, probably by Prayer: *And the Lord said unto her, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels: and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger*. She was now big, not only with two Children, but with two who should be the Fathers of two Nations, and in their Manners and Dispositions should very far differ from each other, and in their Interest contend one against the other, till in the Issue the elder should serve the younger: Which was fulfilled, in the Subjection of the *Edomites* for many Ages to the House of *David*, till at last they revolted in the Days of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat* (k). From the Choice that the Lord made of *Jacob* the younger Brother and his Posterity, before *Esau* the elder Brother and his Offspring, we see the Freedom of the Grace of God, in chusing whom he will to make Monuments of free Mercy (l). By the profane Disposition of *Esau*, who for *one morsel of meat* sold his birth-right; with which a Right to the Priesthood, and to be Heir of the Promises were connected, we are taught to prefer the Gifts of free Grace, to all temporal and earthly Pleasures (m); and never to quit our Interest in God, and in the Kingdom of Christ, for all the Enjoyments of this World.

In the twenty sixth Chapter of *Genesis*, we find the Patriarch *Isaac* tried, as his Father *Abraham* had been before, both with Prosperity and Adversity. There was a Famine in *Canaan*, so great, as that promised Land could not find him Bread; yet he did not desire to forsake it: But God appeared to him, and renewed the Covenant with him, and at the same Time warned him not to go to *Egypt*. *Isaac* was a good Man, but not cut out for enduring Hardships so well as his Father; he must go unto *Abimelech*, King of the *Philistines*, unto *Gerar*; not the same Man that was alive in his Father's Days (n), for this was seventy five Years, or thereby, after the former, but one of the same Name. There he fell into the like Error that his Father had been surprised by, to deny his Wife, and give out that she was his Sister: But Truth is the Daughter of Time, which in Time will out; and *Abimelech* having found that *Rebekah* was really *Isaac's* Wife, charged all his People, saying, *He that toucheth this man or his wife, shall surely be put to death*, Ver. 11. The same Year *Isaac* sowing in that Land, he had a great Increase of an hundred Fold, with abundance of Flocks, Herds, and Servants; as Goods encrease, they increase that eat of them. This Prosperity made the *Philistines* envy him, and desire him to depart from them; but God encouraged him by his gracious Promises, Ver. 24. And *Abimelech* made a friendly visit to him, and entered into a Covenant with him: *When a man's ways please the Lord, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him*.

Esau, the elder Son of *Isaac*, being forty Years old, married two Wives, Daughters of the *Hittites* or *Canaanites*. This was done without the Consent or Advice of his Parents, and was very grievous to them (o); because these Women were Strangers to the Blessing of *Abraham*, and subject to the Curse pronounced by *Noah*. Yet his Father *Isaac*, when he was old, and his Eyes were dim, so that he could not see (p), seems to have forgot this; and also the Oracle, that the elder should serve the younger, while he desired *Esau* to take his quiver, and his bow; or, as some read it, his sword; and his bow (q), and take me some venison; and make me savoury meat, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee before I die, designing for him the Blessing of the first-born. *Rebekah*, and *Jacob* her Son, resolved to

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prevent

(a) Genes. xxv. 12, — 18. (b) Isaiah, lx. 7. xxi. 16. (c) Isaiah, xxi. 11. (d) Deut. ii. 26. (e) 1 Chron. v. 19. (f) De Præp. evang. lib. 9. (g) Contra Appionem. (h) Lib. 36. cap. 2. (i) Genes. xxv. 26. (k) 2 Chron. xxi. 8. (l) Rom. ix. 10, — 14. Malachi, i. 2, 3. (m) Heb. xii. 16. (n) Genes. xx. (o) Genes. xxvi. 34, 35. (p) Genes. xxvii. (q) Vide Heidegg. hist. Patriarch. Vol. 2. p. 397.

prevent this : Their End was good, it being agreeable to the Mind of God, that the elder should serve the younger ; and the early Piety of *Jacob* encouraged his Mother to do her utmost for him ; and they knew that the Patriarch's Blessing was prophetic, and when dictated by the Spirit of God would take Place ; but the Means they used were in no wise justifiable, to put a Lie into *Jacob*'s Mouth, or into his Hand. If *Rebekah* had put her Husband *Isaac* in remembrance of what God had said concerning their Sons, and had shewed him how *Esau* had forfeited the Blessing, by selling the Birthright, and by marrying strange Wives ; this would have been more honourable : But she was left to take an indiscreet Course, that God might have the Honour of serving his own Purposes by the Follies of Men. *Isaac* being imposed upon, bestowed the best Blessing on *Jacob* : *See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field, which the Lord hath blessed. Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee : be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee : Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee* (a). Here are spiritual, as well as temporal Blessings. By faith *Isaac* blessed *Jacob* and *Esau* concerning things to come (b). The favourable Smell may signify, that he should be acceptable to God, through Christ ; abundance of worldly Things, is pointed out by the Dew of Heaven, the Fat of the Earth, and plenty of Corn and Wine : From him the Messiah was to come, to whom People were to do Service, and Nations to bow down : *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion* (c). In him the Seed of *Jacob* were favoured of Heaven : *Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee.*

So soon as *Isaac* had made an End of blessing *Jacob*, *Esau* his Brother came in from his Hunting ; and finding that *Jacob* had got the choice Blessing, he made a bitter Cry : On which the Apostle remarks, *That he knew how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected : for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears* (d). His Repentance was not sincere ; for he did not mourn for his Sin in selling the Birth-right, but only for his being deprived of the Birth-right and Blessing : And as *Calvin* observes, his Repentance is not to be taken for a real returning to God, but only a kind of Terror, with which God sometimes smites Sinners, after they have for a long Time taken Pleasure in Wickedness ; and shews, that these who now make light of the Blessings of the Covenant, and sell them for nought, will in vain one Day or other be importunate for them. *Isaac* would not recall what he had done, but said, *I have blessed him, and he shall be blessed* : Finding that he was more than in an ordinary manner filled with the Holy Ghost, while he gave the Blessing, he believed God had ratified it. But upon *Esau*'s Importunity, his Father gave him also a Blessing, though far inferior to that given to *Jacob* : For he told him, *Behold, thy dwelling shall be in the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword thou shalt live, and shalt serve thy brother : and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck* (e). Where the Fate not only of *Esau*, but also of the *Edomites* his Successors, for a long Time is foretold : They shall have a Share of worldly Blessings, good Weather, with a good Land, tho' not so good as the Land of *Canaan* ; they shall live by their Sword ; they were a People oft engaged in Wars, very bold and daring. *But thou shalt serve thy brother* : Which was accomplished, when King *David*, of the Seed of *Jacob*, made a Conquest of them (f). They threw off that Yoke in the Days of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat* (g) ; yet suffered great Overthrows by *Amaziah* (h) ; by the *Maccabees* (i) ; and by *Hircanus*, the Son of *Simon Maccabeus*, when they were obliged to receive Circumcision (k) ; and when *Herod* the Great, who by his Descent was an *Idumæan*, by the favour of the *Romans* was advanced to be King over the *Jews*, their Case was not much altered.

§ 3. *ESAU* being, through his own Fault, deprived both of the Birth-right and the Blessing, resolved, so soon as his Father was dead, to kill his Brother *Jacob*. This coming to his Mother *Rebekah*'s Ears, she sent away her Son *Jacob* to *Haran*, to tarry there till his Brother's Anger should turn away. Whereby he was not only freed from the Danger of a malicious Revenge conceived against him, but it was also a mean of Providence to render him more happy, rich and powerful, than probably he could have been by staying at home. Thus God turns about the evil Designs of Enemies for good to his People, which should encourage us to trust in the Providence and Protection of the Almighty. *Jacob* had no sooner received the Blessing, but he was obliged to fly into *Syria* (l). They who inherit the Blessing, must expect Persecution. His Father being advised of the Journey, charged his Son : *Go to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father ; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother* (m). These that enjoy the Blessing, must keep the Charge, *not to be unequally yoked* (n). At the same time, his Father knowingly and deliberately renewed

(a) Genes. xxvii. 27, — 29. (b) Heb. xi. 20. (c) Numb. xxiv. 19. (d) Heb. xii. 17. (e) Genes. xxvii. 39, 40. (f) 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings, xi. 15. (g) 2 Chron. xxi. 8. (h) 2 Kings, xiv. 7. (i) 1 Maccab. v. 65. (k) Joseph. antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. (l) Hosea, xii. 12. (m) Genes. xxviii. (n) 2 Cor. 6. 14.

ed the Benediction, praying, *God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed after thee; that thou mayst inherit the land wherein thou art a stranger, which God gave unto Abraham.* That Blessing that was poured out on *Abraham*, as the anointing Oyl, did thence run down to his chosen Seed, as the Skirts of his Garment. *Jacob* having received the Blessing, began a long Journey, of about four hundred and fifty Miles (a), from his Father's House at *Beer-sheba*, to his Uncle's at *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*. And though he was Heir of a powerful and illustrious Family, he went without Attendants: *With his staff he passed over Jordan* (b). The first Day he made a good Journey, of about forty Miles, to a Place he named *Beth-el*, (but the Name of it was *Luz* at the first) situated on the Southern Frontiers of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There he lay at Night on the cold Ground, having a Stone for his Pillow, and the open Air for his Canopy and Curtains. Such was the Simplicity of antient Times, when Men did not consult State nor Ease, Softness nor Effeminacy, so much as in our Days. But his Trouble was abundantly compensated by a divine Dream, wherein he heard the Words of God, and saw the Visions of the Almighty: For *behold, a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold, the angels of God ascending and descending upon it. And behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; — and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed, &c.* (c). It is not to be questioned, but that God intended here to assure *Jacob* of his Protection, and to promise him that Assistance he wanted in his present Circumstances. *Jacob* finds himself alone; God shews him a numerous Company of heavenly Spirits attending him. He apprehends Danger from the Rage of his Brother *Esau*; God lets him see that he is defended by Angels. *Jacob* is projecting a Marriage; God promises him a Posterity, no more to be counted than the Dust of the Earth. Thus the Ladder is an Emblem of God's general Providence and Direction over the whole Earth, and of the particular Care he took of his Servant. But considering that the Promise here made to *Jacob* hath a particular Relation to the Covenant made with *Abraham*, and to the Messiah the promised Seed (d); this obliges us to explain the Vision of the Ladder also as relating to the Mediation of Christ. His Foot is on the Earth in his humane Nature, the Top in Heaven in his divine Nature; all the Intercourse between Heaven and Earth since the Fall, is by him. Here we may see the Love of God descending in all the Steps of our Redeemer's low Humiliation; this Love ascending in all the Steps of his Exaltation; Grace descending to us Sinners, and Grace making us ascend up to God in Heaven. In our Lord the promised Seed, all the Promises made to *Jacob* are firm and sure. And finally, we may here see *the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man* (e). For all the kind Offices which the holy Angels do to us, and the Benefits we receive by their Ministry, are all owing to Christ, who hath reconciled Things on Earth and Things in Heaven (f), and made them all to meet in him.

Jacob awoke, and his Sleep was sweet to him: He was agreeably surprised with the glorious Manifestation; but was so far from being lifted up with Pride, that he was struck with a holy Aw and Reverence, saying, *Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven* (g). In token of his Gratitude, *he took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oyl upon the top of it* (h). We need not here have Recourse to Jewish Fables; of which there are Plenty in *Eliezer* (i), who tells, that *Jacob* took twelve Stones out of the Altar on which his Father was bound for a Sacrifice: — *That at his Return, these were turned into one Stone; which he put in the middle: And Oyl came down from Heaven upon it. God thrust it down to the Depth of the Abyss with his Foot, to knit together the whole Earth, as a Man would cement a Seam with Pitch. Hence it is called the Foundation-stone, being the Navel, from whence the whole Earth is extended, and upon which the Temple of the Lord doth stand.* They who talk at this rate, need rather to be pitied and prayed for, than to be refuted. Nor is there any Reason, with *Bellarmino* (k), to make this Practice of *Jacob* an Argument for Image-worship. For this was neither molten nor carved Image, but a rude Stone: It was not set up in any House for Worship, but only stood in the Field as a Memorial: And *Jacob* poured some Oyl upon the Top of it, out of the small Store of Oyl he had with him for Food or Medicine, to put him in mind there to serve God, or as an Earnest that he would there build an Altar; which he afterwards did (l). And in further testimony of his Gratitude, he vowed a Vow, owning, That since God promised to be with him in the Way, and to give him Bread to eat and Raiment to put on, he obliged him-

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(a) See Saurin's Dissert. on the Old Testam. Vol. I. p. 216. Ptolemy's Geogr. Tables, lib. 5. tab. 4. cap. 16. (b) Genes. xxxii. 10. (c) Genes. xxviii. 12. — 16. (d) Vid. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Vol 2. p. 496. with Pareus, Henry and others on Genes. xxviii. (e) John i. 51. (f) Col. i. 20. (g) Genes. xxviii. 16, 17. (h) Genes. xxviii. 18. (i) Pirke, p. m. 87, 88. (k) De cultu sanctorum, lib. 3. cap 5. Tom. 2. p. 467. (l) Genes. xxxv. 7.

self to own God as his God, here to erect an Altar, and to give the Tenth of all that he had to the Service of God.

Jacob leaving *Beth-el*, held on his Way, and arrived at *Haran* (a). Near the Place he met with Shepherds watering their Flocks at a Well : He asked them if they knew *Laban* the Son of *Nabor*. They told him they did ; that he was well ; that his Daughter *Rachel* would soon be there with the Sheep. When she came, *Jacob* removed the Stone that covered the Well, watered her Flock, kissed her, and lifting up his Voice with Tears, declared that he was her Father's Nephew, and Son to *Rebekah*. *Rachel* then went, and told her Father ; who came out to wait on *Jacob*, embraced him, and carried him to his House. When a Month was past, he said to *Jacob*, *Must thou, because thou art my brother, serve me for nothing ? tell me what shall thy wages be.* And *Jacob* said, *I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.* For it was in antient Times customary in those Eastern Parts of the World ; that the Husbands paid for their Wives (b). The Condition being accepted, the Patriarch being then about seventy seven Years of Age, *served for a wife*, and for a Wife he *kept sheep* (c). But when that Time was expired, *Laban* put his elder Daughter *Leah* into *Jacob's* Arms, in stead of *Rachel*. Though in this *Laban* was unrighteous, yet 'tis easy to observe, that *Jacob* was paid in his own Coin. He had cheated his own Father, when he pretended to be *Esau* ; and now his Father-in-law cheated him. The Fraud might be easily managed, if it hold, as some learned Criticks (d) observe, that the *Grecians* borrowed their Marriage-rites from the *Syrians* ; among whom it was usual, that the Bridegroom went first to Bed, then the Bride was brought in, all covered with a Veil, and put to Bed, when the Lights were extinguished. *Jacob* complaining that he was imposed upon, *Laban* excused himself, by saying it was not the Custom in their Country, to give the younger before the first-born ; but that when a Week was expired, he would give him *Rachel* also. *Jacob* consented to the Proposal, and married her whom he loved before, and served seven other Years for her. This Polygamy of the Patriarchs was contrary to the primary Institution of Marriage, as clearly explained to us in the Gospel (e) : But being a Sin of Ignorance, it was pardoned to them when they repented, and fled to the Blood of Atonement for all their Errors.

Of these Marriages *Jacob* had a numerous Offspring. The Lord seeing *Leah* despised, made her fruitful, while her Sister was barren. She had four Sons successively, which were, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi* and *Judah*. *Rachel* having none, became envious against her Sister, and said to *Jacob*, *Give me children, or else I die.* Her Heart seems to have been inordinately set upon this Mercy ; and if she obtain'd it not, she would fret herself to Death. She did not apply to God by Prayer, as *Hannah* in a like Case (f) ; but to *Jacob* only, forgetting that *children are the heritage of the Lord* : And therefore *Jacob* gives her a grave and pious Admonition ; *Am I in God's stead* (g) ? Can I give thee that which God denies thee ? Whereupon *Rachel* desired him to take her Maid *Bilhah* for another Wife, that she might have Children by her. *Jacob* having complied with this Desire, this Handmaid brought him two Sons, *Dan* and *Naphtali*. *Leah* finding that she had left bearing, gave also her Maid *Zilpah* to *Jacob* ; and by her he had *Gad* and *Asher*. *Reuben* going to the Fields at Harvest-time, brought home to his Mother *Leah* a sort of Fruit called *Dudaim*, which the *Septuagint*, and the vulgar, with many other Versions, render *Mandrakes* (h) ; though the Meaning of the Word is not very certain. *Heidegger* (i), after he hath spent a whole Exercitation on this Head, is of Opinion that it is not to be taken for any single Fruit known to us, but rather for a Basket or Baskets of Flowers, because the Word *Dudai* signifies so in *Jeremiah* xxiv. 1, 2. *Rachel* liking the *Dudaim*, or *Mandrakes*, asked them of her Sister : Who said to her, *Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband ? and wouldst thou take away my son's mandrakes also ?* And *Rachel*, for these *Mandrakes*, consented that *Jacob* should lie with her Sister that Night. Whereupon *Leah* conceived, and brought forth a fifth Son, named *Issachar*, and afterwards a sixth Son, called *Zebulon*, and lastly a Daughter, named *Dinah*. *Rachel*, who till then had been barren, had at Length a Son, whom she called *Joseph*. All these were born to *Jacob* during the fourteen Years he served *Laban*, to whom they gave in the *Hebrew* prophetic and significative Names. Nor is it difficult to conceive, that he might have twelve Children born in fourteen Years, or even in less Time, since they were of four several Mothers. But the Scripture having no where assigned particular Dates, nor Characters to the several Years of their Birth, though other Writers have done it (k), I shall not go to fix any such Characters : But we may observe with Bishop *Patrick*, that the true Reason of this Contest between *Jacob's* Wives for his Company, and for giving their Maids to be his Wives, was, the earnest Desire they had to fulfill the Promise made to *Abraham*, and now lately renewed to *Jacob*, that his Seed should be as the Dust of the Earth for Multitude ; and that in his Seed, or in

(a) Genes. xxix. (b) Hosea, iii. 2. 1 Sam. xviii. 25. (c) Hosea, xii. 12. (d) Heidegg. de vitis Patriarch. Vol. 2. p. 431. Saurin's Dissert. Vol. 1. p. 222. (e) Matth. xix. 4, 5. 1 Cor. vii. 2. (f) 1 Sam. i. 10. (g) Genes. xxx. 2. (h) Genes. xxx. 14. Song, vii. 13. (i) Vide Heidegg. de Patriarch. Vol. 2. exercit. 19. speciatim, p. 576, & Markium in Cantic. vii. 13. (k) Vide Usserii annales, p. m. 9. Heidegg. hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 531.

in one descended from him, namely, the Messiah, *all the families of the earth should be blessed*: And for this Reason it is probable the Scripture takes more particular notice of these Things. Monsieur *Ostervald* (a) also remarks, that the great Numbers of Children born to *Jacob*, rendered his Posterity very powerful: Nevertheless God did not approve of all his Marriages, as has been already said, and may further appear from the Jealousy and Divisions among his Wives, and the irregular Manners of many of his Children.

After fourteen Years Stay with *Laban*, *Jacob* entertained Thoughts of returning home to *Canaan* (b). No wonder; he was now advanced in Years, had a numerous Family to provide for, and *Laban* had cheated him. Besides, *Canaan* was the Land of Promise, the Place of his Nativity where his Parents dwelt; though he sojourned in *Haran*, he had no Thoughts of settling there. *Laban* desired him to stay; because *the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake*. Good Men are a Blessing to the Place where they live: But *Jacob's* Faith and Honesty must not hinder him to provide for his own Family; and therefore he makes a new Bargain, wherein he is willing to refer himself to the Providence of God; to have his Wages of the speckled and spotted among the Goats, and of the brown among the Sheep, and of these of that Colour that should be brought forth. That his Contract might be to Advantage, he makes Use of good Policy, by party-coloured Sticks; that the Cattle, by the Power of Imagination, might bring forth their Young party-coloured. Learned Men (c), to illustrate this, have produced a great many Instances of the Power of Imagination in Females concerning their Young; but I shall only observe, that *Jacob* appears to have been Master of his Trade; *God did instruct him to discretion* (d); and *he increased exceedingly* (e). 'Tis true, the Success of his Policy was not enough to justify it, if there had been any thing fraudulent or unjust in it, which we are sure there was not; for he did it by divine Direction (f). Nor was there any thing in the Matter, but an honest Improvement of a good Bargain, which the divine Providence wonderfully prospered; both in Justice to *Jacob*, whom *Laban* had wronged, and dealt hardly with, and in pursuance of the particular Promises made to him of God's Favour.

When *Jacob* had served *Laban* fourteen Years for his two Daughters, and six Years more upon the Terms above mentioned, he became rich; having numerous Flocks, Men Servants and Women Servants, Camels and Asses. This Wealth made *Laban* and his Sons jealous; which they shewed by their Countenance and Expressions (g): And the Lord having commanded *Jacob* to return to his Father's Country, he proposed this to his Wives, *Rachel* and *Leah*; they consented: For they who are meet Helps, will never hinder their Husbands from doing that which God calls them to. He then took the Time when *Laban* was gone to shear his Sheep, to set out with his Wives, his Children, and all he had, and *Rachel* carried away her Father's Idols, or *Teraphim*. I have writ more fully in another Essay (h) of these *Teraphim*, and may have occasion afterwards to meet with them in this; and therefore shall now only observe, that they seem to have been domestick tutelar Deities, made after a humane Shape: And it may be inferred from what we find in this Chapter concerning them, that though there was some Knowledge of the true God preserved in the Family of *Laban*, yet Idolatry began to take place there; and therefore it was necessary that *Jacob* and his Family should retire thence, and return to the Place where his Father *Isaac* dwelt; that they might serve the true God in Purity, free from Idolatry and other Superstition. *Laban* being told the third Day after *Jacob* was gone, he took his Brethren and all his Clan with him, and pursued *Jacob* seven Days, till at length he overtook him in Mount *Gilead*. God appeared to *Laban* in the Night-time, and commanded him to do no Harm to *Jacob*: However, in the Interview he complained passionately, that he had carried away his Daughters unknown to him, and had stoln his Gods. It was a great Folly to own these as his Gods, that could be stoln, as well as it is for Papists to worship these Statues, that cannot protect themselves from Mice and Spiders. *Jacob* did plead his own Cause, excusing himself for having gone away without acquainting his Father-in-law, fearing he would have kept his Daughters by Force: But as for the Theft he charged him with, he consented, that the Person with whom he found his Idols, should suffer Death; for he knew not that *Rachel* had stoln them. *Laban* having searched the Tents of *Jacob* and *Leah*, and of the two Women Servants, went into *Rachel's* Tent, who had hid the Idols in the Camel's Furniture, and sat upon them: She begged her Father's Pardon, that she could not rise to him, being indisposed; where we are not to plead, neither for stealing, nor for her Dissimulation; and perhaps *Jacob* spoke also too inconsiderately, when he said, *With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live*, and might reflect upon it with some Bitterness, when not long after, *Rachel*, who had taken them, died suddenly of Child-bearing.

Laban not finding the *Teraphim* that he wanted, nor being able to accuse his Son-in-law for

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(a) Reflexions sur la Bible, p. 19. (b) Genes. xxx. 25, — 36. (c) Vide Heidegg. hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 447, — 449. Bocharti hierozoicon, lib. 2. cap. 49, & autores illic citatos. (d) Isaiah, xxviii. 26. (e) Genes. xxx. 43. (f) Genes. xxxi. 12. (g) Genes. xxxi. 1, — 36. (h) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 237, — 240.

for taking any thing but what was his own ; *Jacob* at last began to challenge him, for pursuing him so hotly, as if he had been some Mifcreant : Whereas he had been twenty Years in his House, and had never done him any Injury ; but had contributed by his Service many ways to his Advantage, even though *Laban* had changed his Wages ten times. Where *Jerom* (a) justly wonders, why the *Septuagint* Version hath put *δέκα ἀμφοῖν*, or *ἀμφοῖν*, *ten Lambs*, into their Version of *Genesis* xxxi. 7, 41, instead of *ten Times*, in the *Hebrew* ; when neither the Sense, nor the Original admits such a Translation. In Conclusion, the Father and the Son-in-law made a Covenant together ; whereby they promised not to do one another any Harm, and *Jacob* assured *Laban* that he would not maltreat his Daughters, nor marry other Wives besides them. They gave a new Name to the Place of this Transaction ; *Laban* called it in *Syriac*, *Jegar Sabadutha*, and *Jacob* named it in *Hebrew*, *Galeed*, that is, a Heap of Witnesses, and *Mizpah*, a Watch-tower. They sacrificed and ate together, and the next Day *Laban* having embraced his Daughters and their Children, returned home. From the whole we may observe the kind Providence of God, in protecting *Jacob* his Servant, in guiding him and his Family safe in their Way, in preserving him from Dangers that threatened him, and turning the Heart of those who designed him Hurt, to shew him Favour.

This is further to be seen in the Sequel of the History : For *Jacob* went on his way, and the angels of God met him (b). They met him to congratulate his Arrival, and conduct him through new Dangers. He takes a pleasant Notice of them : *This is God's host*. And he called the name of the place *Mahanaim*. It was seated between Mount *Gilead* and the River *Jabbok*, not far from the latter, in the Confines of the Tribe of *Gad* and Half-tribe of *Manasseh*, on the East Side of *Jordan*. Being a Place of great Strength, it was chosen by *Abner* for the Seat Royal of *Ishbosheth* the Son of *Saul* (c), in the War between him and *David* : And for the like Reason seems to have been made choice of for the retiring Place of *David* during the Rebellion of his Son *Absalom* (d). There *Jacob*, having Ground to apprehend the evil Designs of his Brother *Esau* against him, sent a kind Message to him ; that by yielding, he might pacify Wrath. But Time, which wears out and softens Marble and Rocks, cannot change the Heart of a revengeful Man. The twenty Years which *Jacob* had passed in *Mesopotamia*, did only suspend, but not extinguish the Wrath of his Brother against him : For the Messengers returning, told that *Esau* was coming to meet him with four hundred Men. This Account affrighted *Jacob*. He could not think of making Resistance, being unable ; but divided what he had into two Companies, that if one were smitten, the other might escape. It was then a time of *Jacob's* trouble : but he shall be saved out of it. He sought the Lord ; and he heard him. He addresseth himself in all Humility to the God of his Fathers, owning him as the God of his Mercies ; that this Journey was undertaken by his Command, and therefore he might expect his Protection. And then he made use of prudent Means to pacify his offended Brother, by a considerable Present, to the Number of five hundred and eighty Cattle, to stock his new Conquests, two hundred She-goats, twenty He-goats, two hundred Ewes, twenty Rams, thirty milch Camels with their Colts, forty Cows and ten Bulls, twenty She-asses, ten Foles, observing a due Proportion of Males to Females (e), ordering the Leaders of these five Sorts of Cattle to meet *Esau* at proper Distances, with a humble Message, that he might have Time to reflect and be pacified.

Having caused all these Presents to march off, that Night he sent his two Wives, and his two Women Servants, with his eleven Sons, over the Ford *Jabbok*, a little River which rises out of Mount *Gilead*, and discharges it self into *Jordan*. In the mean time *Jacob* being left alone (f), spent his Time in wrestling and Prayer : He had power over the angel, and prevailed : he wept and made supplication unto him (g). This Angel was the eternal Word, the Angel of the Covenant (h) ; who is the Lord of Angels, who upon many Occasions appeared in a humane Shape, as a Prelude of his Incarnation : The name of God is in him. In the Patriarch's Case, we have a Mixture of the greatest Courage and the greatest Tendernefs ; *Jacob* wrestling like a Champion, and yet weeping like a Child. The Lord put Honour on him : For he said, *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel ; for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed*. Since he had prevailed with God to obtain the Blessing, he need not fear Dangers from Men. Though the Angel did not tell him his Name, yet he gave him spiritual Blessings to secure his Felicity ; which were better than fine Notions to satisfy his Curiosity. *Jacob* being much taken with the Honour done him, puts a Name on the Place, calling it *Peniel*, the Face of God (i), to perpetuate the Memorial of free Grace ; that there he had seen God face to face, and his Life was preserved. And the Children of *Israel*, in Memory of this Event, eat not of the Sinew that shrank, which is upon the hollow of the Thigh.

Jacob soon meets with the Accomplishment of his Prayers. His Brother *Esau* was so far softened,

(a) Tom. 3. Fol. 99. in quæstionibus Hebraicis in *Genesis*. (b) *Genes.* xxxii. (c) 2 *Sam.* ii. 8. (d) 2 *Sam.* xvii. 24, 27. (e) *Varro de re rustica*, lib. 2. cap. 3. (f) *Genes.* xxxii. 24, — 32. (g) *Hosea*, xii. 4. (h) See *Hilary de Trinitate*, lib. 4. p. 43. (i) *Genes.* xxxii. 30.

softened, and suddenly reconciled to him, as, in stead of attacking him as an Enemy with his four hundred Men, he saluted him as a Brother. At first he declined to take the Presents (a), saying he *had enough*, or he had much, as the Word in the *Hebrew* signifies. He had the Fatness of the Land, according to his Father's prophetick Blessing. But *Jacob* urged him, saying, *If now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand : for therefore I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God* : That is, he saw God's Favour to him, in *Esau's* being at Peace with him. This was a Token that God had heard his Prayers. And he adds, *Take, I pray thee, my blessing that is brought to thee, because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough* ; or as in the *Hebrew*, *I have all*. For he that has the God of all, has all in him : *All is yours, if Christ be yours* (b). At last *Esau* received the Presents, and offered himself to conduct his Brother on his Way, or at least to leave some of his Men to be his Safeguard : But *Jacob* did not desire to give him that Trouble. 'Tis like he feared that such a Convoy would rather enslave than defend him, and declared his Resolution to wait on his Brother at *Seir*. We do not read that ever he did so : But some one thing or other might have occurred to make him change his Purpose, without making him guilty of Dissimulation. This Interview between the two Brothers being over, to the mutual Satisfaction of both, *Esau* returned to *Seir*, and *Jacob* came to a Place which he named *Succoth*, because there he pitched his Tents or Booths. Thence he went to *Shalem*, a City of *Shechem* in the Land of *Canaan* ; where he bought a Parcel of Land from the Children of *Hamor*, for an hundred Lambs, or for an hundred Pieces of Money stamped with the Figure of a Lamb : And he erected there an Altar, and called it *El-elohe-israel* ; that is, God the God of *Israel*. Wherever he pitched his Tent, there he erected his Altar ; and wherever we have a House, we should dedicate it to God, there to honour and serve him.

While *Jacob* was in the Country of the *Shechemites*, his Daughter *Dinah* was ravished by *Shechem* the Son of *Hamor* : *She went out to see the daughters of the land* (c) ; to see how they dressed, and what was fashionable among them. This vain Curiosity in wandring abroad, led her into a Snare to the loss of her Honour. The young *Canaanitish* Prince perswaded his Father to ask her of *Jacob* for his Wife. *Jacob's* Sons being provoked at what had happened to their Sister, answered *Hamor*, that it was not lawful for them to consent to his Proposal, unless he and the *Shechemites* were circumcised ; though these young Men seem to have designed nothing less than a Coalition of Religion, but only to make the Men of *Shechem* an easier Prey to their Sword. However, *Hamor* and *Shechem* condescended to their Demands, and perswaded the Inhabitants of their City to be circumcised. The third Day after the Operation, when the Pain caused thereby was greatest, *Simeon* and *Levi* ('tis like, with the Assistance of Servants and Associates) entred the City sword in hand, slew *Hamor* and *Shechem*, with all the Males there, and carried off their Sister *Dinah* (d). When they were gone, *Jacob's* other Sons plundered the Place, and carried away the Women and Children Captives. This Action, as it was unjust and barbarous, so it was abhorred by *Jacob* : For he said to *Simeon* and *Levi*, *Ye have troubled me, to make me to sink among the inhabitants of the land, amongst the Canaanites, and the Perizzites : and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me, and I shall be destroyed, I and my house. And they said, Should he deal with our sister, as with an harlot ?* Where they seem not to repent of their Wickedness, but rather to make Apology for it. The main Difficulty that offers upon this Point of History, is the Time when it happened. It is not to be conceived, that it was immediately after *Jacob* came out of *Mesopotamia* : For then *Dinah* was but about eight Years old, and *Simeon* and *Levi* only about thirteen ; when their Age did not admit their committing such Actions as required Force and Strength. But if we suppose, with *Heidegger* (e), that *Jacob* staid eight Years or thereby in the Land of the *Shechemites*, and that these things were done only a little before he left the Country, the Difficulty will vanish ; for then *Dinah* would be about sixteen Years, and *Simeon* and *Levi* about twenty : At which time they might be able to commit so violent and wicked a Fact.

Jacob having in some Measure forgot his Vow at *Beth-el*, *That this stone shall be God's house* (f), though the Lord had performed what the Patriarch asked of him, (for he gave him liberally Bread to eat and Raiment to put on, yea by this time he had a great Family and a plentiful Estate ;) the Lord minds him of his Duty : *Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there* (g). In obedience to this Call, *Jacob*, as a pious Reformer, ordered all his Family to put away their strange Gods, to cleanse themselves, and change their garments. He hid their Idols under an Oak-tree which was by *Shechem*, and came to *Luz*, (that is *Beth-el*) where he had the Vision of Angels ascending and descending upon the Ladder. There he built an Altar, and 'tis like sacrificed on it, calling it *El-beth-el*, the God of *Beth-el*. *Deborah*, *Rebekah's* Nurse, died there : And she being an old religious Person, very useful in the Family

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for

(a) Genes. xxxiii. (b) 1 Corin. iii. 22. (c) Genes. xxxiv. (d) Pirke Eliczer, cap. 29. Vorstii not. p. 195. (e) Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 378. (f) Genes. xxviii. 22. (g) Genes. xxxv.

for a long Time, *Jacob* gave her a decent Burial, under an Oak beneath *Beth-el*, which was called *Allon-bachuth*, the Oak of weeping. There the Lord appeared to *Jacob*, renewed the Name of *Israel* to him, and confirmed to him the Promises made to *Abraham*. In memory of which Favour, *Jacob* erected a new Pillar, on which he poured Oyl and other Ingredients of a Drink-offering. As he journeyed from *Beth-el*, in his Way to *Ephrath*, *Rachel*, *Jacob*'s beloved Wife, was seized with her travailing Pains, and died after she had born a Son, whom she named *Ben-oni*, the Son of my Sorrow; but *Jacob* called him *Benjamin*, the Son of my right Hand, because he hoped that he would be useful to support his Age, like a Staff in his right Hand. *Jacob* buried her near the Place where she died, and set up a Pillar upon her Grave; which remained in *Moses*'s Time, near *Beth-lehem*, famous for being the Birth-place of *David*, but more famous for the Birth of the Son of *David* according to the Flesh, our blessed Saviour. Near that Place is at this Day shewn to Travellers a Monument called *Rachel*'s Tomb: But the Reverend Mr. *Maundrel* (a), who saw it, observes, that it cannot be that which *Jacob* erected, for that which is now there, plainly appears to be of a modern and *Turkish* Structure. From thence *Israel* journeyed, and spread his Tent beyond the Tower of *Eder*, in the *Hebrew*, *Migdol-eder*, or the Tower of the Flock. There *Reuben* committed Incest with *Bilhah* his Father's Concubine: An abominable Wickedness, which the Apostle says is *not so much as named among the Gentiles* (b). This was so provoking to his pious Father, that he deprived him of his Birth-right and Blessing (c): And the Tribe of *Reuben* was always small, and inferior to most of the rest; which seems to be pointed at in the Prediction, *Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel*. At last *Jacob* made a Visit to his Father *Isaac* at *Hebron*. We may suppose that he had visited him before, since his Return out of *Mesopotamia*, (for he longed after his father's house) but never, till now, brought his Family to settle with him or near him. *Rebekah* being dead, and the good old Man infirm and solitary, it was proper his Son should attend and take care of him. There he was Witness to his Father's Death, who had lived one hundred and eighty Years, and was gathered to his People being old and full of Days: And his Sons *Esau* and *Jacob* buried him; for 'tis like these Brothers now lived in Friendship.

A. M.
2231.
Ant. C.
1719.
Vit. Es. c.
Jac. 120.
Before Jacob's going down to Egypt 10 Y.

In the thirty sixth Chapter of *Genesis* we have an Account of the Posterity of *Esau*. By his Name *Edom* is perpetuated the Memory of that foolish Bargain he made when he sold his Birth-right and forfeited the Blessing, for that red, or that red Pottage; which is enough to shew the Reason why his Family is turned off with a short Rehearsal of their Titles. He had three Wives, and by them all he had only five Sons. Many have more by one Wife: And it is remarkable, that in *Turky*, where Polygamy is tolerated and practised by Law, the Country is more thinly peopled than in *Europe*, where one Man is allowed but one Wife. The Genealogy in this Chapter is not useless: For there are many things occur in the Books of *Moses*, and other Parts of the sacred Scripture, concerning *Seir*, *Edom*, the *Horites*, *Teman*, *Eliphaz*, *Bozrah*, and the *Amalekites*, Neighbours to *Israel*, that receive a great deal of Light from the Account we have of them in this Chapter. Besides, here is the Performance of the Promise made to *Abraham*; that he shall be the father of many nations; of the Oracle to *Rebekah*, two nations are in thy womb; and of the Blessing of *Isaac*, thy dwelling shall be in the fatness of the earth, &c. Here we have pregnant Instances of God's Patience to all Men; of his Righteousness to these without the Church, and his special Mercy to his own. Dr. *Cumberland* Bishop of *Peterborow* (d) observes, that neither *Esau* himself, nor *Eliphaz* his Son, had the Title of Duke, only his Grandchild by *Eliphaz*; and that the whole Chapter contains a kind of Genealogy and History of the *Edomites*, till the Children of *Israel* came out of *Egypt*, which was in the Year of the World 2456. Some Controversy hath been moved about the twenty fourth Verse of the Chapter; where it is said, *This was that Anah, that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father*. The Difficulty only arises from the Translation; for the Mule is procreated between an Ass and a Mare, or between a Horse and a she Ass, or the *Onager*, the wild Ass and a Mare: But here is no mention of Horses nor Mares; nor do we find that Mules were known in *Judea*, before the Time of King *David*, which was about seven hundred Years after this. To loose this Knot, the learned *Heidegger* (e) is of Opinion, that the original Word *Emim*, rendred Mules, doth signify a sort of Giants, tall as the *Anakims* (f), whom *Anah* happened to meet with in the Wilderness, as he fed the Asses of his Father. The Conjecture is strengthened by the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, who read *Giants*; and the *Samaritan Pentateuch* retain the Word *Emim*, and I find other Criticks (g) of the same Mind. The same *Heidegger* (h) offers another Observation, that *Esau* was the *Erythra* of the *Greeks*; and that from him the *Red-sea*, whose Waters do not differ in Colour from other Seas, was named *Mare Erythraeum*. And it is plain from many antient Authors (i), that this Sea derived its Name from one *Erythra*, a King or great

(a) Wells's Geography of the Old Test. Vol. I. p. 365. (b) 1 Corin. v. 1. (c) Genes. xlix. 4. (d) Origines gentium, Part 1. (e) Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. exerc. 12. p. 360. (f) Deut. ii. 10, 11. (g) Poli Critica in Genes. xxxvi. 24. (h) Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. exerc. 12. p. 360. (i) Strabo, lib. 16. p. m. 779. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 23. Q. Curt. lib. 8. cap. 29. Pomp. Mela, lib. 3. cap. 7.

great Man, who in antient Times reigned in these Parts : But of this Matter I will have occasion to write afterwards.

§ 4. THE History of *Joseph* comes next under Consideration. He was *Jacob's* eldest Son, by his beloved Wife *Rachel*. His Story is so remarkably divided between his humbled and exalted Condition, that we cannot shun to see something of Christ therein : It also shews the Lot of Christians, who *must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God*. His Life is more largely deduced from the thirty seventh Chapter to the End of *Genesis*, in almost every Chapter, save one, because it affords a noble Example of Piety, Prudence and other Virtues ; and also, because in it we see the occasion of *Jacob* and his Family's going into *Egypt*, which natively leads to their Condition there, and Delivery from it. *Joseph*, though his Father's Favourite, was not bred up in Idleness : At seventeen Years of Age, he was feeding the Flock, with his Father's Sons by *Bilhab* ; and they finding that he did represent their Faults to their Father, who heard him attentively, and out of a Fondness of him dressed him in finer Cloaths than the rest ; they hated him, and the rather, because of two Dreams which he told, as portending his Preferment one Day above his Father and his Brethren : Wherefore they wickedly conspired against him, and found occasion to execute their Plot, when his Father sent him from the Valley of *Hebron*, to *Shechem*, where his Brethren were feeding the Flock. He wandered by the Way, which was long and solitary ; but a Man found him, and directed him to *Dotban*, a Place about twelve Miles North of *Samaria*, mentioned 2 *Kings*, vi. 13. *Jacob* had purchased some Ground there ; and though it was above fifty Miles from *Hebron*, yet he sent his Sons thither to feed his Flocks, which were very numerous. When *Joseph's* Brethren saw him coming, they resolved to kill him : But *Reuben*, being sensible that he had offended his Father already by Incest, delivered *Joseph* from present Death. Yet they threw him into an empty Pit, which seems to have been made to receive the Rain-water, where he might have perished by Hunger ; and they were so insensible of his Affliction, that they sat down to eat Bread. Mean time a Caravan of *Ismaelites* passed by, carrying Spices, Balm and Myrrhe, from *Gilead* to *Egypt*. They travelled in Company, to be safe from Robbers and wild Beasts ; and by the Advice of *Judab*, *Joseph* is sold to these Merchants for twenty Pieces of Silver. Divine Providence, which makes all things work together for good, to those who are called according to his Purpose, made this Sale of *Joseph* to be for the Preservation of the whole Family. But his Brethren, to add to their Guilt, and to create the utmost Vexation to their Father, for the distinguishing Love he had to *Joseph*, sent him his Coat of many Colours dipped with a bloody Colour, that he might think some wild Beast had devoured his Son. Which raised such Grief in the good old Man, that he rent his Garments, put on Sackcloth, and mourned for his Son a long Time. But the *Midianites* sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, an Officer of *Pharaoh's*, and Captain of his Guard.

In the thirty eighth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Judab*, the fourth Son of *Jacob*, contracted Friendship with one *Hirah*, an *Adullamite*, an Inhabitant of *Adullam*, a Town to the West of *Hebron*, frequently mentioned in the History of *David's* Flight from *Saul*. There he married a *Canaanitish* Woman, named *Shuah*, by whom he had three Sons. *Er*, his first-born, takes *Tamar* to Wife ; but he being very wicked, God cut him off in a little Time. Then *Judab* ordered *Onan*, his second Son, to marry *Tamar* the Widow, to raise up Seed to his Brother. This seems to have been an antient Custom among the *Ismaelites*, to preserve the Name of the Brother, and his Right to the Primogeniture or Birth-right, who died childless ; which was afterwards established by a Law (a). *Onan*, by a very wicked Practice, refusing to raise up Seed to his Brother, (which was so much the worse in him, that the Messiah being to descend of *Judab*, he might have had the Honour of being one of his Ancestors) was also cut off by Death. *Tamar* finding herself slighted, and that *Shelah*, the third Son, was not given to her, ensnared *Judab*, her Father-in-law, then a Widower, into her Embraces ; of which criminal Conjunction were born *Pharez* and *Zarah*, who are named in our Lord's Genealogy, *Matth.* i. 3. And for this reason these Facts seem to be narrated so fully in this Chapter ; and also, to shew the Humiliation of our Lord Jesus, who coming into the World to save Sinners, was not ashamed to descend of them according to the Flesh.

The History of *Joseph* is continued in the following Chapter. *Potiphar* his Master, perceiving that the Lord prospered *Joseph*, intrusted him with the whole Government of his House. Some Years after this, *Potiphar's* Wife courted him to commit Adultery with her. The *Egyptian* Women have been represented by *Herodote* (b), as very lascivious, and this is a pregnant Instance thereof. *Joseph*, with undaunted Courage, refused all her Importunity ; being strengthened by the holy Fear of God, he rejected the Power of the Temptation with Abhorrence : *How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God* (c) ? Which is a great Instance of divine Grace, as well as the Deliverance of the three Children in the fiery Furnace, was of divine Power. The impudent Woman still soliciting him, one Day laid hold of his Garment,

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saying,

(a) Deut. xxy. 5. (b) Lib. 2. cap. lxxi. p. m. 129. (c) Genes. xxxix. 9.

saying, *Lie with me* ; whereupon *Joseph* left his Garment, and fled out of the House. His Mistress seeing herself despised, called the Family, and said, the *Hebrew* Servant would have ravished her, but upon her crying, he had left his Garment in her Hand ; the same she told to her Husband, who seeming to believe her, though the Story was very unlikely, and most false, yet he caused *Joseph* to be put in Prison, where the Kings Prisoners were bound ; but the Lord was with him, so as the Keeper of the Prison, who seems to be *Potiphar*, shewed him Favour, and committed all Things there to his Management. Herein *Joseph* was a Type of Christ ; who took upon him the Form of a Servant, and yet then it appeared that God was with him ; who was tempted of Satan, but overcame the Temptation ; who was falsely accused and bound, and yet hath all Things committed into his Hand.

Pharaoh King of *Egypt* being displeased with two of his Officers (a), the chief of the Butlers and the chief of the Bakers, caused put them in Prison ; and *Joseph* had the Charge of them. After they had been a considerable Time in custody, each of them dreamed a Dream. God, who hath immediate Access to the Spirits of Men, which he can make use of to his own Purposes, gave them such extraordinary Impressions as carried the Evidence of a divine Original both in one Night. The Men had been perhaps a Year in Prison, and were melancholy, because they apprehended no body there could interpret what they had dreamed. Whereupon *Joseph*, pitying their Case, directed them to look to God, whose Prerogative it is to foretell Things to come ; and he explained the chief Butler's Dream, (wherein he saw a Vine with three Branches, which budded, blossomed, and bore ripe Fruit, which he pressed out into *Pharaoh's* Cup, and gave into *Pharaoh's* Hand) as signifying, that after three Days, *Pharaoh* would remember and restore him to his Place ; and desired that he would then intreat the King to deliver him out of that Prison, for he had been fraudulently brought from the Land of the *Hebrews*, and most unjustly cast into Jail. The chief Baker being encouraged by this Interpretation, also narrated his Dream : That he had three Baskets on his Head, whereof the uppermost was full of fine baked Meats, and the Birds of the Air came and ate thereof. *Joseph* expounded it, That in three Days, *Pharaoh* would cause his Head to be struck off, his Body to be hanged on a Gibbet, where the Birds of the Air should eat his Flesh. Ministers must be faithful, and cannot make the Thing otherwise than it is. The Event answered the Interpretation : For on the third Day, which was *Pharaoh's* Birth-day, the Butler was restored, and the Baker hanged. The Crimes for which these Officers were committed, nor the Reasons why the one was restored, and the other punished by Death, are not recorded in sacred History ; and 'tis ridiculous for a *Jewish* Rabbi (b) to tell, that the Butler's Fault was for having let a Fly fall into the King's Cup, and that of the Baker for mixing Sand or Gravel with his Bread. We are not to be wise above what is written. Only it is certain, that when the chief Butler was restored to his Prosperity, he forgot *Joseph*, and did not procure his Release. While we blame this Ingratitude, let us not be guilty of worse, by forgetting our Redeemer, who not only foretold our Deliverance from Misery, but actually purchased it by a dear Price.

Though *Joseph* was forgot by the chief Butler, yet Providence accomplished his Deliverance out of Prison, and his Advancement unto Honour, in a more remarkable Way. For at the End of two full Years (c), which seem to commence with his Imprisonment, *Pharaoh* dreamed, and behold, there came out of the River *Nilus* seven fat Cows, and seven very lean ones ; and the latter devoured the former. And in a second Dream, he saw seven fine full Ears of Corn out of one Stalk, and seven thin Ears blasted with the East Wind spring up after them, that devoured the first. Which Dreams none of the Magicians nor wise Men of *Egypt* could interpret. Humane Reason, Prudence and Foresight, must be nonplus'd and put to Confusion, that divine Revelation may appear more glorious. Though in the multitude of dreams there are diverse vanities (d), yet those of *Pharaoh* had their own Evidence that they were sent of God. *Joseph's* own Dreams in the Land of *Canaan* were the Occasion of his Troubles, but these Visions of *Pharaoh* gave rise to his Enlargement : For the chief Butler remembered his faults, and told the King how *Joseph* had interpreted his Dream and that of his Companion while they were in the Prison, and that the Event answered the Interpretation. Then *Pharaoh* sent for *Joseph* out of the Dungeon ; who having trimmed himself, and changed his Garments, immediately appeared at Court. For such was the Delicacy of Kings in the East, that none must come before them but in good Dress. The Question being put to *Joseph* concerning the Interpretation of the Dreams, he answered, *It is not in me : God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace*. Where he shews Respect to the King, ascribes no Honour to himself, but only to God, that he might thus lead the *Egyptian* King to know the true God. The Dreams being related, *Joseph* told *Pharaoh*, *The dream is one*, but was doubled, because the thing is established of God, and God will shortly bring it to pass (e). The two Dreams had a plain Reference to the two Things wherein we most experience Plenty and Scarcity ; Grains and Corn.

(a) Genes. xl. (b) Baal Turim in Genes. xl. (c) Genes. xli. (d) Eccles. v. 7. (e) Genes. xli. 25, 32.

Corn. The Plenty and Scarcity of Grass for the Cattle was signified by the fat Cows and the lean ones: The Plenty and Scarcity of Corn and Food for the Service of Man, was foretold by the full Ears and the blasted ones. There would be seven Years of Plenty, which would be followed with seven Years so barren, that the former Plenty would be forgot, and all the Country would be consumed with Famine. Egypt had no Rain (a); but the Plenty of the Year depended upon the overflowing of the River Nile at a certain Season, occasioned by the great Rains falling in Ethiopia near the Springs of that River sometime before. It is an old Observation recorded by Pliny (b) in his natural History, *That Egypt suffers a Famine when the Nile rises no higher than twelve Cubits; if it rises only to thirteen, there is a Scarcity; but when it rises to fourteen, it is comforted: That the fifteenth secures it all Necessaries, and the sixteenth its Delights.* And Herodote (c), a more antient Historian, says the same; adding, *The Egyptians being informed that Greece was only watered by Rains, and not by Rivers like their Country, said they would be one time or other cheated of their Hope, and run the hazard of starving; meaning, That if God was pleased not to send the Greeks Rain, but a long Drought, they might die by Famine, since they had no Water but as Jupiter (that is the Heavens) gave them Rain.* And speaking of the Inhabitants of that Part of Egypt called Delta, he says, *There are no People, neither in Egypt, nor in any other Corner of the World, to whom the Corn and Fruits of the Earth cost less Pains. For they have no occasion to plow nor till the Ground; nor to use the other kinds of Husbandry; but when the River has of its own accord spread it self over the Fields, and after having fatned them with its Mud, and withdrawn, then every one sows his Grounds; and to make the Corn sink, they turn in Hogs to trample it down. Then they wait for the Time of the Harvest, and make again use of the Swine to thresh it out of the Ears.* Which Passage in Herodote may help to explain that of Moses (d), *For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, — where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy Foot.*

To proceed with the History: Joseph not only foretold these Events to Pharaoh, but also advised him to make choice of a wise and able Man, to whom he should give Power over all Egypt, to appoint Officers in each Town, who should, during the seven Years of Plenty, lay up in the publick Granaries the fifth Part of the Produce of the Land; and that all this Store should be at the King's Disposal, to be preserved for the seven Years of Famine; by which means Egypt would not perish. Pharaoh approv'd of the Advice, and pitched upon Joseph for that Business, appointed him Governor of Egypt next to himself, gave him his Ring, ordered him to mount the second Chariot, that all might bow the Knee before him, gave him Power over his Subjects, clothed him with fine Raiment, changed his Name to that of Zaphnath-paaneah, that is a Revealer of Secrets, and gave him to Wife Asenath the Daughter of Potipherah Priest of On, which is by the Greeks called Heliopolis, that is, the City of the Sun. Joseph being then thirty Years of Age when he entered upon the Execution of this Office, God did build up his Family, by giving him two Sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. He laid up great Stores of Corn for the King during the seven Years of Plenty. These being over, there followed seven Years of such Barrenness as caused a Famine. Then Joseph, by the King's Direction, opened the Granaries, and sold Corn to the People; and those of the neighbouring Provinces were obliged to go into Egypt for it. We have a compendious Account of this History in Justin (e), the Epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who tells: *Joseph was the youngest of the Brethren. They being jealous of his excellent Genius, secretly sold him to Merchants who were Strangers, by whom he was carried into Egypt; where having learned magical Arts, by his great Capacity he soon became dear to the King: For he knew Prodigies, and was the first who did interpret Dreams. Neither was there any thing divine or humane but what he understood. He foresaw the Barrenness of the Land long before it happened. All Egypt would have perished by Famine, if the King by his Advice had not ordered Corn to be laid up for many Years: And his Opinion was esteemed not as the Word of Man, but as an Oracle of God.* Though Justin hath blended his Narrative with Falshoods and Mistakes, which is a common Thing to profane Authors when writing of the Affairs of the Jews; yet there are some Grains of Truth in it: But the best Compend of this History of Joseph, is that of the inspired Penman Psal. cv. 16, — 23. Some Heathen Authors mentioned by Eusebius (f) have Hints of him.

We have already seen the fulfilling of the Dreams which Joseph did interpret in Egypt, and we have a full Account, from the forty-second Chapter of Genesis to the forty seventh, of the Accomplishment of those which he himself had in the Land of Canaan, concerning his Father's Family doing Obedience to him. The History is very fully inserted in the sacred Scripture, because it is instructive. It was probably much talk'd of both among the Israelites and Egyptians; and it gave occasion to the removal of Jacob's Family into Egypt, on which so many great Events afterwards recorded did depend. Though Jacob's Sons were at this

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time

(a) Zech. xiv. 18. (b) lib. 5. cap. 9. (c) lib. 2. cap. 13, 14. (d) Deut. xi. 10. (e) lib. 36. cap. 2. (f) De præp. evang. lib. 9. Vid. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 619.

time all married, and had Families of their own; yet it seems they were all incorporated into one Society under the Conduct of their Father. They met with Famine in the Land of *Canaan*, to teach them to seek a better Country; that is the heavenly (a). When *Jacob* saw that there was Corn in *Egypt*, he said to his Sons, *Why do ye look on upon another?* It is a Folly to stand desponding and despairing; we must not only pray for daily Bread, but must lay out our selves with Care and Industry to provide it. *Jacob's* ten Sons, leaving only *Benjamin* at home, went to *Egypt* for that End, and bowed themselves before *Joseph* with their Faces to the Earth. Now their empty Sheaves did Obeisance to his full one. *Joseph* knew them, yet spoke to them as Strangers by an Interpreter. He remembered his Dreams, though they had forgot them. He charged them as Spies, protesting by the *life of Pharaoh* that they were so. Which, whether it was an Asseveration or an Oath, we need not determine; but it was more than Yea, yea, or, Nay, nay; and therefore came of Evil: It was not the Language of a Son of *Abraham*, but of an *Egyptian* Courtier. They purged themselves of the Charge of being Spies, and gave account of their Father and his Family. But *Joseph* dealt roughly with them, clapt them up in Prison three Days, charged them to bring their youngest Brother *Benjamin* to him, and secured *Simeon* in Prison as a Pledge of their returning with their said young Brother. This hard Treatment *Joseph* used, was not from a Spirit of Revenge, but to complete the Accomplishment of his Dreams, to get account of the State of his Father and Family, and to bring them to Repentance. Indeed it had these Effects; for they had many penitent Reflexions for their Cruelty to their Brother *Joseph*: Their Affliction awakened their Conscience to remember their Sin (b). At which *Joseph* was so moved, that he turned about from them, and wept, ordered their Sacks to be filled with Corn, to restore every Man his Money, and give them Provision by the Way. This being done, they returned, leaving *Simeon* Prisoner behind them. At an Inn on the Road one of them opening his Sack to feed his Ass, found his Money in the Mouth of the Sack; and they were all surprised. Being come to their Father, they told him all that had happened to them; and emptying their Sacks, found all their Money. *Jacob* then had very melancholy Apprehensions of the State of his Family: *Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me* (c). Through our Ignorance and Weakness of Faith, we are ready to apprehend that to be against us which is really for us.

Jacob could not easily be perswaded to let *Benjamin* go, though *Reuben* engaged to bring him back: However, the Famine being sore in the Land, and the Corn which they had brought from *Egypt* being spent, *Jacob* at last condescended to let *Benjamin* go, upon the Word of *Judah* engaging to return him (d). He ordered them to carry Presents of what the Country afforded to the Governor of *Egypt*, and double the Money found in their Sacks. This he was induced to by the urgent Necessity of his Family; and in Justice and Prudence he sent double Money, to make Restitution of what he thought had been carried off by Mistake, or in case the Price of the Corn had been raised, with Presents to pacify the Ruler of the Land, and Prayers for their Success: *God Almighty bless you*. Being come into *Egypt*, they appeared before *Joseph*, who seeing them, with *Benjamin* in their Company, said to his Steward, *Bring these men home, for they shall dine with me at noon*. The Servant did as he was commanded; they made their Apology for the Money found in their Sacks; he encouraged them, telling, there was no Evil designed against them, and brought their Brother *Simeon* out to them. Mean time they made ready the Present, and when *Joseph* came to Dinner, they offered it, bowing themselves before him to the Earth. *Joseph* asked them of their Welfare, and of their Father's; and when he saw *Benjamin* his Brother, he said, *God be gracious unto thee, my son*. Then finding himself moved, he went into another Chamber, and wept: Having washed his Face, he returned, and ordered his Servants to set on the Meat; the *Egyptians* sat by themselves, and the *Hebrews* by themselves, because what the latter ate, the former worshipped. They sat according to their Birth-right, which *Joseph* exactly knew; he gave *Benjamin* five times as much as any of the rest, whereby he testified his particular Respect for him, and also tried whether his Brethren would envy *Benjamin's* larger Messes, as they had formerly done to himself for his Coat of many Colours; and they drank and were merry, concluding their Cares and Fears now over, being in so good Terms with the Lord of the Land.

But *Joseph* thought fit to put them to a new Fright, while he ordered his Steward, *Fill the mens sacks with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth. And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest. And when they were gone out of the city, he ordered his steward, Follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this it, in which my lord drinketh? and whereby indeed he divineth* (e)? Criticks (f) have made large Collections

(a) Heb. xi. 14, 16. (b) Genes. xlii. 21, — 23. (c) Genes. xlii. 36. (d) Genes. xliii. (e) Genes. xliv. (f) Saurin's Dissert. on the Old Testam. Vol. i. p. 283, — 286. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 659, — 662.

ctions on this Head concerning Divination by Cups. I shall only observe, that *Joseph*, who feared the true God, would not use Magick; nor Divination by Cups, nor any profane Heathenish Rite. But if the Words be rendred, as they may (a), *concerning which he'll certainly divine*, or, he'll know what you have done, then the Difficulty is removed. To proceed, *Joseph's* Brethren refused the Guilt alledged, saying, *With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bond-men*. Yet upon narrow Inquiry, the Cup was found in *Benjamin's* Sack; whereupon they rent their Cloaths, loaded their Asses, and returned to the City, with *Judab* at their Head; who told *Joseph* that their Father had a more particular Love for *Benjamin*; that he would die if they did not bring him back; that he was personally engaged for his Return; and therefore begged that he would take him for his Slave, and let *Benjamin* go. The Address is so natural, and so expressive of his present Passion, that we cannot but see that *Moses*, who wrote it long after it was spoke, did so by the special Direction of him that made Man's Mouth (b). *Judab's* faithful adhering to *Benjamin* now in Distress, was recompensed long after this by that Tribe's constant standing for the Tribe of *Judab*. Our Lord, who sprang out of *Judab* (c), like this Patriarch, not only made Intercession for Transgressors, but also became Surety for them.

Joseph, upon Trial, having found that his Brethren had great Affection to their Father, to *Benjamin*, to one another, and were heartily penitent for their Sin in selling himself, (to discover which seems to have been the main Design of his hard using them) could not refrain longer from making himself known to them: Therefore with many Tears and singular Affection, he said, *Come near to me, I pray you; — I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with your selves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life* (d). He also told them, that the Famine was yet to continue five Years, but God had put him into a capacity of providing for his Relations and Friends; which is the greatest Satisfaction Wealth and Power can give to a good Man; and he acknowledged God the Author of it all. Providence looks a great way forward; even before the Years of Plenty, God was preparing for the Supply of *Jacob's* House in the Years of Famine. He desired, that his Father might by them be speedily informed of the glad Tidings of his Life, and of the great Honour which his Son *Joseph* was advanced to; which would be a refreshing Oyl to his hoary Head: And he is very earnest that he and all his Family should come down to *Egypt*, with all his Children and Grandchildren, their Flocks and their Herds, promising to nourish them in the Land of *Goshen*. And after this, he with his Brethren interchanged mutual Endearments and Caresses, and talked freely of all the Affairs of his Father's House. This pleased *Pharaoh* and all his Ministers: *Joseph* had been an Instrument of great Good to *Egypt*, by saving it in the common Calamity, and making it able to serve other Nations; and therefore the King in Gratitude thought he could not do too much for him. *Joseph* then sent Waggon to carry his Father and the young Children, with Plenty of Provisions to support them on the Road; to each of his Brethren he gave Changes of Raiment, and to *Benjamin* he gave three hundred Pieces of Silver, and five Changes of Raiment; and thus having dismissed them, charged them, *See that ye fall not out by the way*.

§ 5. WHEN this was told *Jacob* in the Land of *Canaan*, the good News at first sunk his Spirits; but seeing the Waggon, and finding the Truth of the whole Story confirmed, *his spirit revived*, and he resolved on the Journey. In which he was signally encouraged; for when he offered Sacrifices at *Beersheba*, God spake to him, and said, *I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes* (e). Where the Lord renewed the Covenant to him, promised that he would bring his Posterity out of *Egypt*, and that *Joseph* should do the last Offices to him when dying. *Jacob* being thus encouraged, went down to *Egypt* with his whole Family; whose Names and Number are particularly inserted in the sacred Text (f); being in all seventy Souls, including old *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, with his Sons, *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*; they being come of *Jacob*, as well as those who came from the Land of *Canaan*. It was now two hundred and fifteen Years, since God had promised to *Abraham* to make of him a great Nation (g); yet that Branch of his Seed, on which the Promise was intailed, was at this Time only increased to seventy Persons. The Accomplishment of divine Promises is always sure, though sometimes slow. The particular Account of their Number is here recorded, that the Power of God, in multiplying these seventy to six hundred thousand Men at the Time of their coming out of *Egypt*, may be more illustrious: When God pleases, *a little one shall become a thousand* (h). To reconcile the Account of *Moses*, that seventy Souls came with *Jacob* into *Egypt*, with that of *Luke*, *Acts*, vii. 14. where they are named seventy five, we need not say that *St. Luke* followed the Version of the *Septuagint*, who by setting down

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(a) Pool, Dutch Notes, and Arias Montanus's Version of that Text. (b) See Dr. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, in Gen. xlv. (c) Heb. vii. 14. (d) Genes. xlv. (e) Genes. xlv. (f) Genes. xlv. 8, — 27. (g) Genes. xii. 2. (h) Isaiah, lx. 22.

down the Names of *Joseph's* Grandchildren by *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, have made up the Number of seventy five ; nor need we apprehend any Corruption in the Text : Only we may observe with *Heidegger* (a), that if *Jacob's* four Wives, though some of them died in the Land of *Canaan*, as well as *Er* and *Onan*, the Sons of *Judab*, be added to the Number of seventy, and *Jacob*, the Head of the House, omitted, the exact Number of seventy five will arise. And so the Account given by *Stephen*, the Protomartyr, recorded by *Luke*, agrees with the *Mosaic* Narration, only *Moses* reckons *Jacob* and his Descendents, *St. Stephen* counts the whole Family.

§ 6. *JOSEPH* being informed by *Judab* of his Father's Coming, he paid that Respect as to go out and meet him ; they embraced one another very affectionately, and with Tears. He advised his Father and his Brothers, when called before *Pharaoh*, to say they were Shepherds, that they might dwell in the Land of *Goshen* ; where they might be free from being infected by the Vices, and insulted by the Malice of the *Egyptians*, who abhorred that Occupation (b). They did so, being not ashamed to own their Business, and to accommodate themselves to it : And *Pharaoh* shewed them abundance of Respect ; particularly to old *Jacob*, whom he was pleased to converse with, asking him, *How old art thou* (c) ? To which the Patriarch answered : *The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years : few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.* Where he speaks, as became him, with an Heir of Seriousness : He looks on himself as a Stranger in this World travelling to a better ; he reckons his Days few, in respect of Eternity, and evil, because of the many Sins he had been guilty of, and the Afflictions he had undergone ; he is not proud, but humble in his old Age. He blessed *Pharaoh* ; which was not only an Act of Civility, but an Act of Piety, whereby he prayed for him as a Prophet, and as a Patriarch. *Joseph* returning to the Management of his great Trust ; the Famine continuing in *Egypt* yet five Years longer, and the *Egyptians* having no more Money to buy Corn, first sold their Cattle to the King, and then their Lands. If they had done for themselves in the seven Years of Plenty, as *Joseph* did for *Pharaoh*, they had not been in these Straits. The last Year *Joseph* furnished them with Corn to sow, upon condition they would give the King the fifth Part of the Crop : Only the land of the priests became not *Pharaoh's*. All People ought to be kind to those who attend the publick Service of their God ; and we ought to shew our Regard to our God, by esteeming his Ministers highly in Love for their Work's sake. Meantime *Israel* dwelt in the Land of *Goshen*, which is also called the Land of *Rameses* (d), situated in the Eastern Part of *Egypt*, not far from the *Arabian* Gulph. There *Jacob* lived quietly seventeen Years, though the Occurrences of his Life during that Space are not mentioned. Only it is observable, that as *Jacob* seventeen Years nourished his Son *Joseph*, (for so old was he when his Brethren treacherously (e) sold him) so now by way of Requital, seventeen Years *Joseph* nourished him. When the old Man must die, he would be buried in the Land of *Canaan* ; not merely because it was the Land of his Nativity, but rather because it was the Land of Promise, as a Pledge that his Posterity should in Process of Time be Masters of it ; and because it was a Type of Heaven, that better Country which he had in Expectation. And so solicitous was he about the Place of his Interment, that he would have *Joseph* sworn to it. Such an Obligation might answer all Objections that might be afterwards moved against it ; and *Joseph* having done so, *Israel* bowed himself upon the bed's head, giving Thanks to God for this, and all his Favours.

§ 7. AFTER these Things, *Joseph* hearing that his Father was sick, went to visit him, and receive his Benediction. Blessing is ascribed to God : He blesteth us, by bestowing good Things upon us (f). Our Redeemer blesteth us ; for this end he was sent into the World (g). In the Entry to his publick Ministry he pronounced many Blessings (h) ; and the last Act he did, before his Ascension to Heaven, was, that *he lifted up his hands and blessed them* (i). Or Blessing is ascribed to Man ; thus we bless God when we praise him for his Goodness : *I will bless the Lord at all times : his praise shall continually be in my mouth* (k). Or we bless Men ; which is either merely optative, we wish them to be blessed : *Bless them that curse you* (l) ; that is, wish them to be blessed : Or it is authoritative ; thus the Priests blessed the People (m), by virtue of their Office : And the Patriarchs, as so many Prophets, by divine Inspiration blessed their Seed, prophesying of the Goodness of God, and of the Conduct of his Providence to them in after Ages. *Joseph* was not deceived in his Expectation ; his aged Father strengthened himself and sat upon the bed (n), and solemnly adopted *Joseph's* two Sons, *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, prophesying that each of them should multiply into a Tribe, and have a distinct Lot in *Canaan*, equal with *Jacob's* own Sons. An Inheritance in the Promise made to *Abraham*, was more valuable and honourable, than to succeed their Father in the

Power

(a) Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 678. (b) See Bishop Patrick on Genes. xvi. 34. (c) Genes. xlvii. 8. (d) Genes. xlvii. 11, 27, 28. (e) Genes. xxxvii. 2. (f) Ephes. i. 3. (g) Acts, iii. 26. (h) Matth. v. 1, — 12. (i) Luke, xxiv. 50. (k) Psal. xxxiv. 1. (l) Luke, vi. 28. (m) Numb. vi. 23. (n) Genes. xlviii.

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Power and Grandeur he had in Egypt. He also blessed them, which is particularly noticed in the *New Testament* : By faith Jacob when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph (a) : He said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; &c. (b). Where he prays, that the Persons of the ever blessed Trinity may bless these young Men : Though that Mystery was not so plainly revealed in those Days, as it is to us in the Gospel, yet it is often pointed at in the threefold Repetition of the Name of God, or *Yehowab* (c). His Affections particularly warm when he speaks of the angel which redeemed him; who can be no other than the Angel of the Covenant, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, who saves us from our Sins; who is the Object of divine Adoration, and to whom Jacob here addresses his Prayer for a Blessing (d). The Patriarch stretched out his Hands, to lay them on his Grandchildren; and it is the most antient Monument we have of laying on of Hands. Joseph thinking his Father, by reason of the Dimness of his Eyes, was mistaken in laying his right Hand on Ephraim, the youngest, and his Left on Manasseh, the eldest, endeavoured to transpose his Hands. But Jacob convinced him, that this very Circumstance was directed by Providence; which decreed the Pre-eminence of the younger before the elder Brother. The Event answered the Prediction; for when the Tribes were mustered in the Wilderness, the Tribe of Ephraim could furnish 40,500 fighting Men, and that of Manasseh only 32,200 (e). Joshua was of that Tribe, so was Jeroboam; the royal Seat of the ten Tribes was there; and all Israel is often called by the Name of Ephraim (f); whereas the Tribe of Manasseh being divided, the one Half on the one Side, and the other on the other Side of Jordan, it never became so powerful. God, in the distinguishing Favours of his Covenant, often advanced the younger before the elder; as Jacob before Esau, Shem before Japheth; Judah and Joseph were preferred before Reuben, David to his elder Brethren, and Solomon after him; which some make typical of the Gentile Church, that shall have more numerous Converts than that of the Jews (g). Glorious are the Riches of free Grace, Jacob gave to Joseph yet more Favours : Moreover, I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow (h). Mention is made of this Grant in John iv. 5. This Parcel of Ground was given to the Tribe of Ephraim, as their Right : In it Joseph's Bones were buried; and though Jacob had never seized it by Force of Arms, yet the Words may be a Prediction (i), that his Posterity should thus take Possession of it.

Jacob having thus blessed the Sons of Joseph, proceeds to his other Sons (k). He ordered them all to be called together, to hear the last Words of their dying Father, and his Prophecies concerning them and their Posterity in the last Days. Cicero (l) says, *The Mind of Man is more divine when Death approacheth*. Whatever be of this, it is certain that at this Time the Patriarch was elevated by the Inspiration of the Almighty. He begins with Reuben, his first-born : But he, by his Incest with Bilhah his Father's Wife, having forfeited the Prerogatives of his Birth-right, the double Portion was given to Joseph (m), the Kingdom to Judah, and the Priesthood to Levi. The Character given to him is, *Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel* : Thou shalt have a Being as a Tribe, but no Excellency : No Judge, no Prophet nor Prince shall be found in thee. His Successors not aiming to excel, meanly chuse a Settlement on the other Side of Jordan, there to feed Cattle, far from the Sanctuary and from the Seat of the Kingdom. Thus, though his Incest was committed forty Years ago, yet it is now remembered against him with a Note of Infamy. Simeon and Levi were next in Age to Reuben : But they also had been a Grief and Shame to their Father, by the barbarous Murder they committed on the Shechemites. He never consented to that infamous Action, and now he protests that he utterly abhorred it, and foretells the Lot of these two Tribes : *I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel*. Indeed the Levites were scattered through all the Tribes; and when the ten Tribes separated from Judah, the Levites suffered by that Division, being obliged either to lie at the Mercy of the Schismatics, or to see the Number of their Poor encreased. As to Simeon; the Lot of that Tribe lay on the Skirts of Judah (n), and was so strait as it was scarce able to support them, they being sometimes forced to disperse themselves in quest of other Settlements.

Glorious Things are said of Judah in Genesis xlix. 8, — 12. His Name signifies Praise. God was praised for him (o), praised by him, and praised in him; and therefore his Brethren shall praise him. It is here prophesied that he shall be victorious and successful in War; *Thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies* : As was fulfilled in the Victories of David. He shall be superior to the rest of the Tribes, not only more numerous, but shall also have Domi-

(a) Heb. xi. 21. (b) Genes. xlviii. 15, 16. (c) Numb. vi. 24, — 26. Dan. ix. 19. Psal. cxlvi. 8. and other texts. (d) See in the Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians, p. 433, — 460, a Dissert. on Genes. xlviii. 15, 16. (e) Numb. i. 32, — 35. (f) Jerem. xxxi. 18, 20. Hosea, xiv. 8. (g) Isaiah, liv. 1. Galat. iv. 27. (h) Genes. xlviii. 22. (i) Heidegg. hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 691. (k) Genes. xlix. (l) De divinatione, lib. 1. cap. 30. Animus, appropinquante morte, multò est divinior. (m) 1 Chron. v. 1. (n) Josh. xix. 1. (o) Genes. xxix. 35.

nion over them ; *Thy father's children shall bow down to thee* : *Judah* was the Law-giver (a). He shall be strong and courageous, qualified for Command and Conquest : *Judah is a lion's whelp ; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up : he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion ; who shall rouse him up ?* The Lion is the King of Beasts, the Terror of the Forest : When he seizes his Prey, none can resist him ; when he goes up from the Prey, none dare pursue him. Thus it is foretold that the Tribe of *Judah* shall become very formidable, shall gain great Victories, and quietly reap the Fruits of them. And further, it shall be the Tribe from which the Messiah, the Prince, shall spring : *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, till Shiloh come.* *Jacob* here foresees and foretells, That the Sceptre or Government should come into the Tribe of *Judah*, (as was fulfilled in *David*, on whose Seed the Crown was entailed, and with whom it continued till the *Babylonish* Captivity ;) that *Shiloh* the promised Messiah should come of that Tribe ; that the Power of Government and giving Laws should continue in that Tribe, till the coming of the Messiah born of a Woman. Thus the Sanhedrim retained some Shadow of Power, till the Death of Christ : But from that time all things began to work the Destruction of that People, till in a few Years after his Crucifixion the *Jewish* Policy, Temple and Government were utterly ruined ; and from that Day to this, they have neither had King nor Law-giver among them ; as will further appear by the following History. To this Messiah shall the gathering of the people be : For he is the desire of all nations (b) ; who being lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto him (c). In him there is all that is nourishing or refreshing to Man, Wine and Milk, the Riches of *Judah's* Tribe, without Money and without Price. Near the End of this Work, I have explained and applied this Prophecy, to prove, against the *Jews*, that the promised Messiah is already come : And they who desire to see larger Treatises upon it, may consult, besides others, the Authors named at the Foot of the Page (d).

Jacob foretells concerning *Zebulun* (e), that his Posterity should have their Lot upon the Sea-coast, shall be Merchants, and Mariners : Which was fulfilled many Years afterwards, when the Land of *Canaan* was divided by Lot, *And the border of Zebulun went up toward the sea* (f) ; having the *Mediterranean* to the West, and the Lake of *Tiberias* on the East. *Issachar* shall dwell in the most fruitful Parts of the Land of Promise, where they shall exercise themselves in improving their Lands, and reaping the Fruits of them : And when any of the Tribes design Conquest, they shall rather chuse to furnish Contributions, *couching like an ass under the burden*, than to assist in the War. Though *Dan* was a Son of one of the Concubines, yet he shall be a Tribe governed by Judges of his own, who shall by Art, Policy, and Stratagems of War, gain Advantages against his Enemies, like a Serpent suddenly biting the Heels of the Traveller (g). Some are of Opinion, that this may refer to *Samson*, who judged *Israel*, and delivered them out of the Hands of the *Philistines*, not by fighting in the Field, but by surprising Mischiefs he did them. *Jacob* being almost spent with this Discourse, breathes out a pious Ejaculation, with warm and lively Devotion : *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.* It is the Character of a living, and the Comfort of a dying Saint, to wait for the Salvation of the Lord. Concerning *Gad* he says, *A troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at last* (h) : Where he alludes to his Name, signifying a Troop ; and foresees that this should be a warlike Tribe. And so they were (i) : Their Situation on the other Side of *Jordan* exposed them to the Incursions of their Neighbours the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. And that they might not be proud of their own Strength, he foretells that the Troops of their Enemies should in many Skirmishes overcome them. *But they shall overcome at last* : Which was accomplished, when in the Reign of *Saul* the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* were entirely subdued. Of *Asher* it is said, *His bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties* (k). This Tribe extended to the North of *Canaan*. Mount *Carmel* and a very fruitful Country were within their Territories (l), producing Corn and Oyl, and every thing both for the Wants and Pleasures of Life, in such plenty as not only to furnish the Inhabitants, but also to serve for Export to their Neighbours. *Naphtali is a hind let loose : he giveth goodly words* (m). This People shall be as the loving Hind, kindly and obliging to one another ; as a Hind let loose, loving Liberty ; as the swift Hind, quick to dispatch Business ; as the trembling Hind, timorous in Times of publick Danger ; giving goodly Words, being affable and courteous. Out of this Tribe did proceed *Barak* (n), more rapid in his Victories than a Deer in the Forest, and *Deborah* a Prophetess, who by her sweet Song made his Triumphs ever to be remembered. The learned *Heidegger* (o) inclines to another Exposition of this Prediction : That *Naphtali* inhabiting a Part of *Galilee*, shall hear Christ's goodly Words ; *who spoke as never man spoke : Grace was poured into his lips.* *Jacob* concludes with giving Blessings to his

(a) Psal. lx. 7. (b) Hagg. ii. 7. (c) John xii. 32. (d) Saurin's Dissertations on the Old Testament, Vol. 1. p. 313.—351. Allung de Shiloh. Martin Helvicus de vaticinio Jacobi, in Vol. 8. of Great London Criticks. Heidegger. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. (e) Genes. xlix. 13. (f) Josh. xix. 10, 11. (g) Genes. xlix. 16, 17. (h) Genes. xlix. 19. (i) 1 Chron. xii. 8. (k) Genes. xlix. 20. (l) Josh. xix. 24, —31. (m) Genes. xlix. 21. (n) Judges iv. 6. (o) Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 782.

his beloved Sons *Joseph* and *Benjamin*. Though he had blessed the Sons of *Joseph*, *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, in the former Chapter; yet he had something to add concerning himself: *Joseph is a fruitful bough. — The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him. But his bow abode in strength (a)*: Intimating, that though *Joseph* now lived at Ease, and in Honour, yet he had come through many Difficulties; his Brethren, in his Father's House, mocked, threatened, stript, sold him; his Mistress, in the House of *Potiphar*, shot at him by impudent Temptations; he was put in Prison, and even when afterwards advanced, he had many Enemies in the Court of *Pharaoh*. But *his bow abode in strength*: His Faith did not fail; he kept his Guard, and came off more than a Conqueror by the Strength of the mighty God. He promises that God would bless him with abundant, eminent and everlasting Blessings, *with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under; blessings of the breasts and of the womb. The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills; they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.* Last of all comes the Blessing of *Benjamin*: *He shall ravine as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil (b).* *Jacob*, in what he said, was guided by the Spirit of Prophecy, and not by natural Affection; otherwise he would have spoke with more Tenderness of his beloved Son *Benjamin*. He only foretells of him, that his Posterity shall be a warlike Tribe, who shall enrich themselves by the Spoil of their Enemies, and be much feared by their Neighbours. In the first Times of *Israel* they shall be remarkable for their Activity: *Ehud* the second Judge (c), and *Saul* the first King, were of that Tribe; and so in the last Times were *Esther* and *Mordecai*, by whom the Enemies of the *Jews* were destroyed. The *Benjamites* ravined like Wolves when they desperately espoused the Cause of the Men of *Gibeah* (d). The holy Apostle *Paul* was of this Tribe (e); who in the Morning of his Day devoured the Prey as a Persecutor, but in the Evening did divide the Spoil as a Preacher.

§ 8. *JACOB* having blessed the Tribes, and given a Charge to his Sons concerning his Burial, (the same that he before delivered to *Joseph* (f), which hath been already (g) noticed) composed himself for Death: For 'tis said, *He gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people (h).* He seems to have been sitting up in the Bed while he blessed and spoke to his Sons: But this being done, he lay down, not only as one patiently submitting to the Stroke, but as cheerfully composing himself to Rest. He resigned his Soul to the Father of Spirits: And his Soul being separated from the Body, went to the spirits of just men made perfect. So sensible was *Joseph* of the Loss of a prudent, pious, praying Father, that he could not part with him without a Flood of Tears (i): And then he ordered his Body to be embalmed, in order to be carried to *Canaan*. Forty Days were spent in embalming him, and thirty in mourning for him, in all seventy. The *Egyptians* were so skilful in the Art of embalming dead Bodies, as to preserve the very Features for several Ages. Their Ceremonies about it are to be found in *Herodote* (k) and *Diodorus Siculus* (l): And it was the more necessary in this Case, because *Jacob's* Body was to be carried a great Way, into the Land of *Canaan*. Even many of the *Egyptians*, out of the Respect they had to *Joseph*, put themselves into Mourning for his Father. *Joseph* himself, though his Affair about the Corn was over, yet seems to have continued a prime Minister of State; and would not go to attend the Funerals, without the King's leave; which he asked and obtained. With him went all the Servants of *Pharaoh*, the Elders of his House, and all the Elders of *Egypt*, and all the House of *Joseph*, and his Brethren, and his Father's House, with Chariots and Horsemen, a very great Company. They interred the Body in the Cave of the Field of *Machpelah*, near *Hebron*, on the West Side of *Jordan*; where they made a great Mourning for seven Days. After their Return, *Joseph* and his Brethren settled a good Correspondence: They confessed their Sin in selling of him; he directed them to look to God for Repentance, and confirmed his Reconciliation and Affection to them. At last, when he had lived long in great Grandeur in *Egypt*, and had seen his Sons, Grandsons and Great-grandsons, and having comforted his Brethren with the Hope of their Return to the promised Land, and charged them to carry up his Bones thither, he died, being one hundred and ten Years of Age. If we look back into the Life of *Joseph*, we may observe that he was born at *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; he came thence into the Land of *Canaan* at six Years of Age; when seventeen, he was sold into *Egypt*; he lived as a Servant in *Potiphar's* House ten Years, and in Prison three Years, (for he was thirty (m) when he stood before *Pharaoh*:) Seven Years of Plenty and two Years of Famine being passed when his Father came down to *Egypt*, he was at that time thirty nine: His Father living seventeen Years in *Egypt*, he was when his Father died fifty six, and survived his Father fifty four Years; having been Ruler in *Egypt* under the King in all eighty Years. His Brethren embalmed him, and put him in a Coffin.

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(a) Genes. xlix. 22, — 24. (b) Genes. xlix. 27. (c) Judges iii. 15, — 30. (d) Judges xx. (e) Philipp. iii. 5. (f) Genes. xlvii. 28, — 31. (g) Above, p. 70. (h) Genes. xlix. 33. (i) Genes. l. (k) lib. 2. cap. 86. p. 120. (l) lib. 1. cap. 91 & seqq. (m) Genes. xli. 46.

And here ends the Book of *Genesis*. Upon the *Israelites* Deliverance from *Egypt*, they brought his Body thence, and buried it so soon as they received their Inheritance in the Land of *Canaan* (a).

§ 9. THE Book of *Exodus*, which signifies Departure, or going out, is so named by the *Greeks* because it contains the History of *Israel's* going out of *Egypt*: But in the *Hebrew*, the five Books of *Moses* have no Names save from the first Words of them. Thus *Genesis* is called *BERESHITH*, *In the beginning*; *Exodus*, *ELLE'SHEMOTH*, *These are the names*; *Leviticus*, *VAJIKRA*, *And he called*; *Numbers*, *VAJEDABBER*, *And the Lord spake*; *Deuteronomy*, *ELLE-HADEBARIM*, *These are the words*; because these are the first Words with which those Books begin. In *Genesis* we have the History of the Church while it existed in private Families, but in *Exodus* when it became a great Nation, when God formed *Israel* for himself, to shew forth his praise (b). Here is related the cruel Slavery under which *Israel* groaned, their miraculous Deliverance from it, their Passage through the Red Sea, the Establishment of their Law, the building of the Tabernacle, and how God, to declare his Presence therein, covered it with a bright Cloud; the whole containing the History of 145 Years, from the Death of *Joseph* to the rearing up of the Tabernacle.

With the first Chapter of *Exodus* begins the thirteenth Section of the Law. The *Jews* have divided the Law into fifty four Sections, which they read in fifty two Sabbaths, joining two of the shortest twice together, that the whole may be finished in the Space of one Year; and they are distinguished by three *Hebrew* Letters *Pe*, as may be seen in the *Hebrew Bible* printed by *Athias*; and *Ainsworth* and other learned Men have particularly observed those Sections in their Notes on the *Pentateuch*. This Chapter begins with a Recital of the Names of the twelve Patriarchs, that by their frequent Repetition they may become familiar to us, and that those who do greatly encrease, may often observe how small their Beginning was. All that Generation by degrees wore of; *Joseph*, the Stay of the Family, died, and the rest were not long behind him. But *Israel* strangely encreased: When they lost *Joseph* their Patron, God made their Numbers their Defence. Thus God fulfilled the Promise made to *Abraham*: For though the Performance be sometimes slow, it is always sure. At length the Land of *Egypt* became to *Israel* a House of Bondage: A new King arose over *Egypt*, who knew not *Joseph*; and he oppressed *Israel*, setting over them Task-masters to afflict them, who made their Lives bitter with hard Labour in Mortar and Brick, and in all manner of Service, with Rigour. These Methods were used to break their Spirits, to rob them of every thing that was ingenious, to diminish their Numbers, shorten their Days, and ruine their Health; to discourage them from marrying, since their Children would be born to Slavery; and to oblige them to incorporate with the *Egyptians*, that the Name of *Israel* might be no more in remembrance. *Josephus* (c) says, that the *Israelites* were then employed in making Dikes and Banks to stop the Waters of the Nile, in digging Canals for draining those Waters, and that the famous Pyramids of *Egypt* were owing to their Labours: And it is certain they built two Treasure-cities, *Pithom* and *Raamses* (d). But the more they were afflicted, the more they multiplied. They that take counsel against the Lord and his Church, do but imagine a vain Thing: Christianity spread most when it was persecuted; the Blood of the Martyrs became the Seed of the Church. This Increase of *Israel* made the *Egyptians* fall upon inhumane Means to destroy them, by commanding the Midwives to murder their innocent Male-children. But the Midwives feared God, and saved the Men-children alive. They justified themselves in this Disobedience, by telling that the Children were born before they came. Which might be true: Their Women had quick and easy Labour by reason of an extraordinary Blessing of Increase. But if the Midwives made a too favourable Representation, God pardoned their Infirmary, and rewarded their Piety: He dealt well with them, and built them Houses; he blessed their Families, and prospered them in all that they did. When the King found that this Project did not take effect, he gave orders to his People to drown all the male Children of the *Hebrews*. The Enemies of the Church are restless to wear out the Saints of the most High; but he who sits in Heaven shall laugh at them.

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§ 10. WHILE this cruel Precept was in force *Moses* was born (e), eighty Years before the Deliverance from *Egypt*. His Father's Name was *Amram*, and his Mother's *Jochabed* (f), both of the Tribe of *Levi*, near Relations, or Cousins; but not such as hindred Marriage in those Days. Though *Jacob* left *Levi* under Marks of Disgrace (g), yet *Moses* soon appeared as a Descendent from him, to typify Christ, who came in the Likeness of sinful Flesh, and was made a Curse for us. No doubt many perished at this Time, by the Execution of the bloody Edict for killing the Male-children of the *Hebrews*: And 'tis like *Moses's* Mother had little Joy in bearing him, being ready to say, *Blessed are the barren that bear not*; they are better than to bring forth children to the murderer. Yet this Child was the Glory of his Father's

(a) Josh. xxiv. 32. (b) Isaiah xliii. 21. (c) Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 54. (d) Exod. i. 11. (e) Exod. ii. (f) Exod. vi. 20. Numb. xxvi. 59. (g) Genes. xlix. 5.

Father's House. When *Pharaoh's* Cruelty rose to its Height, the Deliverer was born : And when Men are projecting the Ruin of the Church, then God is preparing for its Salvation. His Parents observing him to be a goodly Child, or, as the Proto-martyr hath it; *exceeding fair* (a), they were very solicitous for his Preservation. Three Months they hid him in some private Apartment ; which they did by Faith (b), upon some Hope in the Promise of *Israel's* Deliverance. And herein he seems also to have been a Type of our Saviour, who was to be concealed in *Egypt* (c). At the End of three Months, when they could not hide him any longer, they made a Basket of Rushes, daubed in the In-side with Bitumen and Pitch, laid the Infant in it, and left him among the Reeds which grew along the River's Side, ordering his Sister to watch what became of him. King *Pharaoh's* Daughter (whom *Josephus* (d) calls *Thermutis*, and *Artapanus* (e) names *Meris*) happened to come at that time to bathe herself, with her Maids ; and walking along the Bank, she spied the Basket among the Reeds : Whereupon she sent one of her Maids, who brought it. Opening it, she found therein an Infant crying, and *she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews children*. The Infant's Sister, perhaps *Miriam*, drawing near, asked if she should go and call a Hebrew Woman to nurse the Child. She said to her, Go. Whereupon the Sister introduced the Mother to nurse her own Infant. It had been a pity that such a fair Child should suck the Breast of a tawny Moor. Mothers are the best Nurses : And those who receive the Blessings of the Breasts with those of the Womb, ought in Justice to give them for whom they received them. When *Moses* was grown up, his Mother and Nurse restored him to *Pharaoh's* Daughter ; who adopted him for her own Son, and gave him the Name of *Moses*, because she had drawn him out of the Water.

We know by the Speech of the Proto-martyr, that *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds (f), and was full forty Years old when he left that Country ; but the particular Passages of his Life during that Time are not on Record. *Egypt* was then and afterwards a School for Learning to other Parts of the Heathen World ; they were skilled in Astronomy, Astrology, Geometry and other Sciences. *Abraham* and *Joseph*, with others of the Patriarchs, having occasion to reside sometime there, might also leave a little Tincture of divine Truths among the Egyptians, which *Plato*, and other Greeks who travelled there, pick'd up : But there the Greeks also learned Magick, Idolatry, Superstition, and many Fables about it ; as appears from *Diodorus Siculus* (g), and others, which I have more particularly observed in another Essay (h). *Moses* learned all the valuable and lawful Learning of the Egyptians, and made himself Master thereof ; which exceedingly qualified him for being an Historian, and an Ambassador afterwards to that Court in God's Name. *Josephus* (i) tells several Circumstances of the Life of *Moses*, which are not in holy Writ ; as, that he made War on the Ethiopians, in which he gained many Advantages over them, and took the City *Saba* by means of the King of *Ethiopia's* Daughter, on Condition that he should marry her : And *Philo* (k) says, that he was educated as Heir-apparent to the Crown of *Egypt* ; that he commanded numerous Armies of that Nation, and obtained great Victories. Had these Authors taken their Accounts from any antient Monuments of the Ethiopians or Egyptians, they might be more regarded ; but since they alledge none, 'tis like these Narratives are Jewish Fictions. We have a more unquestionable History of *Moses's* going out from the Court of *Egypt* to see his Brethren under their Burdens ; and seeing an Egyptian striking an Hebrew, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand. Next Day observing two Hebrews quarrel, he said to him who abused the other, *Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow ?* To which the other replied, *Who made thee a prince and a judge over us ? intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian ?* *Moses* perceiving that what he had done was discovered, and hearing that *Pharaoh* designed to slay him, he fled to the Land of *Midian* in *Arabia*. Here we may see the Faith of *Moses* : *When he was come to years, he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter ; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt* (l). He gave a Specimen of his being designed a Deliverer and Judge for the People of *Israel* ; but they despised him, resisting the Holy Ghost, and wilfully shutting their Eyes at this Day-break of their Enlargement. God ordered the Retreat of *Moses* into *Midian*, when he was forty Years of Age, for wise and holy Ends : The Measure of the Iniquity of *Egypt* was not yet full ; the Hebrews were not sufficiently humbled, nor were they yet increased to such a Multitude as God designed. *Moses* is to be further fitted for Service ; and therefore is directed to withdraw, till the Time to favour *Israel*, even the set Time should come.

While *Moses* was in *Midian*, he married *Zipporah*, the Daughter of *Reuel*, Priest of that Country, who is also called *Jethro* ; for he had several Names (m). By her he had a Son,

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whom

(a) Acts vii. 20. (b) Heb. xi. 23. (c) Matth. ii. 13. (d) Anuq. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. m. 56. (e) Apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 27. (f) Acts vii. 22. (g) Lib. 1. cap. 96. (h) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 345, 347. (i) Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 5. (k) De vita Moſis, lib. 1. (l) Heb. xi. 24, — 26. (m) Exod. ii. 18. iii. 1.

whom he named *Gershom*; for he said, *I have been a stranger in a strange land*. Here he was sheltered for a Time, and qualified for the Work God had to call him to: For while he fed the Flock of his Father-in-law, he lived a Life of Solitude and Retirement, spending himself in Contemplation, Devotion, and Communion with God. Holy Exercises acquaint us with better Delights, than ever *Moses* tasted in the Court of *Pharaoh*.

§ 11. ABOUT this Time, or before it, *Job* seems to have lived in the Land of *Uz*; which the learned *Spanheim* (a) describes, as in the Desert of *Arabia*; having to the North *Mesopotamia*, and the River *Euphrates*; to the West *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Idumæa*; and to the South, the Mountains of the happy *Arabia*. The *Septuagint* have committed many palpable Errors in their Version of this Book; for they make *Job* a King, by the Name of *Jobab* (b); They make his Friends also Kings; *Eliphaz*, King of the *Temanim*; *Bildad*, Tyrant of the *Suchites*; and *Zophar*, King of the *Minioites*. They have added a long Discourse to the Complaint of *Job's* Wife (c), and another Addition at the End of the Book; (which is not the Part of a Translator) besides many other Errors in several Parts of their Version of that Book; which have been noticed by the learned. I shall not make any long Digression on this Subject; only we may observe, that the Book of *Job* contains a true History, or a Narration concerning a Man who really was, and of Things which actually came to pass in the World, and not a Fiction or Parable. For there is so particular an Account of his Country, Children, Prosperity before his Trial, and Restitution after it; with a punctual Description of his Friends, their Country and Pedigree, as it were quite wrong to look on it otherwise than as a true Narrative; and the Spirit of God speaking of him long after he was gone (d), as of one who had really been, does put the Truth of this History beyond all Controversy. As to the Time wherein *Job* lived, though the Scripture doth no where expressly determine it, yet it seems he lived a considerable Time after *Abraham*, and before the Law was given on Mount *Sinai*; for we find, that his Friends who debated with him, and himself too, were of the Posterity of *Nabor*, *Abraham's* Brother (e); or of *Abraham* by *Keturah* (f); or of *Abraham* by *Ismael* (g); consequently he and his Friends lived after *Abraham*. This is also confirmed by his great Age: For if we suppose him 50 or 60 Years when his Affliction began, and we are sure he lived 140 Years after his Prosperity was restored (h): This will make him in all about 200 Years when he died; and Man's Life after *Moses* was bounded generally within a far shorter Space (i). And that he lived before the giving of the Law, appears from his sacrificing at home in his own Country, and God's accepting thereof (k). For after the Promulgation of the Law, none must sacrifice any where, but in the Place where God had put his Name; besides, there is no mention of the Law in this whole Book. Concerning the Pen-man the Scripture is silent; and therefore we need not determine, whether it was done by *Job* himself, or by *Elibu*, or by some of his Friends, and found by *Moses* while he lived in *Midian*; or if it was writ by *Moses*, or some other Prophet, as must follow upon their Opinion who hold, that the writing of the Scripture was begun by God, when he wrote the two Tables of the Law on Mount *Sinai*: It is sufficient for us, that the Book was writ by the Direction of the Spirit of God, recommending *Job* as an eminent Saint. We have in it *Job's* Prosperity, the History of his Affliction, and of the long Debate he had with his three Friends, *Eliphaz*, *Bildad* and *Zophar*; who maintained that God would have not so afflicted him, if he had been a sincere honest Man; and therefore he ought to repent of his Hypocrisy, and endeavour Reconciliation to God, who upon his doing so, would restore him unto Favour. On the other hand, *Job* maintained his Integrity; that however he was afflicted, he was no Hypocrite nor Dissembler, but one who had endeavoured to serve God in Sincerity and Truth. His Friends had a bad Cause, but advanced many Truths to support it, though ill applied to *Job*: He had a good Cause, but used sometimes too vehement Complaints of his Affliction, and too keen Expressions in his own Vindication; for which *Elibu*, when he interposes in the Debate (l), doth justly reprove him; and God himself shews, that he, as the sovereign, glorious and powerful Judge of the Earth, might afflict him: Whereupon *Job* having confessed his Errors (m); the Lord restored him to Favour, and crowned him with Prosperity, a long Life, and a happy Death.

§ 12. To proceed with the History of the *Israelitish* Church. God having pitied their Affliction in *Egypt*, and heard their Cry (n), manifested himself to *Moses* (o), as he was feeding the Flock of *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, in the Wilderness at Mount *Horeb*: *The angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed*. The Angel that appeared to him, was the Second Person of the ever blessed Trinity (p), who is *Jehovah*; and so he

(a) Hist. Jobi, Operum Tom. 2. Cel. 27, & seqq. (b) Vide Job, xlii. 17. & laciniam annexam in versione lxx. Interpretum. (c) Vide Septuaginta in Job ii. 9, — 11. (d) Ezek. xiv. 14, 20. James, v. 11. (e) Genes. xxii. 21, 22. (f) Genes. xxiv. 1, — 4. (g) Genes. xxxvi. (h) Job, xlii. 16. (i) Psal. xc. 10. (k) Job, i. 5. xlii. 8. (l) Job, xxxii, — xxxvii. (m) Job, xl. 4. xlii. 5, 6. (n) Exod. ii. 23, — 25. (o) Exod. iii. (p) See more of these divine Appearances in that learned Book, The Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians, Chap. 12, 13, 14, 15: p. 184, — 253.

he is here called. Our God is a consuming Fire, who brings Terror and Destruction to his Enemies, Light and Heat to his People, and displays his Glory before all. The Bush burning, yet not consumed, was an Emblem of the Church now in Bondage in *Egypt*, burning in the Brick-kills, yet not consumed; perplexed, but not in Despair; cast down, but not destroyed. Vision had ceased (for any thing that appears) among the Patriarchs for some Ages before *Moses*, that God's Appearances to him for *Israel's* Salvation might be the more welcome. No wonder then, that he turned aside to see this great Sight. The Lord says to him, *Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.* This Caution was given against Rashness and Irreverence in his Approach; his Conscience must be satisfied, not his Curiosity; he must put off his Shoes, in token of Respect and Submission. Though the Gospel Dispensation allows us to come to God with more holy Boldness, than under the Law, yet still we are to *serve him with reverence and godly fear.* The Lord also declared his Name to *Moses*, saying, *I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* And *Moses* hid his face. These holy Patriarchs were all dead; but their Souls did live in a separate State, in pure Communion with God; and to make them completely happy, God would in due Time raise their Bodies to Life. Hence our Lord proves the Resurrection (a); and hence *Moses* is assured of a future State, and of the Performance of the Promise made to the Fathers; and this bright Manifestation increased his humble Reverence. The Lord further informs him of the compassionate Notice he took of his People in *Egypt*; of his Purpose to deliver them, and to bring them into the fruitful Land of *Canaan.* Even when their Bondage was most heavy, and they ready to despair, the divine Salvation was near to be revealed. He gives *Moses* a Commission to act in this Matter, as God's Ambassador to *Pharaoh*, and also to *Israel*; and because *Moses* objected his own Unworthiness for so great a Work, God promised his gracious Presence to be with him, and assured him of Success: *When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain;* and gives him full Instructions: *I AM THAT I AM: Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you* (b). *Jehovah* is alone self-existent, self-sufficient; who hath being of himself, and no Dependence upon any other: And he is the Lord God of their Fathers; *the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.* The God who can revive the Religion of their Fathers, and speedily perform the Promises made unto them. With these Orders he must go; the Elders of *Israel* shall hearken to him: And because the King of *Egypt* would not easily permit them to go, God will smite *Egypt* with his Wonders, and they shall at last depart laden with the Spoils of the *Egyptians.*

God continues and concludes his Discourse with *Moses* at the Bush in the fourth Chapter of *Exodus.* *Moses* objected the Peoples Unbelief. To remove this, God gave him a Power to work Miracles; which are a most convincing external Proof of a divine Mission; and therefore our Saviour oft appealed to his Works (c). And *Moses* having a special Commission as a Judge and a Lawgiver to *Israel*; comes supported with these Credentials. By Miracles we understand some wonderful Work, that either exceeds all created Power, or all the Power and Art of Man; and is contrary to the Nature of Devils, because they tend to confirm a Doctrine which promotes the Honour of God, and good of Mankind; and they do not fall out by accident, but must be foretold, so as the Person who produces them, does them to confirm his Doctrine, or shew his Commission from God; and must not be done in a Corner, but in the View of the World, and in the Sight of those who are to be convinced by them (d). The Miracles done by *Moses* had all these Qualifications; and there are so many of them, and so interwoven with the History, as they cannot be separated from it (e); nor writ at any other Time than when it was wrote. In this Chapter *Moses* cast his Rod upon the Ground, and it became a Serpent, so formidable as *Moses* fled from it; yet at God's Command he caught it, and it became again a Rod in his Hand. *Pharaoh* had turned the Rod of Government into the Serpent of Oppression, from which *Moses* fled into *Midian*; but now the Scene is altered, the *Egyptian* Oppressions shall be brought to an End. *Moses* is also ordered, when he should come to *Egypt*, to put his Hand into his Bosom; and when he took it out it was leprous: To put it again into the same Place, and it came out well. To signify that he should bring fore Plagues upon *Egypt*, and that upon his Prayers they should be again removed. In case they should not be convinced by these Miracles, he is directed to turn some of the Water of the River into Blood. Yet *Moses* continued backward, pleading that he was not eloquent; and that he would be glad God would send by the Hand of any other, and have him excused. Where he seems to discover something of humane Frailty, Cowardice, Sloth and Unbelief. Nevertheless, God condescended to remove all these Difficulties, telling him, that he who made Man's Mouth, would furnish him with a Faculty of speaking; that

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(a) Matth. xxii. 31, 32. (b) Exod. iii. 14, 15. (c) John, v. 36. (d) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 99. (e) Vide Joan. Alphons. Turretin de veritate religionis Judaicæ, Thes. 55.

that *Aaron* his Brother could speak well, and the divine Presence would assist them both. Whereupon *Moses* resolved on the Business, and intimated his Design to *Jethro*, his Father-in-law; who sent him away with his Blessing: *Go in peace*. While *Moses* was by the Way, with his Wife *Zipporah*, and her Sons, God met him in Anger, threatening to kill him for neglecting to circumcise his Son; which perhaps was the Effect of his being unequally yoked with a *Midianitish* Woman, too indulgent to her Child. But *Zipporah* seeing her Danger, laid hold of a sharp Stone, and circumcised her Son; whereupon the destroying Angel withdrew. Still she could not forget the Fright she was in, she cast the foreskin cut off at *Moses's* Feet, saying, *a bloody husband art thou to me*. Upon this Occasion 'tis like *Moses* sent her, with her Child, back to his Father-in-law; that they might not create him any further Uneasiness; for we hear no more of them in his Expedition to *Egypt*. *Aaron* met his Brother in Love; who told him all that the Lord had commanded him, and the Wonders he was to work. They two went to *Egypt*, where the Elders of *Israel* met them in Faith and Obedience; and *Aaron* having opened the Commission, and done the Signs in their Sight, the People believed, as God had foretold (a); and they bowed their heads and worshipped; expressing not only their humble Thankfulness to God, who had sent them a Deliverer, but also their cheerful Readiness to obey his Orders.

§ 13. *MOSES* and *Aaron* next applied themselves to *Pharaoh*, and required him, in the Name of the Lord God of *Israel*, to let his People go, that they might offer Sacrifice to him in the Wilderness (b). Though the Message was displeasing, and touched the King in his Honour and Profit, two tender Points; yet these faithful Ambassadors boldly delivered their Errand, whether he will hear, or whether he will forbear. To their Demand *Pharaoh* gave an impiously bold Answer: *Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go*. *Israel* was now a despised oppressed People; and he foolishly thought, that their God made no better a Figure among the Gods, than his People did among the Nations. Ignorance and Contempt of God, are at the Bottom of all the Wickedness of the World. The Messengers still insisted in their Application, telling, *The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword*. To this humble Request, *Pharaoh* gave a very barbarous and unreasonable Return, saying, *Moses* and *Aaron* diverted the People from their Work; that they were idle, (when he could not but know what Cities and Works they had built for him) and ordered them to be more burdened; obliging them to furnish the same Quantity of Brick as before, and yet with-holding the Straw necessary for making them. There wanted not cruel Instruments, with Blows, to execute these Orders: And though the *Israelites* poured out their Complaints before the King, they could find no Redress; which made them complain of *Moses* and *Aaron*; who laid their Case before the Lord.

When Matters were come to this Extremity, God encouraged his Servants, by assuring them of Success; that he would deliver his People from the Burdens of the *Egyptians*, and bring them into the Land promised to their Fathers (c). But the present Miseries of the People were such, as made them not to regard the Promises; and they had such a Dread of *Pharaoh's* Power and Wrath, that they durst not themselves move for their Deliverance: So they hearkened not unto *Moses*, for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage. Yet the Lord sent *Moses* a second Time to *Pharaoh*, upon the same Errand as before, to let *Israel* go; and graciously answered these Difficulties of the Unreadiness of Speech, which the Sense of Weakness again mustered up to his Servant. God repeated his Precepts, before he began his Punishments. Towards the End of this Chapter, we have the Genealogy of *Moses* and *Aaron* (d), these eminent and useful Servants of God, who had so great a Hand in bringing the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

§ 14. THEY again appear before *Pharaoh* (e). At this Time *Moses* was eighty Years old, and *Aaron* eighty three. Upon *Pharaoh's* demanding a Miracle to verify their Commission, *Aaron* threw down his Rod before the King and his Servants, and it became a Serpent. *Joseph* (f) says it became a Dragon; which might have softened his Heart into a Fear of that God by whose Power this was done. But the Magicians doing the like by their Incantments, the King's Heart was hardened; though *Moses* and *Aaron* plainly gained the Victory; for *Aaron's* Rod swallowed up those of the Magicians. These evil Men might counterfeit a Miracle by divine Permission: For, either their Rods might become real Serpents by the Power of God, beyond their Intention or Expectation, for the hardning of *Pharaoh's* Heart; or evil Spirits might artfully substitute Serpents in the room of the Rods, God permitting the Delusion for wise Ends; that they might believe a Lie who received not the Truth. The *Mosaic* History doth not tell us what were the Names of those Magicians; but the Apostle (g) calls them

(a) Exod. iii. 18. (b) Exod. v. (c) Exod. vi. (d) See the Bp. of Ely's Commentary on Exod. vi. 16. (e) Exod. vii. (f) Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. m. 62. (g) 2 Tim. iii. 8.

them *Jannes* and *Jambres* : And the same Names may be found with very little Variation in several antient Authors (a).

This harmless Miracle of the Rod turn'd into a Serpent having no Influence over *Pharaoh* to persuade him to permit *Israel* to go, God made use of more sensible Scourges to afflict the *Egyptians*. The first of which was, the changing of all the Waters of *Egypt* into Blood. This was a very grievous Plague. The very Sight of such vast rolling Streams of pure florid Blood, was dreadful ; but much more terrible were the Consequences : For now the *Egyptians* must either drink Blood, or die for Thirst. Fish was a great Part of their Food (b) : The changing of the Waters killed the Fish (c). This Plague was justly inflicted : For the River *Nilus* was their Idol. They worshipped the Creature more than the Creator ; and now God turned it to their Punishment. They had stained that River with the Blood of the *Hebrew* Children ; now God made it all bloody : *He gave them blood to drink, for they were worthy.* And it was a significant Plague : *Egypt* had a great Dependence upon the River : So in smiting it, they were warned how God could smite every thing they had, if they continued in Disobedience to his Message : And the red River proved a sad Omen of the Ruin of *Pharaoh* and all his Forces in the *Red Sea*. The Magicians meanly endeavoured to confront this Miracle ; which continued seven Days. Could they have turned the River of Blood into clean Water again, *Pharaoh* had been obliged to them as his Benefactors : But, when there was such a Famine of Water, to turn more of it into Blood, shews that the Design of the Devil is only to delude and ruine his Servants, not to do them any real Kindness.

Pharaoh being still obstinate in refusing to let the People go, the Lord sent on him a Plague of Frogs (d), which made such an Inroad upon the *Egyptians*, that they could neither eat, drink nor sleep in quietness. Though the Magicians were permitted to imitate this, by bringing up Frogs ; yet they could not remove those which God had sent : And *Pharaoh* was made so far to relent, as to promise to let the People go, if *Moses* and *Aaron* would intreat the Lord to take away the Frogs. They that despise God and Prayer, may in a Day of Extremity see their need of both. But when the Plague was removed, *Pharaoh's* Heart was hardened. This provoked the Lord to send a third Plague, by turning *the dust of the land into lice*. He magnified his Power in punishing proud Men by these contemptible Creatures ; which proved exceedingly scandalous and offensive to the *Egyptians* : And the Magicians could not pretend to produce the like, but were obliged to acknowledge, *This is the finger of God* (e). Yet *Pharaoh's* Heart was hardened : Which provoked the Lord to send a fourth Judgment, even a Plague of Flies. Swarms of divers Sorts of these Insects did devour all the *Egyptians* : But the *Israelites* in the Land of *Goshen* were free of them. These Creatures were so terrible, that *Pharaoh* was willing to enter into a Treaty about surrendring his Captives ; but there were so many Limitations in his Grant, that *Moses* and *Aaron* could not accept of it : Yet they intreated the Lord ; and the Plague of Flies was removed ; and *Pharaoh's* Heart was still hardened, so as to refuse to let the People go.

Then the Lord sent a fifth Plague, even a terrible Murrain, whereby all the Cattle of the *Egyptians*, which they idolized and worshipped, died : But of the Cattle of the Children of *Israel* died not one (f). Yet *Pharaoh's* Heart was hardened, and he did not let the People go. The Lord then sent a sixth Plague, by a Boil, breaking forth with blains upon man and beast : And the Magicians could not stand before *Moses*, because of the Boil ; for it was upon the Magicians and upon all the *Egyptians*. Since they would not be convinced by the Death of their Cattle, God sent a Plague upon their own Bodies, that touched them to the quick. They had oppressed *Israel* in the Furnaces ; and now the Ashes of the Furnace are made as much a Terror to them, as ever their Task-masters had been to the *Israelites*. Yet *Pharaoh's* Heart was hardened. Then the Lord sent a seventh Plague, by Thunder, with Hail and Fire, so grievous as there was none like it in all the land of *Egypt* since it became a nation : For the hail smote all that was in the field, both man and beast, and every herb of the field, and brake every tree. Their Flocks and Cattle were destroyed by hot Thunderbolts (g). Only in the Land of *Goshen*, where the Children of *Israel* dwelt, there was no Hail. This put *Pharaoh* into such a Consternation, that he sent for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and acknowledged, *I have sinned : the Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked. Intreat the Lord (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thundrings and hail ; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer* (h). He made humble Confessions, but had no penitent Affections : For so soon as the Plague ceased upon the Intercessions and fervent Prayers of *Moses*, *Pharaoh* sinned yet more, and hardened his Heart, he and his Servants ; neither would he let the Children of *Israel* go : That in him God might shew an Example of his Justice, Power and Greatness, to render his Name glorious over all the Earth.

(a) Origen contra Celsum, lib. 4. p. 199. Numenius apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 8. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 30. cap. 1. Talmud Babylon. tit. Menachos, cap. 9. fol. 85. (b) Numb. xi. 5. (c) Exod. vii. 21. Psal. cv. 29. (d) Exod. viii. (e) Exod. viii. 19. (f) Exod. ix. 6. (g) Psal. lxxviii. 48. (h) Exod. ix. 27, 28.

The former Punishments not bringing *Pharaoh* to such Submission as was requisite, the Lord inflicted an eighth Plague : *The east-wind brought locusts, which went up over all the land of Egypt : — very grievous were they ; before them there were no such locusts, neither after them shall be such. For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkned, and they did eat every herb of the land (a), and all the fruit of the trees, which the hail had left : and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt (b).* Whereupon *Pharaoh* called for *Moses* and *Aaron* in haste, and said, *I have sinned against the Lord your God, and against you. Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the Lord your God, that he may take away from me this death only.* He had set at nought all their Counsels before, yet now he is glad to make court to them ; and upon their Intercession, the Lord turned a mighty strong West-wind, which took away the Locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea. But *Pharaoh* returned to his impious Resolution, not to let the People go. Those who have often slighted Convictions, are justly given up to the Lusts of their own Hearts. Then the Lord inflicted the ninth Plague : *Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven : and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days : but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings (c).* It seems to have been a total Darkness ; not only the Lights of Heaven were clouded, but all their Fires and Candles were put out, by the Damps and Vapours : *They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place.* It was frightful and painful : The Lord cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath and indignation, and trouble, by sending evil angels among them (d). To those to whom the Devil hath been a Deceiver, he will at length be a Terror. It was a short Emblem of Hell ; and yet it was a righteous Judgment. *Pharaoh* and his People had rebelled against the Light of God's Word spoken by *Moses* ; they loved darkness rather than light ; they aimed to extinguish the Light of *Israel* : And therefore their Light is put out in Obscurity. But the Children of *Israel*, to evidence God's distinguishing Favour, walked in Light, when others sat in thick Darkness. This Plague made some Impression on *Pharaoh* : He renewed the Treaty with *Moses* and *Aaron*, and at length consented that they should take their little Ones with them ; only he would have their Cattle left behind (e). But *Moses* was faithful to his Commission, saying, *Thou must give us also sacrifices, and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the Lord our God: Our cattle also shall go with us ; there shall not an hoof be left behind : for thereof must we take to serve the Lord our God.* Upon this *Pharaoh* returned to his old impenitent Resolution : He would not let the People go, and dismissed *Moses* in Anger. There is some Account of those Plagues upon *Egypt* in the Fragments of *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus*, profane Authors, quoted by *Eusebius* (f) : But the most authentick and full History of them, is that of the sacred Scripture, which we have followed.

Since these Scourges had no effect, the Lord acquainted *Moses* that he would bring one Plague more upon *Pharaoh* and *Egypt* (g) ; and after that, he would not only permit *Israel* to go, but even thrust them out altogether. He commanded him to direct all the People to borrow of the *Egyptians* Jewels of Gold and Jewels of Silver ; which the *Egyptians*, under their present Consternation, willingly gave them. God espoused the Cause of his People. Their Task-masters, who had male-treated them in their Work, would now have been ready to defraud them of their Wages, and to send them away empty : But he that executeth Judgment for the Oppressed, provided a Reward for those Labourers at their Departure ; which was not only honourable and profitable at present, but also proved of great Use afterwards, for building and adorning the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, and furnishing the High-priest's Vestments. *Moses* also told them, that about Midnight the Lord would go out into the Midst of *Egypt*, and kill all the First-born of the *Egyptians*, from the First-born of *Pharaoh*, to the First-born of the meanest Inhabitant. These Oppressors would not be frightened from their obstinate Disobedience to the Command of God given by *Moses*, by all the former Warnings and Judgments ; and therefore must meet with this desolating Stroke : And so do many Sinners, whom no Messages of Grace will turn from their wicked Courses, till eternal Misery come upon them without Remedy. *But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast : that ye may know how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.* Did Men know what a Difference God puts at the great Day between those that serve him and those who serve him not, and will put to all Eternity, they would not act in Religion with such Unconcernedness.

§ 15. MEAN time, that the Deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt* might be more memorable to Posterity, God gave the Ordinance of the Passover, to be observed in Ages to come in the Beginning of the ecclesiastical Year. Dreadful Work was to be made this Night in *Egypt* : All the first-born, both of Man and Beast, were to be slain, and Judgment executed upon the Gods of *Egypt* (h) ; those of Metal melted, those of Stone broken down, and those of

Wood

(a) Vid. Bocharti Hierozonicon lib. 4. cap. 1. — 8. de locustis, Part. 2. (b) Exod. x. 13. — 16. Psal. cv. 34, 35. (c) Exod. x. 22, 23. (d) Psal. lxxviii. 49. (e) Exod. x. 24. (f) De Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 26, 27. (g) Exod. xi. (h) xii. 12. Numb. xxxiii. 4.

Wood consumed : They fell, as *Dagon* afterwards before the Ark, so as they could not now consult them in this Affair. But the *Israelites* were protected by the sprinkling of the Blood of the Lamb. This paschal Lamb was, no doubt, typical. For Christ our Lord is the *Lamb of God* (a), our *passover sacrificed for us* (b), meek and innocent as a Lamb, dumb before the Shearers : A Male in his prime ; he offered not up himself in his Infancy, with the *Babes in Bethlehem*, but in the Strength and Flower of his Age : A Lamb without blemish, holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from Sinners, set apart in the Decree of God for this purpose, slain, and suffering under the Wrath of God more exquisite than Fire, killed between the two Evenings ; that is, about three of the Clock, in the Evening or latter End of the World. Not a Bone of him must be broken (c) : His Strength was not diminished by his Sufferings. His Blood not only shed, but sprinkled, in the Application of his Merits to our Souls. It was sprinkled with a Bunch of Hyssop dipt in the Basin ; and we must apply the Virtues of the Blood of the everlasting Covenant by a true and living Faith. It was to be sprinkled upon the Door-posts, to signify the open Profession of our Faith and Obedience ; upon the Lintel and the Side-posts, not upon the Threshold, to teach us we are not to trample under Foot the Blood of the Covenant. By this Blood we are preserved from the destroying Angel, the Wrath of God and the Curse of the Law. The paschal Lamb must be all eaten : We must by Faith make use of a whole Christ, and derive Strength, Nourishment and Comfort from him. We must feed presently, and not defer it till the Morning : We must eat with the bitter Herbs of Brokenness of Heart, and godly Sorrow for Sin, and with the unleavened Bread of Sincerity and Truth. Thus shall we be prepared to shake off *Pharaoh's* Yoke, the Dominion of Sin, and to march through the Wilderness of the World towards the heavenly *Canaan*.

While the *Israelites* were eating the Passover, at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt. — And there was a great cry in Egypt : for there was not a house where there was not one dead (d). Prince and Peasant stand upon the same Level before God's Judgments. *Pharaoh's* proud Stomach now yielded to all that *Moses* had before insisted upon. God's Word will stand ; and we shall get nothing by disputing or delaying to submit to it. The King himself now said to *Moses* and *Aaron*, Get you forth from amongst my people, both you and the children of Israel : and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said. Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone, and bless me also. And the Egyptians were urgent, that they might send them out of the land in haste : for they said, We be all dead men. They sent them not out as Men hated and abhorred, as *Justin*, *Tacitus*, and the like Pagan Historians report ; but as Men they were afraid of, lest God should consume all that remained in Egypt, for despising his Voice by his Servants *Moses* and *Aaron* ; and they gave them what they would, for the asking. Then the children of Israel journeyed from *Rameses* to *Succoth*, about six hundred thousand men on foot, besides children. And a mixed multitude went up with them ; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle. They carried but slender Provisions for their Camp ; some unleavened Cakes of Dough in their Knapacks : Being hastened away, they got no Time to bake it till they came to *Succoth*. We ought to be content with unleavened Bread, rather than neglect or delay any Service we have to do for God. The Date of this Departure was just 430 Years after the Promise made to *Abraham* in *Genesis* xv. 13. And here ends the sacred History of this Period.

§ 16. HAVING taken a View of the most remarkable Events in this sacred History, I go now to consider the Chronology. From the Promise made to *Abraham*, to the departing of *Israel* out of Egypt, are 430 Years (e), as hath been before (f) observed. Many of the particulars of this general Sum are also to be found in Scripture-record, or may be thence deduced by plain Consequences. And, as the learned Primate *Ussher* (g) tells us, the same may be divided into two equal Halves : For, from the Promise made to *Abraham* in the seventy fifth Year of his Age, to the Birth of *Isaac*, are 25 Years (h) ; from the Birth of *Isaac* to the Birth of *Jacob* are 60 Years (i) ; from the Birth of *Jacob* to his Descent with his whole Family into Egypt are 130 Years (k) : Which three Articles being put together make 215 Years. The second Half of these Years are thus found. *Joseph* the Son of *Jacob* was 30 Years of Age when he expounded *Pharaoh's* Dreams. Seven Years of Plenty being run, and the third Year of the Famine begun, when his Father came down to Egypt, as appears by comparing *Genesis* xli. 46. with xlv. 6. *Joseph* was then 39. Take these out of 110 Years, the Age of *Joseph* when he died (l), there remains 71 Years, as the Time the Children of *Israel* had remained in Egypt before *Joseph's* Death. From the Death of *Joseph* to the Birth of *Moses* are 64 Years. From the Birth of *Moses* to the Departure out of Egypt are 80 Years (m). Which three Articles being put together, make again 215 Years : And the whole makes 430. This Calculation is more fully demonstrated and vindicated by Primate

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Ussher

(a) John i. 29. (b) 1 Cor. v. 7. (c) John xix. 33, — 36. (d) Exod. xii. 29, 30. (e) Exod. xii. 40. Gal. iii. 17. (f) Above, p. 49. (g) *Usserii Chronolog. sacr.* p. m. 56, 59. (h) *Genes.* xii. 4. xxi. 5. (i) *Genes.* xxv. 26. (k) *Genes.* xlvii. 9. (l) *Genes.* l. 22. (m) *Exod.* vii. 7.

Usher (a), and our Countryman Mr. *Bailie* (b). Indeed this Time of 430 Years is so pin'd down by the Apostle (c), to begin with the Promise, and end with the Law; and is so particularly called by *Moses* (d), *the sojourning of the children of Israel*, which ended the self same Day that they came out of *Egypt*; and the Articles thereof are so plain, as above laid down, that I conceive it does not admit of any great dispute.

It is further enquired, If the Years of this Period be precisely 430, how can this be reconciled with the Words of the Promise made to *Abram*, *Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. — But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again* (e), when within the Limits specified there are more than four hundred Years, or more than four Generations? To this it is answered: First, It is not unusual, neither in sacred nor profane Writers, to omit the smaller Sum, and to set down the greater; especially when the precise Number is inserted in other Parts of the said Writings, on purpose to preserve an exact Chronology: And therefore the round Sum of four hundred Years does not exclude the thirty, which are plainly laid down in other Texts we have already cited. Secondly, A Generation or Age is commonly taken for a hundred Years; so as what came to pass after four hundred Years may be justly said to be in the fourth Generation. Besides, from the Children of *Israel* their coming down into *Egypt*, to their going out of it, we'll find only four Descents in some of the Sons of *Jacob*. Thus *Efrom*, the Son of *Pharez*, and Grandchild of *Judah*, in *Egypt* begat *Aram*, *Aram* begat *Aminadab*, *Aminadab* begat *Naasson*, and *Naasson* in the Wilderness begat *Salmon*, the Great-grandfire of King *David*. *Cobath* the Son of *Levi* begat *Amram*, and *Amram* begat *Moses*, who conducted the People out of *Egypt* (f). So that upon the whole there is no Difficulty in that Expression, *In the fourth generation they shall come hither again*.

It is also enquired, How can it be supposed, that in the Space of 215 Years, of seventy or seventy five Persons, who descended with *Jacob* into *Egypt*, there should spring six hundred thousand Men? To which it may be easily answered, That without a Miracle, and without having Recourse to the Polygamy then practised, or to the extraordinary Fruitfulness that Historians have observed in antient Times; as, that *Aegyptus*, *Danaus* and *Priamus*, are said to have had each of them fifty Sons; *Artaxerxes* is said by *Justin* to have had a hundred and fifteen; *Jerubbaal* in sacred History (g) had threescore and ten Sons, and *Abah* as many (h): I say, without going to any of these extraordinary Examples, only if we suppose of *Jacob's* Offspring thirty Pair married Persons at the Time of the Descent, and allow that these in thirty Years Space had each Pair six Sons; in six Descents, to the Year 180 of their *Egyptian* Bondage, we may find by an easy Arithmetick-progression, that there would at this rate arise above twice the Number that *Moses* speaks of; and the youngest of them, at the Time of their Departure from *Egypt*, 215 Years after they came thither, would be thirty five Years of Age, and many of them much elder. Primate *Usher* (i) hath made it appear, that their Number might arise to above three Millions: So hath *Jacobus Capellus* (k) and other Chronologers. But having before (l) made a Calculation of the great Numbers that might spring from *Noah's* Sons for peopling the World in a few Centuries, some of which may be here applied, I shall not insist further upon this Point, since both the Fruitfulness and the Vivacity of the Children of *Israel* makes it abundantly probable, that there might be easily so many of them as are specified in the sacred Text, notwithstanding all the Hardships they endured in *Egypt*.

§ 17. OTHER Difficulties that might be moved, I have obviated in the Account I have given of the sacred History of this Period (m); wherefore I now proceed to consider some Remains that we have of the History of the World during this Time, particularly of the History of *Egypt*. There is great Difficulty to write with any Certainty concerning it, because there are no Historians of that Nation, at least before the Birth of Christ, now extant. I know the learned Monsieur *Du-pin* (n) hath given a Catalogue of *Egyptian* Historians; but concerning that List I remark, First, That there is not one of them now remaining. Secondly, That I question if some that he speaks of ever wrote a History, as *Thoth*, or the first or second *Mercury*. Lastly, That these, of whom 'tis more certain that they wrote a historical Account of the Affairs of *Egypt*, are of so late a Date, that it is hard, though their Books had been among our Hands, to credit them concerning so antient Things, as the Matters of this Period; from the Call of *Abraham*, to the Departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For *Manetho*, one of the first of them, wrote in the Greek Language a History of the several Dynasties of *Egypt*, from the Beginning which he ascribes to that Kingdom, to the sixteenth Year of *Artaxerxes Ochus* (o), and dedicated his Performance to *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, about 250 Years before the Birth of Christ, which was above 1200 Years after *Moses*. Some of the Dynasties of *Manetho* are preserved, being epitomized by *Julius Africanus*; from him

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(a) Chronolog. sacr. p. m. 41, — 46. (b) Opere Hist. & Chronolog. p. m. 35, — 39. (c) Gal. iii. 17. (d) Exod. xii. 40. (e) Genes. xv. 13, 16. (f) Exod. vi. (g) Judges ix. 2. (h) 2 Kings x. 1. (i) Chronologia in annexis ad *Usher*, edit. 1722, p. 64 in fine. (k) Hist. sacra & exotica, p. 70, 71. (l) Above, p. 36. (m) Above, p. 69. (n) Universal Library of Historians, Vol. 1. § 4. (o) Eusebii Chronicon ad annum Ochi 16.

transcribed by *Eusebius*, and from him by *Georgius Syncellus* (a) and others. *Charemon*, who also wrote the History of the *Egyptians*, lived in the Time of the *Cæsars*, long after *Manetho*. According to *Suidas*, he was Tutor to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who taught from the Reign of *Nero* to that of *Trajan*. But this Author being intirely lost, I shall rather chuse to follow *Eratoſthenes*, whose Series of *Egyptian* Kings is preserved by *Syncellus* (b), and may be of some Use. The Author thereof was a Native of *Cyrene*, bordering upon *Egypt*, and Librarian to *Ptolemæus Evergetes*, whereby he had the best Opportunities and Helps for searching the *Egyptian* Records. The Priests of *Egypt* had ever been in a Combination to relate extravagant and incredible Accounts of their Kings, to magnify their Antiquity, and aggrandize their Monarchy. *Eratoſthenes* went thither to find out the Truth, and hath given us the Names of the thirty eight first Kings, whose Reigns make up a Succession of 1055 Years, and is the most probable Account of their Monarchy we have upon Record; by which Dr. *Cumberland* (c), the learned Bishop of *Peterborough*, connects the History of *Egypt*, and draws it down to the first Olympiad. Though this Series of *Theban* Kings in *Egypt* contain only bare Names, yet it is proper here to insert it, so far as concerns our present Purpose. In the Year of the World 1849, reigned *Menes*, 62 Years; in the Year 1911, *Atthotes*, 59 Years; in the Year 1970, *Atthotes* II. 32 Years; in the Year 2002, *Diabies*, 19 Years; in the Year 2021, *Pemphos*, 18 Years; in the Year 2039, *Tegar Amachus*, 79 Years; in the Year 2118, *Stoechus*, 6 Years; in the Year 2124, *Goformies*, 30 Years; in the Year 2154, *Mares*, 26 Years. In their Time flourished the Royal Pastors in *Egypt*; in this Order (d), in the Year of the World 1920, *Salatis*, the first pastoral King, 19 Years; in the Year 1939, *Beon*, the second pastoral King, 44 Years; in the Year 1983, *Apachnas*, the third pastoral Prince, 36 Years; in the Year 2020, *Apophis*, 61 Years; in the Year 2081, *Janias*, the fifth pastoral King, 50 Years, 1 Month: And after these, *Affis*, or Queen *Afo*, 49 Years, 2 Months. Then the *Theban* Kings in this Order; in the Year of the World 2180, *Anoyphes*, 20 Years: He is named by Primate *Usher* (e) *Tethmosis*, or *Amosis*, and is said to have expelled the Royal Pastors. In the Year 2200, *Siricius*, 18 Years; in the Year 2218, *Chenubus Cucurus*, 27 Years; in the Year 2245, *Rauosis*, 13 Years; in the Year 2258, *Biyris*, 10 Years; in the Year 2268, *Saophis*, 29 Years; in the Year 2297, *Sensaophis*, 27 Years; in the Year 2324, *Moscheris*, 31 Years; in the Year 2355, *Musthis*, 33 Years; in the Year 2388, *Pamius Archadnes*, 35 Years: He is called by *Usher* (f), *Rathotis*, the Brother of *Acencheres*: In the Year 2423, *Apaxus Maximus*, 100 Years. Primate *Usher* hath this Succession thus: *Acencheres*, the Son of *Rathotis*, 12 Years, 5 Months; another *Acencheres*, 12 Years, 3 Months; *Armais*, 4 Years, 1 Month; *Rameſſes*, 1 Year, (for all which he quotes *Manetho*;) *Rameſſes Miamoun*, 66 Years, 2 Months; in whose Time the *Israelites* were oppressed to carry on the Kings Buildings. After him succeeded *Amenophis*, his Son, under whom the Oppression of *Israel* was continued 19 Years, 6 Months, till the Lord delivered them by a strong Hand, after many Plagues done upon *Egypt*, as hath been already observed.

Monſieur Boivin the elder, a *Frenchman*, hath formed a new System of the Affairs of this Period, in a Discourse intituled, *Les Roys Pasteurs*, the Royal Pastors. The Sum thereof is, that the *Israelites* did reign 259 Years, 10 Months in *Egypt*, before they were Captives there. To illustrate and prove this Assertion he affirms, that *Manetho*, one of the greatest Enemies of the *Jews*, in his second Book of the Dynasties of *Egypt*, cited by *Josephus* (g), owns it as a Thing certain; and it is also acknowledged by *Josephus* in the same Place, that according to the Scripture, the sojourning of *Israel* was 430 Years; of which they lived in Peace all the Days of *Joseph*, 71 Years; that a Reign of 259 Years, 10 Months followed, under *Ephraim*, *Beria*, *Rapha*, *Rezeſeph*, *Telah* and *Tahan*, mentioned 1 *Chron.* vii. 22, — 25; whose Names in the *Egyptian* Tongue are, *Salatis*, *Beon*, *Apachmas*, *Apophis*, *Janias* and *Affis*. That 99 Years, 2 Months may be reckoned for *Israel's* Servitude under the wicked *Pharaohs*, as may be pretty near demonstrated from the Bible; for *Moses* was aged 80 and *Aaron* 83 Years, at their appearing before *Pharaoh* to plead for the Deliverance (h); to which, if 16 Years 2 Months be added, it will make up the Sum demanded: And if these Particulars, 71 Years, 259 Years, 10 Months, 99 Years, 2 Months, be put together, these will make up the Sum of 430 Years. The pastoral Life, and the Servitude of *Israel* are not questioned; it remains then only to demonstrate, that the *Israelites* had Kings in *Egypt* for the Space alledged. To prove this, he supposes there is an Interruption in the sacred History from the Death of *Joseph*, where the Book of *Genesis* ends, to *Moses's* Nativity, where *Exodus* begins, and the six *Ephraimite* Kings fill up this Void. That *Ephraim* succeeded to all the Prerogatives of *Joseph* his Father, being preferred to *Manasseh* his elder Brother: That he is the shepherd, the stone of *Israel* (i); that is, the first pastoral King, the Foundation of the Empire of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*; that he had Orders to avenge the true God on the false Gods of *Egypt*, and to

(a) Inter Scriptores Byzantinos. (b) Syncell. inter Script. Byzant. p. 91. (c) In his Phœnician History. (d) *Manetho* apud *Josephum* contra *Appionem*, lib. 1. p. 1040, in edit. Colon. 1691. (e) *Annales*, p. 8. (f) *Annales*, p. 12, 13. (g) *Contra Appionem*, lib. 1. p. 1040. (h) *Exod.* vii. 7. (i) *Genes.* xlix. 24.

punish the Death of the good *Pharaohs*, the antient Protectors of his Family. In the mean time the *Ephraimites* were not successful in their first Attempt against the City *Gath*, which perhaps gave its Name to *Goshen*. The Sons of *Ephraim* aiming to seize the Lands about the City, nine of them were killed, whose Names are recorded 1 *Chron.* vii. 20, — 22; their Father mourned for them many Days. His *brethren*, that is, all his People by Birth and Religion, came to comfort him; that is, as this Author expounds it, to avenge his Cause. In which they were successful; for the Children of *Ephraim* (a) are noticed as Men armed carrying Bows, and the Posterity of *Judah* assisted them. At length the *Ephraimites* turned degenerate; they forgot the Wonders and Miracles God had wrought in *Egypt*, whereby they provoked God to take Vengeance on them (b): They abandoned the true God, and worshipped the Gods of *Egypt*; and this was the Cause of their long Bondage of 99 Years, 2 Months.

Monseigneur l'Abbé *Banier* refutes this System, and I shall add a few Strictures. Monsieur *Boivin's* Position, That the *Israelites* sojourned in *Egypt* from *Jacob's* going down to it, to their Departure, 430 Years, is inconsistent with the Chronology of this Period, which hath been already demonstrated from the sacred Scriptures (c): And if learned Men had a greater Regard to these holy Oracles, and less Fondness to advance new Notions differing from them, many new Hypotheses would be prevented. *Josephus* (d) agrees with our Calculation; for he makes the whole Period, from the Call of *Abraham*, to the Deliverance, to be 430 Years; of which 215 were from *Jacob's* Descent into *Egypt*, to his Posterity's Departure out of it. Nor do the *Jewish* Chronologers differ far from it; for R. *Ganz* (e) makes the Continuance of *Israel* in *Egypt* to be 210 Years, and other Writers of that Nation go the same Way. *Josephus*, whatever Monsieur *Boivin* pretends, never believed that his Ancestors were Kings in *Egypt*; and though in his Books against *Appion*, where he produceth every thing that appears favourable to his Notion, he seems to adopt *Manetho* concerning the pastoral Kings; yet had he thought this Opinion true, he would have followed it in his *Jewish* Antiquities, where there is nothing like it: But on the contrary, he absolutely destroys that Scheme by the Chain of his Genealogies, and by his Chronology as above mentioned. The Authority of *Manetho* is as little favourable to Monsieur *Boivin*; for he tells, these Pastors came from the East, and made an Inroad into *Egypt* with an Army of 240,000 Men, and reigned their 511 Years (f). This Account, with what follows in *Manetho's* Fragment, can no way agree to the *Israelites*, who were only seventy, or seventy five in Number when they came into *Egypt*, and remained there only 215 Years. Nor does there appear any remarkable Gap in the History between *Genesis* and *Exodus*; for in the forty sixth Chapter of *Genesis* we have Account of *Gershon*, *Kobath* and *Merari*, as Children of *Levi*, and Grandchildren of *Jacob*; and in the first Chapter of *Exodus*, we find *Amram*, the Son of *Cobath*, and Father of *Moses*, where the Genealogy is well connected. 'Tis true, in *Exodus* the Author passes streight to narrate the Birth of *Moses*, though this happened several Years after *Joseph's* Death, which ends the Book of *Genesis*; because the Penman had nothing of Importance, till the Delivery of *Israel*; and therefore shews briefly how the political Jealousy of the new *Pharaoh* brought *Israel* under Servitude after *Joseph's* Death, that he might come directly to the Detail of God's Miracles in delivering them: And this is the ordinary way in the Books of the holy Scripture. Nor is there any thing in the whole sacred Scriptures to favour Monsieur *Boivin's* Notion. The Penmen of the Psalms and Prophets do frequently set before the *Jews* every thing that may aggravate their Ingratitude, especially the Miracles he had wrought for them in *Egypt*, but never a Word of this pretended Kingdom of the *Ephraimites*. The Text, *Gen.* xlix. 24. speaks not of *Ephraim*, but of *Joseph*, who is the Shepherd, and Stone of *Israel*; that is, the Feeder and Supporter of *Jacob*, and all his Family. The Children of *Ephraim* in the seventh Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*, are Sons of another *Ephraim*, (who was not the immediate Son of *Joseph*) or the Posterity of *Ephraim*, as is common in Scripture Stile. The Wars there spoken of, and in *Psal.* lxxviii. 9. are Wars not in *Egypt*, but in *Canaan*: Those who killed *Ephraim's* Sons, came from *Gath* in *Palestine*, not from *Goshen* in *Egypt*. It is the same *Gath* we have in 2 *Sam.* i. 20. Tell it not in *Gath*. Hence Sir *Isaac Newton* (g) thinks these Shepherds were *Phœnicians*, who fled from *Joshua*, and conquered *Egypt*. 'Tis in vain to seek this pretended Kingdom in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, a civil History now lost, and never named but once, *Numb.* xxi. 14. where mention is of what God did in the Red Sea, and at the Brooks of *Arnon*; where the obvious Sense is, that God would confound the King of the *Amorites*, who reigned in the Brooks of *Arnon*, as he had done to the King of *Egypt* at the Red Sea. The Book of *Jasher* (h) speaks of the Miracle, how the Sun and Moon stood still, that God might avenge his Enemies, in the Days of *Joshua*, but not of any Miracle done for the *Ephraimites* in *Egypt*. In short, the Notion of Monsieur *Boivin* is unscriptural and inconsistent; for the *Israelites* were too few after

(a) *Psal.* lxxviii. 9. (b) *Psal.* lxxviii. 9, — 12, 40, — 43. (c) Above, p. 81. (d) *Joseph.* Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 6. ab init. (e) *Chronolog.* p. 12. (f) *Manetho* apud *Joseph.* contra *Appionem*, lib. i. p. 1040. (g) *Chronolog.* p. 198. (h) *Josh.* x. 13.

after *Joseph's* Death; to render themselves Masters of *Egypt*: Strangers confined to a small Province, could never form themselves into an Army of two hundred and forty thousand Men in such a Time, without Money, without Assistance, and without a King; though we should suppose they had gained Proselytes, yet these would never engage themselves against their natural Prince, their Parents and Children. Besides, we find in the first Chapter of *Exodus*, that so soon as the *Israelites* began to multiply, and their Numbers became considerable, *Pharaoh* oppressed them; under which Servitude they continued, till God delivered them by the Ministry of *Moses*. Where then is the Time of their Royalty? and where had they in *Egypt* a Reign of 259 Years, 10 Months?

The *Egyptians*, to this very Day, shew unto Travellers a great many Places that preserve the Memory of *Joseph*. For among the Ruins of the old Castle of *Grand Cairo*, is shewn a Room (a), called *Joseph's Hall*, supported by thirty large Pillars of *Theban Stone*. Gold and Azure, with which the Works still remaining are diversified, were not spared; which, notwithstanding the long Tract of Ages that are past, still beautify the Ceiling. Another Room, not far from the former, which the Natives call *Pharaoh's Hall*, is set off with the same Workmanship. There is also a Hall, named that of *Joseph's Steward*, which is very much ruined, yet there are ten or twelve Pillars of the same Stone still standing, each of those three Fathoms about, and according as *le Bruyn* could guess, seventeen Foot high. The whole must have been a most magnificent Fabrick; when that which remains raises Admiration. Near this Place is shewn a frightful Prison, divided into several Dungeons cut out of the Rock, and so dark, as one would be afraid to set his Foot therein. 'Tis called *Joseph's Prison*, because they pretend that here he interpreted the Dreams of the King's Butler and Baker; and it is still used for a Jail. But the finest Thing to be seen in the Castle, is *Joseph's Well*; which is certainly a Wonder, for Time has not done the least Damage to it. It is intirely cut out of the Rock, and its Mouth eleven Foot long; and ten broad; the upper Well two hundred and ninety one Foot and an Half, and the second, or lower Well, one hundred and thirty two Foot deep; as more particularly described by *Dr. Wells* (b). There are also what they call *Joseph's Granaries*, to be seen in *Old Cairo*. The Inhabitants have a Tradition, that these are the very Granaries which *Joseph* built for laying up the Corn against the approaching Years of Famine, and are still used to keep Grain for Soldiers. They are very large, and encompassed with a Wall after the antient Manner, being divided into several Parts, and open at the Top, because there is little Rain in *Egypt*. In short, all the fine Pieces of Antiquity in that Country are ascribed to *Joseph*, and what is ugly and infamous, to *Pharaoh*; and yet it may be questioned if these Places were in being in the Time of *Joseph* the Patriarch, the Son of *Jacob*.

'Tis certain that the Children of *Israel*, while in Bondage in *Egypt*, wrought in making Brick, and built unto *Pharaoh* *Pithom* and *Raamses*, Treasure Cities (c). *Josephus* (d) adds, that they were employed in making Dikes and Banks to stop the Waters of the *Nile*, and that the famous Pyramids in *Egypt* were owing to their Labours. 'Tis the Opinion of many learned Men (e), that these Pyramids were built by the antient *Pharaoh's*, Kings of *Egypt*, reigning at *Memphis*; but I will not affirm that all of them were done during this Period, for some of them seem to have been the Work of after Ages. However, I shall here take some notice of them: They are described among the antient Heathen Authors; by *Herodote* (f), *Diodorus Siculus* (g), and *Pliny* (h), and were accounted among the seven Wonders of the World (i); and there is more of them still remains than any of the rest of these Wonders. Many modern Travellers have viewed what is now to be seen of them, as *Thevenot*, *Le Bruyn*, *Sieur Lucas*, and others, and have given accurate Draughts and Descriptions of them. I shall only remark, that there are three Pyramids now to be seen in the Neighbourhood of *Memphis*, in a very barren sandy Plain, where the Sight may extend it self very far without any Hindrance. Of these three, two are shut, but the third, which is the biggest of all, is open, and Travellers, with a great deal of Labour, mount up to it, by about two hundred and eight great Stone Steps, some of them being above three Foot high; and therefore when one goes up, he must work with Hands, Feet and Knees, and when coming down his Head is ready to turn giddy. There are some Rooms or resting Places near the Middle; on the Top there is a fine Plat-form, consisting of ten or twelve great Stones, making sixteen or seventeen Foot square; whence there is a fine Prospect of *Old Cairo*, and the adjacent Plains. The whole Pyramid is five hundred and twenty Foot high, standing upon a Base of six hundred and eighty two Foot square. *Herodote* (k) tells, that one hundred thousand Men were employed for twenty Years Time in building one of those Pyramids; which is less to be wondered at, if we notice what the same Author says, that the Stones were thirty Foot in Extent,

Y

finely

(a) See *Le Bruyn's Travels*. *Dr. Wells's Geography of the Old Test.* Vol. 2. p. 30, — 40. (b) *Dr. Wells's Geography of the Old Test.* Vol. 2. p. 30, — 40. (c) *Exod.* i. 11, 14. (d) *Antiq. lib.* 2. cap. 5. p. 54. (e) *Vide Spanhem. F. Hist. Eccl. Vet. Test.* Col. 308. (f) *Lib.* 2. cap. 101, & 124, — 136. (g) *Lib.* 1. cap. 64. (h) *Nat. Hist. lib.* 36. cap. 12. (i) *Barbara Pyramidum sicut miracula Memphis, Martial.* (k) *Lib.* 2. cap. 124.

finely polished, and all brought from a great Distance at vast Expence, there being no Stone near to the Place where this Pile was raised, the Workmen, in a hot Climate, feeding upon Onions and Garlick, could but perform a sower Days-work; yet all this Expence was for a Burial Monument, and those Kings who wasted their Substance upon it, happened not to be intombed therein; which is an Instance of the Vanity of the World.

If we go into *Affyria*, I have been so large upon that Kingdom, and in distinguishing what is certain or uncertain concerning it under the former Period (*a*), that I see very little now to add; only we may observe with Bishop *Usher* (*b*), that the *Arabians* having overcome the *Chaldeans*, reigned at *Babylon* 216 Years, before *Belus* the *Affyrian*. *Mardocentes* was the first of them, and reigned 45 Years; he seems to be the same with *Merodach*, whom the *Babylonians* worshipped for a God (*c*), and from whom *Merodach Baladan*, and *Evil-Merodach*, perhaps afterwards took their Names. But there being no *Affyrian* nor *Chaldean* Historian now extant, we can expect no distinct Account of the antient State of these Kingdoms.

It is computed, that about the Year of the World 2448, *Cecrops* carried a Colony from *Sais* in *Egypt* (*d*), into *Attica*; where he founded the Kingdom of *Athens*, 780 Years before the first Olympiad, as *Eusebius* hath it in his *Chronicon*, from one *Castor* a Historian that is now lost. The learned *Selden*, in his *Arundel Marbles* (*e*), from an unknown Historian in the Isle *Paros*, reckons the fabulous Stories of *Greece* that happened after *Cecrops*, as the Flood of *Deucalion*, the burning of *Phaethon*, the Rape of *Proserpina*, the Mysteries of *Ceres*, the ravishing of *Europa* by *Jupiter*, the Birth of *Apollo*, *Cadmus's* building of *Thebes*, with the Fables of *Bacchus*, *Minos*, *Persens*, *Esculapius*, *Mercury*, the *Dioscuri* and *Hercules*, which happened after the former, as is observed by *Eusebius* (*f*), to have fallen out under this Period; though I am humbly of Opinion those Matters belong to the following Ages; of which afterwards.

Several other antient Kingdoms are reckoned by the learned *Spanheim* (*g*), to have been founded, or to have flourished in this Period; as that of the *Ethiopians* to the South of *Egypt*; the *Idumæans*, of the Posterity of *Esau*, of whom we have above discoursed (*h*); the *Midianites* and *Nabatbeans*, of the Posterity of *Abraham* by *Keturah*; the *Phœnicians* and *Canaanites*: I have wrote of their Idolatry (*i*), and of the Fragments of *Sanhoniathon* the *Phœnician*, in another Essay (*k*). The Kingdom of the *Argives*, founded by *Inachus*, as is thought, in the Days of *Moses*; and those of the *Cretans* and *Phrygians* are also very antient. But these and other Gentile Nations, having neither Historian nor Chronologer in those Times, we cannot now give any certain Narrative of their Affairs. The *Greeks*, (who are the first Writers among the Heathens now remaining) knowing no Certainty about those antient Times, have invented a Heap of Fables about them, ascribing those Rapes and Robberies to the Gods, which were done by wicked barbarous Men.

P E R I O D IV.

From the Departure of Israel out of Egypt, to the building of the Temple in the fourth Year of Solomon King of Israel, 1 Kings, vi. 1.

Containing the Space of 480 Years.

THE first-born of the *Egyptians* being slain, when all the first-born of *Israel* in *Egypt* were preserved; in memory of, and in gratitude for this distinguishing Favour, the first-born of the Church in after Ages were to be consecrated to God (*l*). God, who is the sovereign Creator and Proprietor, deserves to be served with the first and best of his Creatures. The Remembrance of their coming out of *Egypt* must be perpetuated, and their Children instructed in the Nature of the Service instituted upon that Occasion. When *Pharaoh* had let the people go, God led them not through the way of the land of the *Philistines*, although that was near: for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to *Egypt*. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red sea (*m*). The Way by the Land of the *Philistines* was almost North from *Egypt*; but the *Israelites* must turn to the North-east, by the Red Sea and the Deserts of *Arabia*. And

(a) Above, p. 46, — 49. (b) *Annales ad Ann. Mundi*, 2466, ex *Julio Africano*. (c) *Jerem.* l. 2. (d) *Diod. Sic.* lib. i. cap. 28. (e) The Chronology of these Marbles, before the Time of the Persian Empire, is questioned by the Learned Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Chronology of the Greeks*, p. 121. (f) *De Præp. Evang.* lib. 10. cap. 9. (g) *F. Hist. Ver. Test.* in folio, Col. 310. & seqq. (h) Above, p. 64. (i) *Propagat. of Christianity*, Vol. 1. Chap. 2. (k) *Propagat. of Christianit.* Vol. 1. Chap. 2. p. 258, — 264. (l) *Exod.* xii. (m) *Exod.* xiii. 17, 18.

And there were many Reasons for this Conduct : For though it was but four or five Days Journey from *Egypt* to *Canaan* by the Land of the *Philistines*, yet how could Men inur'd to Slavery, and but just escaped from the Rod of *Pharaoh*, encounter so formidable Enemies as the *Philistines* ? How could they attack their Armies and fortified Places ? They had not even Arms sufficient for such an Undertaking. 'Tis true, we read *the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt* (a). But the Word translated *harnessed*, may be rendred by *fives* (b), five in a Rank ; that is, in military Order, not fearfully, but courageously : And 'tis likely that after the *Egyptians* were swallowed up by the *Red Sea*, their Carcasses with their Arms being thrown upon the Shore (c), the *Israelites* armed themselves with the Spoil. Besides, God led them by the way of the wilderness, to humble them, and to prove them (d). When the Lord talked with *Moses* at the Bush, he gave him this Token of the Performance of his Promise, *Ye shall serve God in this mountain* (e) ; and the People had often told *Pharaoh*, that *they must go three days journey into the wilderness to do sacrifice* : All which must be performed. Before they entred the Lifts with their Enemies, Matters must be settled between them and their God ; Laws must be given, Ordinances instituted, Covenants sealed : And for the doing thereof, they must retire to the Solitude of a Wilderness, as the proper Closet for such a Crowd : The Highway would not be proper for such Transactions. They took the Bones of *Joseph* along with them, and 'tis like also the Bones of the rest of *Jacob's* Sons. *Joseph* before his Death had appointed his to be taken (f) : They were obliged to do it by their Oath, and also as an Evidence of the Performance of his Prediction, *that God would visit them*, and as an Encouragement to hope for the Accomplishment of other Promises in bringing them to the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*.

§ 2. WHEN they took their journey from *Succoth*, and encamped in *Etham*, in the edge of the wilderness, *Jehovah* went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way ; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people (g). The Author of a Pamphlet intituled *Hodegus* (h), supposed to be Mr. *Toland*, and printed with others of his Pieces, maintains, That this Pillar of Cloud and of Fire that guided the *Israelites* in the Wilderness was not miraculous ; that there was no manner of Prodigy in it, nor any Miracle, more than when *Alexander* the Great ordered a Pole which might be seen from all Parts of his Camp to be set on the Top of the General's Tent, on which a Signal was hung, visible to all alike, namely, Fire to be seen by Night, and Smoke by Day, as is related by *Quintus Curtius* (i). But this is opposite both to the Words and Sense of the holy Scriptures. The Text (k) says, *Jehovah* went before them by day ; which can never be taken, as this Author (l) hath it, for a mere mortal Man, the Guide of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, the Overseer and Director of the portable Fire : For the Name *Jehovah* is never given to any Creature, nor to any mere mortal Man, in the whole Word of God. Nay, *Jehovah* here is our Lord and Redeemer, the same who is called the Angel of God, which went before the camp of *Israel* (m), the Angel of the covenant, *Jehovah* whom ye seek (n), and the Angel of his presence (o). Besides, this Cloud was for a Covering (p) : It did protect them from the Heat of the Sun, which in that hot, barren, sandy, large Desert, would have been intolerable. The whole Camp of the *Israelites* was refreshed by it (q) : Which could never have been by the Smoke of a Fire carried on the Top of a Pole. Nor could such a Fire give Light to the whole Camp of the *Israelites*, consisting of six hundred thousand Men, besides a mixed Multitude of Women and Children, and at the same time be a Cloud of Darknes to the *Egyptians*, as this Cloud, the Emblem of the Lord's blessed Presence, was (r). Let us then reject such Notions, which the genuine Humour of Criticism hath never suggested, but rather an impious Inclination to depretiate and undervalue the Miracles, that thereby Deists may weaken the Authority of the holy Scriptures, and wound the whole of our Religion that is founded upon them.

§ 3. WHILE the *Israelites* continued their March towards Mount *Sinai*, without passing the *Red Sea*, the Lord ordered them to turn to the Southward, and encamp before *Pi-babiroth*, between *Migdol* and the Sea, over against *Baal-zephon* (s) ; where the Lord did lead his people to make to himself a glorious name (t). The *Egyptians*, forgetting the Plagues God had sent upon their Country for refusing to let *Israel* go, began to think on the Loss their Land was like to suffer by the want of such a Multitude of People, who for a long time had performed a great deal of hard Work among them. *Pharaoh* himself was so blinded with Darknes of Mind, and vain Hopes of bringing them back into Servitude, that he marched on the Head of six hundred Chariots, with all the Horses the Hail had spared, and a numerous and formidable Army, to pursue the *Israelites* ; and overtook them near *Pi-babiroth*. Never was a Situation more dismal : On the West they were hemm'd in by a Chain of Mountains ; the Sea shut

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them

(a) Exod. xiii. 18. (b) Vid. *Poli Critica* & notas in locum. (c) Exod. xiv. 30. (d) Deut. viii. 2. (e) Exod. iii. 12. (f) Genes. l. 25, 26. (g) Exod. xiii. 20, — 22. (h) *Hodegus*, printed in 1720, p. 6, 17. (i) lib. 5. cap. 2. (k) Exod. xiii. 21. (l) *Hodegus*, p. 29. (m) Exod. xiv. 19. (n) Mal. iii. 1. (o) *Isaiah* lxiii. 9. (p) *Psal.* cv. 39. (q) 1 Cor. x. 2. (r) Exod. xiv. 20, 21. (s) Exod. xiv. (t) *Isaiah* lxiii. 19.

them up on the East and North Sides; and the *Egyptian* Army on the South. What could they do in this Condition? Should they cross the Mountains? These were impassable. Should they go to the Sea? They wanted Ships, Mariners and Pilots. Should they force their Way through *Pharaoh's* Army? They had neither Courage nor Arms for such an Undertaking. In this Case some of them go to their Prayers (a); others of them fall a murmuring against *Moses* (b). Though this was very unreasonable, to distrust God, and to quarrel with his Servant for bringing them out of *Egyptian* Slavery; yet *Moses* kindly check'd their Unbelief, and encouraged them in their present Distress, saying, *Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you to day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.* *Israel's* Leader was ordered by Heaven to leave off praying; God had accepted his Requests: He must speak to the Children of *Israel* that they go forward (c). Then *Moses* stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east-wind all that night. — And the children of *Israel* went into the midst of the sea, upon the dry-ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. And the *Egyptians* went in after them, to the midst of the sea, even all *Pharaoh's* horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. And the Lord looked unto the host of the *Egyptians*, through the pillar of fire, and of the cloud, and troubled the host, and took off their chariot-wheels, that they drave them heavily: so that the *Egyptians* said, Let us flee from the face of *Israel*; for the Lord fighteth for them against the *Egyptians*. — And *Moses* stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength, when the morning appeared, and the *Egyptians* fled against it: and the Lord overthrew the *Egyptians* in the midst of the sea. And the waters returned and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of *Pharaoh*: so as not one escaped. — Thus the Lord saved *Israel* that day: and *Israel* saw the *Egyptians* dead upon the sea-shore. And the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant *Moses* (d).

§ 4. SOME Authors have here made a Digression concerning the Red Sea. I have before (e) observed the Reason why many *Greeks* call it *Mare Erythræum*: But in the *Hebrew* it is named *Yam Suph* (f); that is, The weedy Sea, or, The Sea with Rushes; from abundance of Sea-weeds growing there. The learned *Adrian Reland* finds only two Texts in the *New Testament* where it is named *Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* (g); which Designation is taken from the *Septuagint*. Some conceive it is called red because under the torrid Zone; others (h) say that it appears red from red Rocks and Sands on the Shore. The same Mr. *Reland* (i) hath a large Collection of Testimonies from Heathen Authors, too long to be here inserted, to prove that the *Greeks* understood by the Red Sea that vast Extent of Waters which, from the Eastern Shore of *Africa*, washes the Coasts of *Arabia*, *Persia* and *India*. But if we take the Red Sea for that which in our common Maps is so called, from the Streights of *Babelmandel*, to the Wilderness of *Etham*, or to the Northern Parts of *Arabia Petrea*, then the whole Extent thereof from North to South will be about 1200 Miles; but the Breadth of it from East to West will not be above 250 Miles where it is at the broadest; and where the Children of *Israel* passed it, will be but about eight or nine Miles broad. For *Thevenot*, who travelled in those Parts, tells us, that for five Days, in which he kept along the Coast of the Red Sea, going to Mount *Sinai*, he could not observe it to be any where above eight or nine Miles over.

§ 5. IT is of more Importance to consider, if this Deliverance of the *Israelites*, and Destruction of the *Egyptians*, was miraculous; or if it be justly to be ascribed to natural Causes, as *Moses's* observing the Time and Course of the Tide of Ebb, which the *Egyptians* flighting, were drowned by the Reflux of the Sea. As to this Point: To us who believe the Truth of the sacred Scriptures, there can be no doubt but this was an Instance of the almighty Power of God in the Kingdom of Nature. It was the Terror of the *Canaanites* (k), and a Ground of Praise and Triumph to the *Israelites* in that and after Ages (l). *Josephus* indeed gives some occasion to Adversaries: For after he hath related the Scripture-account of this great Event, he adds, *I have narrated this with all the Circumstances as I find it in our sacred Authors. No body ought to think it a Thing impossible, that a People who lived with the Innocence of the first Ages might have found a Way through the Sea to save themselves, whether the Sea opened it for them, or whether it was done by the Will of God; since the same thing happened long after to the Macedonians, passing through the Sea of Pamphylia, under the Conduct of Alexander, when God thought fit to make use of that People for the Destruction of the Persian Empire, as is affirmed by Historians who have writ the Life of that Prince. However, I leave all Men to judge of this Matter as they think fit* (m). But the Event we are upon, cannot be accounted for by an Ebb, nor by natural Causes: For in a Tide of Ebb, the Waters fall away from the Land, leaving as far as the Sea can retire dry; but here the Waters were di-

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(a) *Exod.* xiv. 10. (b) *Exod.* xiv. 11, 12. (c) *Exod.* xiv. 15. (d) *Exod.* xiv. 21, — 31 (e) Above, p. 64. (f) See the *Hebrew* Text, *Exod.* x. 19. xiii. 18. (g) *Acts* vii. 36. *Heb.* xi. 24. (h) *Rawleigh.* (i) *Dissert. miscell.* 1. de mari Rubro, passim. (k) *Josh.* ii. 10. (l) *Exod.* xv. *Psalm.* cvi. 9. cxiv. 3. cxxxvi. 13, 14. (m) *Joseph. Ant.* vii. lib. 2. in fine, p. m. 68.

vided, and *Moses* passed on with the *Israelites* between two Seas, one on the right, and the other on the left Hand. Secondly, *The Lord caused the sea to run back by a strong east-wind*; (now, this blows quite cross the *Red Sea*, which is extended in Length from North to South) and so made a plain Way for the Passage of the *Israelites*: But if the Wind had blown back the Sea by a more than ordinary Ebb, then the Wind causing that Effect must have blown from the North-west; to turn the Sea back into its ordinary Chanel to the South-east (a). Thirdly, In a Tide which flows for its ordinary Course six Hours, and ebbs as many, there would be no sufficient Time for *Moses* to march such a numerous Host with all their Attendants, nor for *Pharaoh* and his Army to pursue them. Fourthly, It cannot be conceived, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who were then as polite a Nation as in the World, could be ignorant of the flowing and ebbing of the Sea in their own Coasts and Ports, where his People had traded for several hundred Years. Besides, a Man of *Moses's* good Conduct, would never have ventured to flee with such a Multitude, and assure them in the Name of the Lord of Safety, only by the Advantage of an Ebb, where *Pharaoh* and his Army could easily overtake them. Fifthly, If the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary Return of the Flood, before they could recover their own Coast, their drowned Bodies would have been carried up to *Suez* at the Top of the *Red Sea*, and not to the Coast of *Arabia*, where *Moses* landed, over against *Baal-zephon*. Let us therefore reject such anti-scriptural and irrational Dreams, that serve for nothing but to lull Men asleep in Infidelity, to their own Ruin, and to depretiate divine Miracles, of which this was a very singular one. *Moses* by Warrant from God foretold it: He stretched out his Rod, as the ordinary Signal for producing it; the infinite Power of God effectuated it, and Heathens themselves had some Knowledge thereof. *Artapanus*, quoted by *Eusebius* (b), says, *The People of Heliopolis tell, that when the King was pursuing the Israelites, Moses by an Order from Heaven struck the Waters with a Rod, whereupon they immediately separated, and the Israelites passed through dry-footed; that the Egyptians attempted to go the same Way, but were dazzled by Fires; that the Sea returned upon the Paths they had found out, so as they were all destroyed either by Fire or Water.* *Diodorus Siculus* (c) seems also to speak of it, saying, *The Ichthyophagi, that is, they who live on Fish, Inhabitants of the Western Coasts of the Red Sea, have this Tradition, That formerly the Sea was opened with a violent Ebb; that the Bottom thereof was dry, and covered with Wreck; that it was divided in two Parts, but the Flood returning with force, the Waters were re-united, and recovered their natural State.* We who have a more plain Account of it by divine Revelation, ought to adore this great God, who revenged upon the *Egyptians* the Blood of the First-born whom they had drowned; and recompensed it double; who reckoned with *Pharaoh* for all his proud insolent Carriage towards *Moses* his Ambassador. Here lies that bloody Tyrant, who bad defiance to his Maker, to his Demands, Threats and Judgments; a Rebel to God, and a Slave to his own barbarous Passions: Here he lies buried in the Deep, as a Monument of divine Justice! He went down to the Pit, he and all his Multitude, though he was a Terror in the Land of the Living. Let us sing the Praises of God, as *Moses* and *Israel* did (d), for this and all his Deliverances.

§ 6. *MOSES* soon after this brought *Israel* from the *Red Sea*. Perhaps they were unwilling to leave the Place where they had triumphed with Joy, and spoiled the dead Bodies of the *Egyptians*; but they must go into the Wilderness of *Sbur* (e): Where they met with new Trials; for they marched three Days and found no Water. At *Marah* they had Water, but it was bitter: Whereupon they murmured against *Moses*; he applied to the Throne of Grace, and the Lord shewed him a Tree, which being cast into the Waters, they became sweet. Our Lord sweetens the bitter Waters of Affliction to his People, and makes them rejoice in Tribulation. There the Lord ordered *Israel* to obey his Commands, promising that if they did so, he would defend them from all the Evils which he had brought upon *Egypt*. From *Marah* they came to *Elim*, where were twelve Fountains of Water, and seventy Palm-trees, a tall and streight fort of Timber, affording a pleasant Shadow; and good Fruit, called *Dates*. There they encamped to refresh themselves after their long Fatigue; yet here they had no continuing city. *Strabo* (f), in his Geography, speaking of the *Arabian Bay*, near the *Red Sea*, says, *That there is a continued Forest of Palm-trees, and abundance of Water which is highly esteemed, because the whole neighbouring Bay is hot and dry, wanting any convenient Shadow.* *Diodorus Siculus* (g) has almost the same; and these Authors seem to describe one and the same Place with *Moses*, though they want the Name of *Elim*. In *Tacitus* (h), and *Plutarch* (i), we meet with a Story, that the *Jews*, under the Conduct of *Moses*, being like to perish with Thirst, Springs of Water were discovered to them by some wild Asses; which the learned *Bochart* thinks took its rise from this, that *Josephus* (k) calls this Place *Ἰλὼν*; which in the *Egyptian* Language denotes the Folds of Asses, or Asses Colts.

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§ 7. FROM

(a) See Sir W. Rawleigh's History of the World, Part 1. p. 220. and Map at p. 218. or other Maps of the Red Sea. (b) De Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 27. p. 436: (c) lib. 3. cap. 40. p. m. 167. (d) Exod. xv. 1, — 21. (e) Exod. xv. 22. (f) Lib. 16. p. 776. (g) Lib. 3. cap. 42. (h) Hist. lib. 5. cap. 3. (i) Sympos. lib. 4. quest. 5. (k) Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 12.

§ 7. FROM *Elim* the Children of *Israel* took their Journey into the Wilderness of *Sin* (a), which is between *Elim* and *Sinai* : But, their several Encampments are more particularly described in the thirty third Chapter of *Numbers*. In this Wilderness, on the fifteenth Day of the second Month, after they were come up out of the Land of *Egypt*, they murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron*, saying, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt; when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full : for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.* If the Lord had been pleased to kill them, he would not so wonderfully have preserved them at the *Red Sea* : Why then did they so undervalue their Deliverance ? For this their Sin, the Lord might have rained Fire and Brimstone out of Heaven upon them, but he graciously promised a speedy, sufficient and constant Supply : *In the evening he gave them flesh to eat; and in the morning bread to the full.* That very Evening the Camp was covered with Quails (b); which the Psalmist calls feathered Fowls (c). Some Quails, Pheasants; or other Wild-fowl (d), came up; and covered the Camp; so tame, as they might take up as many of them as they pleased. Next Morning he rained Manna upon them; which was continued with them forty Years, till they came to a Land inhabited in the Borders of *Canaan* (e). The *Israelites* called it *Man-hu* (f); what is this ? Either, what a poor Thing is this ? despising it; or, what a strange Thing is this ? admiring it. It was a pleasant, light, wholesome Food, by which they were taught Temperance, and not to desire Dainties nor Varieties. I shall not enter into any critical Examination of the Word *Manna*. Those who desire to see this done, may consult the Authors at the Foot of the Page (g). I shall only notice some Things, which prove it not to have been ordinary, but miraculous and supernatural. For common Manna falls only at a certain Time of the Year; that in the Wilderness fell every Day, except the Sabbath, for the Space of forty Years; and ceased not till the *Israelites* came to the Land of Promise, where they were furnished with other Provisions. Common Manna falls only in small Quantities, but this came in such abundance, as was sufficient for all the Camp that followed *Moses*. In *Numb.* xi. 7, — 9. *the manna was as coriander-seed, and the colour thereof as the bdellium : — and when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it.* According to *Bochart* (h), *Bdellium* signifies a Pearl, and the Manna was white and round like small Pearls. It fell in the Night-time, after the common Dew, so as upon a Lair of Dew, there was a Lair of Manna; as soon as the Sun rose, the Dew vanished, and the Manna, if not immediately gathered, would be dissolved; but being gathered, and covered from the Sun, it hardened. They ground it in Mills, or pounded it in Mortars, and then made it into Cakes. Common Manna is preserved without Art a long while, that in the Wilderness, if kept longer than God directed, putrified and produced Worms. Common Manna hath no Relation to any Law God gave; that gathered in the Wilderness had a strict Relation to the Sabbatical Law. Finally, common Manna hath no Nourishment in it; but that in the Wilderness sustained the *Israelites*. From all which we conclude, that the Manna in the Wilderness was miraculous and supernatural. God gave several Rules concerning the Use of it; as, That they should gather every Morning as much thereof as would serve that Day, to teach them continually to live upon Providence; that every one should gather an equal Measure, an Omer, which contained about five or six Pounds, being enough for one Man's Subsistence for one Day; and that they should never gather Manna on the Sabbath Day, which was the Day of Rest : Which was a plain Intimation, that the Sabbath, or last Day of the Week, was observed as holy to God, not only before the Law given on Mount *Sinai*, but even before *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; yea from the Beginning (i) : Otherwise, neither *Moses* nor the People could have understood what the Lord here enjoined. Though these Laws were very plain, yet they broke them; for some of the *Israelites* left it till the Morning, and it bred Worms and stank (k); others of them went out on the Sabbath Day to gather it, and they found none (l). God thought fit to preserve in *Israel* a Monument of this wonderful Food : *Fill an omer of it, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness* (m). It was laid up before the Ark (n), or at the Side of the Ark probably, as Mr. *Reland* conceives, in a covered Vessel. The Manna is called *spiritual meat* (o); so is the Word of God to nourish our Souls; and the Comforts of the Spirit are *hidden manna* (p). These are the Supports of the divine Life in the Soul, while we are in the Wilderness of the World; to be gathered and used for our selves in the Morning of our Days and Opportunities. There is enough in Christ for us all, and they that feed on him shall never die the second Death.

§ 8. THE Children of *Israel* took their Journey out of the Wilderness of *Sin*, and encamped

(a) *Exod.* xvi. (b) *Exod.* xvi. 13. (c) *Psal.* lxxviii. 27. (d) Vide *Bocharti Hierozoicon*, Part 2. lib. 1. cap. 14, 15. (e) *Exod.* xvi. 35. *Josh.* v. 12. (f) *Exod.* xvi. 15. (g) *Reland. Dissert. ult. de inscriptionibus nummorum Samaritanorum.* *Salmasius de Manna.* *Leigh's Critica ad vocem Manna.* *Bocharti Hierozoicon*, Part 2. lib. 5. cap. 12. & *Operum*, Tom. 1. p. 871. & seqq. (h) *Hierozoicon*, loc. modo cit. (i) *Genes.* ii. 3. (k) *Exod.* xvi. 20. (l) *Exod.* xvi. 27. (m) *Exod.* xvi. 32, 33. (n) *Heb.* 9. 4. (o) *1 Corin.* x. 3. (p) *Rev.* ii. 17.

ed at *Dophkab*; and they departed from *Dophkab*, and encamped at *Alush*, and thence to *Rephidim* (a). 'Tis only the last of these that is mentioned in the 17. Chapter of *Exodus*. The Design of the Historian in the Book of *Numbers*, is to collect into one View all the Encampments of the Children of *Israel*, and to give a Journal of their March, but in *Exodus*, only to notice these where some remarkable Thing was done. Hence there are forty two Stations recorded in *Numbers*, and only fifteen of them in *Exodus*. At *Rephidim* the *Israelites* finding no Water, murmured against *Moses*. He had Recourse to *Jehovah*, who commanded him to go to *Horeb*, and there to strike the Rock with his Rod; which being done in the Presence of the Elders of *Israel*, a Fountain of Water issued out, which supplied all the Camp with Drink, and followed them in Streams wherever they went in the Wilderness. This is often mentioned in Scripture as one of the wonderful Works of God (b). The Peoples Thirst made the Water sweet and satisfying as Honey and Oil. This may teach us to depend upon God's Providence, who can give *rivers in the wilderness, and floods in the desert*, and to trust in Christ for his Grace. The Comforts of his Spirit are like Rivers of living Water, which flow from our Redeemer, who was *smitten while he was made under the law*, and can only supply all the Desires of our precious Souls. *Thevenot* tells us, That, in his Travels, he was shewn the Rock out of which *Moses* brought Water; that 'tis a Stone of a prodigious Height and Thickness rising out of the Ground, with several Holes on the Sides thereof, through which the Waters have run, as may be known by the Hollowness; but now no Water issues out there.

§ 10. THEN came *Amalek* and fought against *Israel* (c). *Amalek* was a Son of *Eliphaz* by a Concubine named *Timna* (d), and so a Grandson of *Esau*. His Posterity seemed to have an hereditary Enmity to the Seed of *Jacob*, for depriving them of the Birthright and Blessing; which Malice they discovered, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*, by basely falling upon their Rear, and smiting those who were weak and feeble, that could neither make Resistance, nor escape (e); and therefore *Moses* ordered *Joshua* (who is here first mentioned) to chuse out such as were fittest for War to engage them. During the Fight *Moses* went up into the Mountain, where he held up the Wonder-working Rod in his Hands, to animate the People, and to appeal to God for Help. When he held them up, *Israel* had the better; but when they began to lag and fall down, then *Amalek* prevailed; wherefore *Aaron* and *Hur* caused him sit on a Stone, and held up his Hands on both Sides till Sun-setting, even till *Joshua* discomfited *Amalek* with the Edge of the Sword. Our Redeemer the Lord Jesus is our *Joshua*, who fights our Battles; and our *Moses*, who, in the upper World, *ever liveth to make intercession for us*, till in the End we be all brought off the Field Conquerors through him who loved us. *Moses* took Care that God should have the Glory, and therefore built an Altar, and called the Name thereof *Jehovah-nissi*, *The Lord is my Banner*; and commanded *Israel* never to make any League with *Amalek*, but to look on them as irreconcilable Enemies. Accordingly they were defeated by *Saul* (f), and more compleatly ruined by *David* (g); after which Time we never read so much as of the Name of *Amalek*.

§ 11. ABOUT this Time *Jethro* the Priest of *Midian*, *Moses's* Father-in-law, hearing of all the Miracles which God had done for *Moses* and for *Israel* his People (h), took with him *Zipporah*, *Moses's* Wife, whom he had left in *Midian*, when he went to deliver *Israel* out of *Egypt*, with his two Sons *Gershom* and *Eliezer*, and came to *Moses* in the Wilderness, when encamped at the Mount of God; where *Jethro* might think his Daughter honourably matched, and himself well repaid for all his Kindness to *Moses* in the Day of his Distress. After mutual Salutations and Congratulations, *Moses* entertained his Father-in-law with great Respect, giving him a Narrative of the great Things God had done for *Israel*: In all which his Father-in-law rejoiced; and they sacrificed, worshipped God, and feasted together. On the Morrow *Moses* sat to judge the People, who stood before him from Morning to Evening. His Regard to his Father-in-law would not detain him from the Duties of his Office and Station. But *Jethro* seeing *Moses* overcharged, by taking Cognizance of all the Causes of six hundred thousand Men, advised him to commit a Share of this Trust to inferior Officers, Men of Truth, fearing God, and hating Covetousness, who might determine in all ordinary Cases; and only Matters of general Concern, of great Moment, and wherein the Council of God was necessary, to be brought to *Moses*. This he proposed, with Submission, as his Opinion, if God should approve it. Accordingly *Moses* soon after chose seventy Elders, on whom the Lord bestowed his Spirit (i); and this is commonly reckoned the Origin of the great Sanhedrim. Though *Jethro* soon returned home, yet *Hobab*, *Moses's* Brother-in-law, after he had visited his own Country, upon Invitation travelled with *Israel* through the Wilderness to *Canaan*, where his Posterity seem to have settled (k); and *Hobab* himself was very useful to direct to the best Places of Pasturage, the best Roads, and surest Places of Defence, which God left to humane Prudence: But the Pillar of

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Cloud

(a) Numb. xxxii. 12, — 14. (b) Psal. lxxviii. 15, 16. Psal. cxiv. 8. Deut. xxxii. 13 (c) Exod. xvii. 8, — 16. (d) Genes. xxxvi. 12. (e) Deut. xxv. 17, 18. (f) 1 Sam. xv. (g) 1 Sam. xxx. and 2 Sam. i. 1, — 16. (h) Exod. xviii. (i) Numb. xi. 16, 17. (k) Numb. x. 29, — 32. Judges i. 16.

Cloud pointed out whither they were to march, and where to pitch the Tabernacle, and their Tents round it.

§ 12. THERE is one of the most sensible Appearances of the divine Glory that ever shone in the lower World in the nineteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, where the Lord introduces the giving of the Law. The Time thereof is the third Month after they were come up out of the Land of *Egypt*, fifty Days after the first Passover; and if we consider that the Deliverance was on the fifteenth Day of the first Month, these, with thirty Days for the second Month, will make forty five Days; and the fifth Day of the third Month, will be the Day of giving the Law. The Place from whence this great Event bears Date is Mount *Sinai*. *Strabo* (a) and *Justin* (b) call it *Sinan*. Modern Travellers who have seen these Parts (c) tell us, That this Mountain hath three Eminencies, one called *Sinai*, which is the highest, another *Horeb*, and the third *St. Katharine*, where is a Monastery of *Greeks*, formerly a strong Place, but now made desolate by the *Arabs* (d). Here God put *Moses* in mind of the great Things he had done for *Israel*, as the Eagle carries its young upon its wings; so did the Lord wonderfully interpose between his People and their Enemies at the *Red Sea*; and by the Pillar of Cloud to bring them safe out of *Egypt*, into a State of Honour, to a Covenant and Communion with himself. He minds them of their Duties, to obey his Voice, and keep his Covenant; and promiseth, upon their Performance, to make them his *Segullah*; that is, his peculiar Treasure, under his own special Care, a Kingdom of Priests, and a holy Nation: And they readily agreed to what the Lord proposed (e). The People having thus declared themselves, God signified to *Moses* his Design of coming down upon Mount *Sinai* in some visible Appearance of his Glory in a thick Cloud. This was to prohibit curious Enquiries into Things secret, and to command an awful Adoration of that which God was pleased to reveal: And the Top of Mount *Sinai* was so high, as not only the Camp of *Israel*; but even the Countries about might discern some extraordinary Appearance of Glory; to strike a Terror upon them. The Lord also ordered *Moses*, in the Space of two Days to make Preparation for this great Solemnity; and to raise the Peoples Expectation, by giving them Notice of what the Lord would do, and to direct them what they must do. They must sanctify themselves by laying aside worldly Business, and be diligent in Meditation, Prayer and other spiritual Exercises. Bounds also were to be set to the Mountain, that none might pass upon Pain of Death, to intimate that humble Reverence which ought to possess the Minds of them that worship God: And this Distance which the People were kept at under this Dispensation, should teach us more to value our Privileges under the Gospel, that we may enter into the Holiest by the Blood of Jesus.

On the third Day after this Preparation, *Israel* heard the voice of the Lord God speaking out of the midst of the fire (f). There were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount; and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled.— Mount *Sinai* was altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.— And the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, *Moses* spake, and God answered him by a voice (g). And this awful Appearance is pointed at in several Parts of the Old Testament (h), and by the Apostle, when he is explaining the Difference between the Law and the Gospel (i). All which I do rather notice, because my intended Brevity doth not allow me, in deducing the sacred History, to go through every part of the holy Scripture; but shall sometimes observe parallel Places, especially in discoursing of the moral, ceremonial and political Laws, which may be taken in a Connexion and Harmony, as hath been well performed by that learned Reformer, *John Calvin*, in his excellent *Harmony on the four last Books of Moses*, and by others. If it be enquired, Why was the Law given in this awful Manner? I answer; First, It was designed to give a sensible Discovery of the dreadful Majesty of God, *That knowing the Terror of the Lord, we may be persuaded to live in his Fear*. Secondly, It was a Specimen of the Terror of the general Judgment in which Sinners will be called to account for the Breach of this holy Law. Thirdly, It was to point out the Terrors of these Convictions which the Law sends to our Conscience, to prepare our Souls for the Comforts of the Gospel. Fourthly, To shew that the Dispensation under the Old Testament Law was earthly, dark, and full of Terror; whereas the New Testament Dispensation under the Gospel, is bright, sweet, comfortable and easy, as appears by the Comparison made by the divine Penman of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (k). It is objected by Infidels, That *Moses* knew very well that there was no great Matter in this Thunder and Lightning; it was only a *Volcano*, the Mount vomiting out Fire, which this Lawgiver did cunningly forecast, so as the People should not come to the Knowledge thereof: For if they had run gazing up the Mountain as well as he, the Secret would have been found out, and the Miracle spoiled. To which 'tis answered, First, What By-ends could

(a) Lib. 16. p. 755. (b) Lib. 36. cap. 2. (c) Thevenot, Sandys, and others. (d) See Well's Geogr. of the O. Test. Vol. 2. p. 108, — 112. (e) Exod. xix. 8. Deut. v. 27. (f) Deut. iv. 33. (g) Exod. xix. 16, — 24. xx. 18, 19. Deut. v. 22, — 28. xxxii. 2. (h) Judges v. 5. Psal. lxviii. 17. Psal. cxiv. 4, — 7. Habak. iii. 10. (i) Heb. xii. 18, — 20. (k) Chap. xii. 18, — 25.

could *Moses* have in playing this sham Trick, as Infidels suppose? He could not gain greater Authority over the People than he had before. He had been their Deliverer from *Egypt*, was their Conductor in the Wilderness, and had as absolute a Command over them, as could be desired. He appears to have been the most sincere, modest, disinterested Man that ever lived; so faithful in his History, as to record his own Failures, and also those of *Aaron* his Brother, and *Miriam* his Sister. He gave the Priesthood, the most considerable Honour of his Nation, away to his Brother *Aaron's* Family, contenting himself that his Posterity should be only ordinary *Levites*; and, at his Death, disposed of the Government to *Joshua*, who was none of his Off-spring. Secondly, Nor is there any Ground for supposing a *Volcano* then at Mount *Sinai*. One *Purerus* a Traveller says, *That at St. Katharine's Hill there is a Valley covered with Ashes (a)*. Yet this is not Mount *Sinai*: But supposing it were, they little understand the Nature of a *Volcano*, who think there should remain no other Marks of it than a little black Ground covered with Ashes. For all Travellers, antient and modern, who have described Mount *Ætna (b)*, *Vesuvius*, and other burning Hills, tell us, and the Nature of the thing requires it, That there is an open Mouth at the Top of such Mountains, whence they belch out their Flames, which the Antients called *Crater*: And 'tis impossible there should be a burning Mountain without such a *Crater* or *Hiatus*, which must appear after the Fire was gone out, in the Figure of a monstrous Gap, to the End of the World. But neither *Theremot*, *Sandys*, nor any other Traveller, who have accurately viewed Mount *Sinai* could observe any such Gap there. And this is enough to answer this Objection.

§ 13. ALL things being prepared for the solemn Promulgation of the divine Law, *God spake all these words, &c. (c)*. It is questioned, How can what is said by the Protomartyr (*d*), *That the Jews received the law by the disposition of angels*; and by the divine Author to the Hebrews (*e*), who calls the Law, *The word spoken by angels*, be reconciled with this Text, *God spake all these words*? I answer, there is no Inconsistency in this Point between the Old Testament and the New; for the Words of the Protomartyr, *ἐκ διαταγῶν ἀγγέλων*, plainly signify the Ministry of Angels; and the Words of the Apostle, *δι' ἀγγέλων*, points out the same: And also *Gal. iii. 19.* which agrees well with *Deut. xxxiii. 2.* *The Lord shined from mount Paran; and he came with ten thousands of his saints: from his right hand went a fiery law. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them as in Sinai (f)*. God was the Lawgiver, but Angels attended him. The Spirit of God in these Texts just now cited from the New Testament, intended only to oppose the Gospel to the Law, in as much as, when God gave the Law, he was surrounded with an awful and glorious Host of Angels; but when our Lord promulgated the Gospel, he adapted himself to our Weakness.

The Preface to the Law, is, *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage (g)*. Which manifests the Sovereignty of God, as being *Jehovah*, eternal, unchangeable and almighty; having his Being in and of himself, and giving Being to all his Words and Works: And that he is a God in Covenant, as with *Israel* of old; so with all his People, who brought them out of their Bondage in *Egypt*, and delivereth us from our spiritual Slavery; wherefore we are bound to take him alone for our God, and to keep all his Commands.

The first Command is, *Thou shalt have no other gods before me*. Where God requireth us to know and acknowledge him, to be the only true God, and our God; and to worship and glorify him accordingly, by chusing him as our Portion, meditating on him, esteeming, honouring and adoring him in his divine Perfections, desiring his Favour, fearing to offend him, believing on his Name, trusting, hoping, delighting in him, being zealous for his Glory, calling upon him by Prayer, giving him Praise and Thanks for his Benefits, yielding all Obedience and Submission to him with the whole Man, being careful in all Things to please him, and sorrowful when in any thing he is offended, and walking humbly with him. At the same Time God forbids Atheism, in denying or not worshipping God; Idolatry, in having or owning more Gods than one, or any with or instead of the true God, not avouching him for God and our God. He forbids also the Omission or Neglect of any Service due to him, by this Command; Ignorance, Forgetfulness, Misapprehensions, false Opinions, unworthy and wicked Thoughts of him, bold and curious Searching into his Secrets; all Profaneness, Hatred of God, Self-seeking, and immoderate setting our Mind, Will and Affections upon other Things; Unbelief, Heresy, Misbelief, Distrust and Despair; Incorrigibleness under Judgments, Hardness of Heart, Pride, Presumption, carnal Security; using unlawful Means, and trusting in these that are lawful; corrupt, blind and indiscreet Zeal, Lukewarmness in the Things of God, Apostacy from the Ways of God; praying, or giving any other religious Worship to Saints, Angels, or any other Creatures; all Compacts and consulting with the Devil, hearkning to his Suggestions, submitting our Faith and Conscience to the Commands of Men, despising God

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(a) See Nichol's Conference with a Theist, part 2. p. 221. (b) Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 268 in fine, & p. 274. (c) Exod. xxi. i. (d) Acts vii. 53. (e) ii. 2. (f) Psal. lxxviii. 17. (g) Exod. xx. 2. and Deut. v. 6.

God and his Commands, grieving his Spirit, Murmurings and Impatience under his Dispensations, and ascribing the Praise of any Good we either have done, or can do, to our selves, our Fortune, Chance or Idols. *The law is spiritual (a)*, and so reaches to require spiritual Duties, and to forbid those Evils which we ought to guard against, because God who seeth all Things, takes Notice of, and is much displeased with the Breach of this Command.

The second Command, is, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them.* Which Command hath Respect to the Manner of Worship, and requireth the receiving, observing, keeping pure and entire all such religious Worship and Ordinances as God hath instituted in his Word, particularly Thanksgiving and Prayer in the Name of Christ; the reading, preaching and hearing of the Word, the Administration and receiving of the Sacraments, Church-Government, and Discipline, the Ministry and Maintenance thereof, religious Fasting, swearing by the Name of God, when lawfully called to it; as also disapproving and opposing all false Worship in our Place and Station. The same Command forbids all devising, commanding or using, or any way approving any religious Worship not instituted by God himself; the making of any Representation of God, or of any of the Persons of the holy Trinity, either in our Mind, or outwardly in any Kind of Image or Likeness of any Creature whatsoever; all worshipping of it, or God in and by it (b); the making of any Representation of any feigned Deities, and all worship of them; all superstitious Devices not instituted in the Word, corrupting the Worship of God; adding to, or taking from it, whether from our own Invention, or received by Tradition from others, under the Names of Antiquity, Custom, Decency, Devotion, or any other Pretence whatsoever. It also prohibits *Simony*, or buying and selling of sacred Things, Sacrilege or stealing of them, Neglect, Contempt, hindering and opposing the Worship and Ordinances which God hath appointed. The Reasons annexed to this Command, *For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments*; do enforce this Precept from the Consideration of God's Sovereignty over us, his Propriety in us, his Zeal for his own Worship, and his Indignation against all false Worship, accounting the Breakers of this Command such as hate him, whom he will and did punish to divers Generations, as appears from the History of the Church, but promising to such as love him and keep his Commands, that he will shew Mercy to them and their Posterity for many Ages. This Command being so useful and necessary, 'tis very far wrong in the *Papists* and *Lutherans*, in their Catechisms, while reciting the Law to the People to leave out this Precept, and to make up the Number of Ten, by dividing the tenth Command into two.

The third Command, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain*, requireth that the Name of God (that is, his Titles, Attributes, Ordinances, Works, his Word, Sacraments, Prayer, Oaths, Vows, divine Lots, and by whatsoever else he makes himself known) be religiously and reverently used; by an holy Profession and answerable Conversation, to the Glory of God, and the Good of our selves and others. At the same time, this Precept forbids the Abuse of God's Name, in an ignorant, profane, superstitious Manner; by Blasphemy (c), Perjury, or false Swearing (d), sinful Cursings (e), rash Oaths (f), violating our Oaths, if lawful, and fulfilling them, if of Things unlawful; murmuring at, curious prying into, and misapplying God's Decrees or Providences, perverting the Word of God, or any Part of it, to profane Jest, curious and unprofitable Questions; abusing it, or the Creatures, or any thing contained under the Name of God, to Charms, or sinful Lusts and Practices; the scorning, reviling, or any way opposing God's Truth, or Grace, making Profession of Religion in Hypocrisy, or for wrong Ends, being ashamed of it, or a Shame to it, by unsuitable and offensive Conversation, or backsliding from it: For he is our God, who will not spare the Transgressors of this Command, even though they should escape Punishment from Men.

The fourth Command is, *Remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it.* This is not enacting of a new Law, but reviving of an old one (g): And it requireth the sanctifying or keeping holy to God such Times as he hath appointed in his Word, expressly one whole Day in seven; which was the seventh from the Beginning of the World to the Resurrection of Christ, and the first Day of

(a) Rom. vii. 14. (b) Deut. iv. 15, — 19. Rom. i. 21, — 25. (c) Levit. xxiv. 11, — 16. 2 Kings, xv. 22.
(d) Lech. v. 4. viii. 17. (e) Jerem. v. 7. (f) Math. v. 36. James, v. 12. (g) Genet. ii. 3.

of the Week ever since, and so to continue to the End of the World, which is the Christian Sabbath observed in the Apostolick Times (a); and is called in the *New Testament*, the *Lord's day* (b). Dr. *Spencer* (c) gives plainly his Opinion, *That the fourth Command was only a Part of the Jewish OEconomy, and did bind only the Jews under the Pedagogy of the Law*. In which he joins with the *Socinians* (d). But that the fourth Command is moral, and perpetually binding, appears, because the Duty of sanctifying the Sabbath was appointed in the State of Innocence. Even then God saw fit to call Man from dressing the Garden, to keep immediate Communion with himself; and we have more need of such a Spur to Duty now in our fallen State, wherein we are surrounded with so many Temptations, and bad Inclinations. This Duty was observed before giving of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, as we have already seen (e). The very first Words of the Precept, *Remember the sabbath*, do shew, that it is a Renovation of an old Command, which was necessary for the *Israelites* to be put in mind of, after they had been so long a time in *Egypt*. There is no reason for making the fourth Command ceremonial, more than the rest of the Decalogue; yea there are many excellent Reasons for the moral Obligation, and constant Observation thereof: For it is a high Acknowledgment of God's universal Dominion and Supremacy, to have all the World in one Day every Week to lay aside their Business, that they may jointly worship him in a solemn Manner. It is a noble Act of divine Compassion to fallen Man; God saw that Man's Heart would be so glued to the World and Sensuality, that were he left to himself, he would not allow God one Day in a Month, nay scarce in a Year, but would have drudged himself, his Servants and Beasts for ever to Death: Therefore our merciful Lord ordered Men to rest one Day in a Week from the Concerns of this World, that they may mind those of the World to come; and that in the mean time their Servants and Beasts may be refreshed, and fitted for further Service. The Sabbath is also a blessed Mean to keep lively Impressions of the great Truths of Religion upon our Hearts and Memories, to fit us to promote Holiness and Spirituality, and to mind us of an everlasting Sabbath in Heaven above, where we shall never weary to praise and serve God. This Command knits together the Duties of the first and second Table: It is a Compend of all Religion; it shews both what we should do, and not do; it presses Obedience from God's Example and Blessing; it is a Memorial of our Creation, God created Man on the Eve of the first Sabbath, and immediately gave a Precept to sanctify the next Day; it puts us in mind of our Redemption (f); it is often inculcated in the *Pentateuch* (g): And finally, we are encouraged to the Observation thereof by many gracious Promises, which even look forward to Gospel-times (h); and the Breakers thereof are remarkably punished (i).

Since the Sabbath is perpetually binding, and so useful, as hath been already proved, we ought to be very careful in sanctifying it, by resting all that Day, not only from such Works as are at all Times sinful, but even from such Employments and Recreations as are on other Days lawful; and by making it our Delight, to spend the whole time of that Day, except so much as is to be taken up in the Works of Necessity and Mercy, in the publick and private Exercises of God's Worship (k). And to that end we are to prepare our Hearts, and with such Foresight, Diligence and Moderation to dispatch our worldly Business, that we may be more free, and fit for the Duties of that Day. We ought also to watch against the Sins forbidden by this Command, as Omission of the Duties required; all careless, negligent and unprofitable performing, or being weary of them (l); all profaning of the Day by Idleness, or doing that which is in it self sinful; and to guard against all unnecessary Thoughts, Words and Works about our worldly Employments and Recreations.

Our Saviour hath comprehended the Duties of both Tables of the Law in a few Words: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind*; — and, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self* (m). From these Principles the whole moral Law may be deduced. I am now in a few Words to open the Duties of the second Table, founded upon that great Rule of Equity, *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them* (n). The fifth Command is, *Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee* (o). The Lord in his infinite Wisdom, after he had prescribed Laws for his own Honour, his next Care is to mind us of the Honour due to our Parents, they being next under him the Authors of our Lives and Beings. We ought to have an inward Respect to their Persons, and shew outward Expressions thereof, giving them Reverence (p). The contrary to this is mocking and despising them: A Sin which the Lord threatens with remarkable Punishments (q).

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(a) 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. Acts, xx. 7. (b) Rev. i. 10. (c) De legibus Ritualibus, p. 73, & passim de Sabbato. (d) Catechesis Rakoviana, p. m. 122. (e) Above, p. 90. (f) Deut. v. 15. (g) Exod. xx. 8, — 12. xxxi. 14, 15. Levit. xix. 3, 30. Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. Deut. v. 14, 15. (h) Isaiah, lvi. 2, — 7. lviii. 13, 14. Jerem. xvii. 24, 25. Ezek. xlvi. 26, 27. (i) Numb. xv. 32, — 36. Jerem. xvii. 27. Ezek. xx. 21, — 24. (k) Nehem. xiii. 15, — 22. Matth. xii. 1, — 13. Isaiah, lviii. 13, 14. Luke, iv. 16. Acts, xx. 7. (l) Acts, xx. 9. Ezek. xxxiii. 30, — 32. Amos, viii. 5. Malachi, i. 13. (m) Matth. xxii. 37, — 39. (n) Matth. vii. 12. (o) Exod. xx. 12. (p) Heb. xii. 9. (q) Prov. xxx. 17.

We ought to obey their lawful Commands (*a*), and that out of a Principle of Love ; submit to their Rebukes, Instructions and Corrections, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, out of Conscience towards God ; to dispose of our selves with their Advice and Consent, not alienating their Property but with their Approbation ; and to endeavour in every thing to be a Comfort to our Parents, to make their old Age easy to them, maintaining them if they stand in need of Support ; which our Lord (*b*) makes to be particularly intended in this Command. On the other hand, Parents ought to take care of their Children, to protect and provide for them as far as they are able, to bring them into the Church of Christ, to pray for them, to educate and instruct them in the Knowledge of God, by Example and Precept. Magistrates being *patres patriæ*, Fathers of their Country, their Subjects ought to honour them (*c*), to pray for them (*d*), to obey their lawful Commands, and to pay Tribute to them (*e*). Magistrates on their part ought to maintain the true Worship and Service of God, should provide Men of approved Ability and Integrity to rule under them (*f*), should distribute Justice impartially, and be exemplary for Piety and Vertue. Husbands ought to love their Wives, as Christ loved his Church, and as they love themselves (*g*). This is the Bond of the Marriage-relation ; and hence Husbands ought to bear with their Wives Infirmities, should not upbraid them with the Incumbrances of a married Life, but protect, encourage and support them, and also promote their spiritual and temporal Good, with that of the whole Family. Wives owe to their Husbands, Subjection, Reverence, Love and Obedience (*h*). People owe to their Pastors, Esteem, Love, Reverence (*i*), Obedience to their Directions and Admonitions (*k*), and Maintenance (*l*). Pastors, being duly called to their Office (*m*), ought to take heed to themselves and their doctrine, that in doing this they may save themselves and them that hear them (*n*) ; ought to feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, *ἐπισκοπῆντες*, or, acting the duty of a Bishop ; not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; neither as lords over God's heritage, but as ensamples to the flock (*o*). Servants, when their Choice is free, ought to chuse such Masters as fear God, and will promote their spiritual Good. Being engaged, they owe to their Masters, Obedience to their lawful Commands (*p*), Submission to their Reproofs, not answering again (*q*), Honour and Esteem (*r*), Diligence in their Affairs, with Fidelity and Good-will. Masters ought to use a prudent Care in the choice of good Servants (*s*) : When chosen, they should command and direct them to nothing but what is lawful and possible, with Prudence, but not with Rigour ; and should provide for their temporal and spiritual Welfare. In every Station we ought to mind our Duty to God and to one another. If others excell us in Riches, Honours, or other Favours of common Providence, or in Grace, Gifts, Age or Experience ; we ought not to envy them, but to esteem and reverence them, to hearken to their wholesome Counsel, and profit by their Example when they walk in the Ways of God : And Superiors ought to be humble and watchful, that they may improve what Good God hath given them for his Glory and the Good of others. To this Precept is annexed a Promise, *That thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee* ; yielding Hopes of a long Life and Prosperity, as far as it may serve for God's Glory and their own Good, to all such as keep this Command ; and if their Life be cut short here on Earth, it shall be made up by eternal Life in the heavenly Canaan above.

The sixth Command, *Thou shalt not kill*, expressly forbids that barbarous and inhumane Sin of Murder, that first-born of the Devil, who *was a murderer from the beginning*. Soon after the Fall, Corruption vented its Virulence in the Sin of Cain, who slew his Brother Abel, because his Brother's Works were righteous, and his own evil. Nor is this Precept only to be confined to the actual Sin of Murder, but prohibits also the neglecting or withdrawing the lawful and necessary Means to preserve Life (*t*), and also sinful Anger (*u*), Hatred, Envy, Desire of Revenge, all excessive Passions (*v*), distracting Cares, Drunkenness, Gluttony, immoderate Labour and Recreations, provoking Words, Oppression, Quarrelling, Striking, Wounding, and whatsoever else tends to the Destruction of the Life of any Person. But the Prohibition is not to be extended to hinder the publick Execution of Justice : For Magistrates invested with Authority for that End, ought to put capital Offenders to Death (*x*) ; which is the best Way to prevent Murder, and to purge the Land from Blood : And therefore God ordered a Man who killed his Neighbour presumptuously to be dragged from the Altar, that he might die (*y*) ; and it was so done with *Joab* (*z*). Neither is Blood shed in a just and lawful War, nor in necessary Self-defence, here forbidden. On the other hand, this Command requireth all lawful Endeavours to preserve our own Life and that of others, by resisting all Thoughts and Purposes, subduing all Passions, and avoiding all Occasions, Temptations and

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(*a*) Eph. vi. 1, 2. (*b*) Matth. xv. 4, — 6. (*c*) 1 Pet. ii. 17. (*d*) 1 Tim. ii. 1. (*e*) Rom. xiii. 1, 7. (*f*) Exod. xviii. 21. (*g*) Eph. v. 25, 33. (*h*) Eph. v. 22, 33. (*i*) 1 Theff. v. 12, 13. (*k*) Heb. xiii. 17. (*l*) Gal. vi. 6. (*m*) Rom. x. 14. (*n*) 1 Tim. iv. 16. (*o*) 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. (*p*) Eph. vi. 5. (*q*) Tit. ii. 9. (*r*) Mal. i. 6. (*s*) Psal. ci. (*t*) Matth. xxv. 42, 43. Jam. ii. 15, 16. (*u*) Matth. v. 22. (*v*) Eph. iv. 31. (*x*) Genes. ix. 6. Deut. xix. 21. (*y*) Exod. xxi. 14. (*z*) 1 Kings ii. 30, 34.

Practices, which tend to the taking away the Life of any. To this end we ought to excell in the Christian Graces and Vertues of Friendship, Charity, Peaceableness, Humility, Meekness, and holy Courage; and we ought to defend our selves against Violence, patiently bear the Hand of God, promote Quietness of Mind, and Chearfulness of Spirit in the Service of God; moderately use Meat, Drink, Physick, Sleep, Labour and Recreations; exercise Love, Compassion, Gentleness, Kindness, courteous Speech and Behaviour; bear Injuries, requite Good for Evil, comfort and succour the Distressed, and defend the Innocent.

The seventh Command is, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*. The Sin here expressly forbidden is Adultery, which is committed between Persons of whom the one or both is married to another than that one with whom the Fact was done; which by the judicial Law (a) was punishable by Death. *Job* (b) calls it *an heinous crime, yea an iniquity to be punished by the judges; a fire that consumeth to destruction, and would root out all mine increase*. It murders two Souls at once; it makes Men like brute Beasts (c); it doth extinguish Man's Reason and Understanding (d); it brings on a Reproach not to be wiped away (e); it is a kind of Sacrilege, converting the Temple of God to a profane Use (f), and brings down Judgment, and eternal Wrath (g). This Command forbids also all sort of Uncleaness, as Fornication committed between two unmarried Persons; which, though it be extenuated by impure *Romanists* (h), as that which may be washed away by the sprinkling of holy Water; yet it is abominable in the Sight of God, and may exclude out of the Kingdom of Heaven, if it be not washed away by Repentance, and Remission through the Blood of Christ (i). Here are also forbidden all incestuous Mixtures, or Uncleaness between those who are related in any Degrees of Kindred specified *Levit. xviii. 6, — 18*. Bygamy, or marrying two Wives at once; Polygamy, or taking more than two, or *a wife to her sister, to vex her* (j); all unnatural Lusts (k); all Incentives to Lust, that add Fuel to that Fire, as wanton Looks, light Behaviour, immodest Apparel (l); forbidding lawful, dispensing with unlawful Marriages (m), much practised by the Church of *Rome*; allowing, keeping or frequenting Stews; intangling Vows of a single Life; unjust Divorce, Desertion; Idleness; Excess in Meat or Drink; lascivious Songs, Books, Pictures, Stage-plays, and all other Provocations to Uncleaness: Yea here are forbidden all unclean Imaginations, Thoughts, Purposes, filthy Talking or Jestings, or listning thereto (n). At the same time, this Command requireth all Chastity in Mind, Affections, Body, Words and Behaviour, with the Preservation thereof in our selves and others; Watchfulness over the Eyes and all the Senses (o); Temperance, keeping chaste Company, Modesty in Apparel, conjugal Love, Marriage in those who have not the Gift of Continence (p), diligent Labour in our Callings, shunning all Occasions to Uncleaness, and all Temptations thereto.

The eighth Command, *Thou shalt not steal*, is founded upon that great practical Principle of all humane Converse taught by our Saviour, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them* (q); which carries such innate Light and clear Evidence, that *Alexander Severus*, a Heathen Emperor, caused it often to be proclaimed by a Crier, and was so much in love with it, that he would have it inscribed upon his publick Buildings (r). Theft is an unjust taking or keeping to our selves what lawfully belongs to another Man; and is committed by *Sacrilege*, that is taking away or alienating what belongs to God's Honour and Service; *Peculate*, or taking from the Publick; *Robbery*, committed by Violence, and all *Stealing*, by unjust seizing or detaining what belongs to a private Man: *Let him that stole, steal no more* (s). This is a Sin which God hath threatned with many Punishments: By the *Jewish* Law it was censured by Restitution (t); and sometimes the Offenders were put to Death, when the Circumstances added Cruelty and Oppression to the Crime (u). God leaves a Curse that will blast and consume Increase wickedly got (v). It begets Anxieties and Perplexities of Mind; it provokes God to cut off the Guilty by some untimely Death (w), and brings down eternal Wrath, and Seclusion out of the Kingdom of Heaven (x). Besides, if we consider this Precept as requiring all manner of Justice between Man and Man, the same may be violated many ways; as, by receiving and concealing the Thing that is stoln (y), fraudulent Dealing (z), false Weights and Measures (aa), Unfaithfulness in Contracts between Man and Man, or in Matters of Trust, Oppression, Extortion, unlawful Usury, Bribery, vexatious Law-suits, Depopulations (bb), ingrossing Commodities to enhance the Price (cc), and all other unjust or sinful Ways of withholding from our Neighbour what belongs to him, to enrich our selves; Covetousness, inordinate prizing worldly Goods, distrustful and distracting Cares and Studies, in gaining, keeping and using them; envying at

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the

(a) *Levit. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22.* (b) *xxxii. 11, 12.* (c) *Jer. v. 8.* (d) *Hos. iv. 11.* (e) *Prov. vi. 33.* (f) *1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.* (g) *Heb. xiii. 4. Rev. xxii. 15.* (h) *Mazarin. in Psal. li. Durand. Sent. lib. 4. dist. 33.* (i) *1 Cor. vi. 9, 11. Gal. v. 19. Col. iii. 5, 6.* (j) *Levit. xviii. 18.* (k) *Levit. xx. 15, 16.* (l) *Isaiah iii. 16.* (m) *1 Tim. iv. 3.* (n) *Matth. v. 28. Eph. v. 3, 4.* (o) *Job xxxi. 1.* (p) *1 Cor. vii. 2.* (q) *Matth. vii. 12.* (r) *Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo.* (s) *Eph. iv. 28.* (t) *Exod. xxii. 1.* (u) *2 Sam. xii. 5, 6.* (v) *Prov. xxi. 7. Jer. xvii. 11.* (w) *Psal. lv. 23.* (x) *1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.* (y) *Prov. xxix. 24.* (z) *1 Thess. iv. 6.* (aa) *Prov. xx. 10.* (bb) *Deut. xix. 14. 1 Cor. vi. 7, 8. Isaiah v. 8.* (cc) *Prov. xi. 26.*

the Prosperity of others : And also it doth forbid Idleness, Prodigality, and waste ful Gaming, whereby we do unduly wrong our own Estate, and defraud our selves of the Use and Comfort of what God hath given us. At the same time, the Command requireth Faithfulness and Justice in Contracts and Commerce between Man and Man, rendring to every one his due, Restitution of Goods unlawfully detained from the right Owner (*a*), giving and lending freely, according to our Abilities and the Necessities of others ; Moderation of our Minds, Will and Affections, concerning worldly Goods (*b*) ; provident Care to gain, keep, use and dispose those things which are necessary for us (*c*) ; a lawful Calling, and Diligence in it (*d*) ; Frugality, avoiding unnecessary Law-suits, Suretiship, or other like hurtful Engagements (*e*) ; together with all just and lawful Means to procure, preserve and advance the Wealth and outward Estate of our selves and others.

The ninth Command, *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*, provides for the Preservation of our good Name, which is rather to be chosen than great riches (*f*) ; for it renders a Man capable to serve God, and do good to others. This Command forbids the Sin of *Lying*, which is a voluntary speaking of an Untruth, with an Intention to deceive, and is a Sin most contrary to the Nature of God, who is Truth it self (*g*) : It makes one like the Devil, the Father of Lies (*h*) ; It is most opposite to the Character of the Children of God (*i*) ; and it is threatned with eternal Death (*j*). Also here are prohibited *Slander*, by a false Imputation of Vice to our Neighbour ; and *Detraction*, by a causeless diminishing Report of Virtue. We must guard against these, and every thing that leads to them, either privately, or publicly ; as giving false Evidence before a Judge (*k*) ; suborning false Witnesses, appearing and pleading for an evil Cause which we know to be so (*l*) ; passing unjust Sentences (*m*) ; rewarding the Wicked according to the Work of the Righteous, and the Righteous according to the Work of the Wicked, undue Silence in a just Cause, Forgery, concealing the Truth, or perverting it to a wrong Meaning, Backbiting (*n*) ; Tale-bearing (*o*) ; Whispering, Scoffing, rash and partial Censuring, misconstruing Intentions, Words and Actions, Flattering (*p*) ; thinking or speaking too highly, or too meanly of our selves and others, denying the Gifts and Graces of God, aggravating smaller Faults, hiding or excusing Sins when called to a penitent Confession, unnecessary discovering of Infirmities, raising false Rumors, and countenancing them (*q*) ; and stopping our Ears against just Defence (*r*) ; envying or grieving at the deserved Credit of any (*s*) ; endeavouring to impair it, and rejoicing in their Disgrace ; Breach of lawful Promises, neglecting such Things as are of good Report, and not hindring, so far as we can, in others what will procure an ill Name. If we would watch against these Evils, we must not be busy in other Men's Affairs, nor too violently addicted to a Party ; we must reflect on our own Miscarriages (*t*) ; we ought to appear for the Truth sincerely and fully, speak Truth, and only Truth, entertain a charitable Esteem of our Neighbours, love, desire, and rejoice in their good Name, sorrow for, and cover their Infirmities, freely acknowledge their Gifts and Graces, defend their Innocence, be willing to receive a good Report, and unwilling to admit an evil one, discourage Tale-bearers, Flatterers and Slanderers (*u*) ; take care of our own good Name, keep lawful Promises, and practise *whatsoever things are true, honest, lovely, and of good report* (*v*) :

The tenth Command, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbours* (*w*), strikes at the Root of Sin. We must not so much as entertain inordinate Desires after that which may gratify our Lusts ; that such a Man's House were mine, his Wife mine, his Estate mine ! This is the Language of Discontent with our own Lot, and Envy at our Neighbours ; and these are the Sins principally here forbidden. The holy Apostle *Paul*, when the Grace of God made the Scales of Ignorance to fall from his Eyes, perceived, that this Law, *thou shalt not covet* (*w*), forbids all these irregular Appetites, as the first-born of corrupt Nature. Therefore let us reform our own Hearts, and approve our selves to an all-seeing God, in a full Contentment with our own Condition (*x*), without envying or grieving at the Good of others.

We have sufficient Warrant to explain the Law in this Manner, because it is exceeding broad (*y*) ; it is spiritual (*z*) ; it is holy, just and good (*aa*) : Whatever then is holy towards God, just to our Neighbour, and good to our selves, is thereby commanded, and the contrary discharged. Our Lord explains the Commands in this large and spiritual Sense, in his excellent Sermon upon the Mount (*bb*) : And indeed the whole sacred Scripture is a Commentary upon them, exhorting us to Obedience by Arguments, alluring us by the Promises, terrifying from

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(*a*) Levit. vi. 2, — 5. xix. 8. (*b*) 1 John iii. 17. Gal. vi. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 6, — 9. (*c*) Prov. xxvii. 23. (*d*) 1 Cor. vii. 20. Genes. iii. 19. (*e*) Prov. vi. 1, — 6. (*f*) Prov. xxii. 1. (*g*) Prov. xii. 22. (*h*) John, viii. 44. Acts, v. 3. (*i*) Isaiah, lxiii. 8. (*j*) Rev. xxii. 15. (*k*) Deut. xvi. 18, — 20. (*l*) Jerem. ix. 3, — 5. Psal. xii. 3, 4. lii. 1, — 4. (*m*) Prov. xvii. 15. 1 Kings, xxi. 9, — 14. (*n*) Psal. xv. 3. (*o*) Levit. xix. 16. (*p*) Psal. xii. 2. (*q*) Exod. xxiii. 1. (*r*) Acts, vii. 56, 57. Job, xxxi. 13. (*s*) Numb. xi. 29. Matth. xxi. 15. (*t*) Galat. vi. 1. (*u*) Prov. xv. 23. (*v*) Philip. iv. 8. (*w*) Exod. xx. 19. Deut. v. 21. (*x*) Rom. vii. 7. (*y*) Heb. xiii. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 6. Philip. iv. 11. (*z*) Psal. cxix. 96. (*aa*) Rom. vii. 12. (*bb*) Matth. v. vi. vii.

Transgression by Threatnings, or exciting us to the one, and restraining us from the other, by Examples recorded in the historical Part thereof. This Law is exceeding useful to all Men; for, to the unconverted, it is a blessed Mean to awaken their Consciences with a holy Fear of God's Majesty, which they have offended (a); as a Schoolmaster to lead them to Christ (b); who is the Lord our Righteousness and Strength, that his Righteousness may cover our Unrighteousness, and his Strength may be made perfect in our Weakness; or if they continue in the way of Sin, to make them inexcusable (c), under the Wrath denounced by the Law (d). It is also profitable to Believers; for though they be delivered from the condemning Power of the Law (e), yet it is of Use to inform them concerning the holy Nature and Will of God; and to bind them to walk accordingly (f); it may humble them under the Sense of their Sin and Misery, may discover how much they are obliged to Christ in fulfilling the Law, and bearing the Curse in our Room (g); which we were altogether unable to do; may lead them to this Saviour for Pardon of Guilt, and Grace to keep his Commands better than ever they have done, to delight in them with the inward Man. To conclude, the moral Law is most agreeable to the Law of Nature (h), and most suitable to the Nature of God, who being infinitely good, cannot but oblige us to love himself, and hate Sin as his Enemy. The Substance thereof was given to Adam in a State of Innocence, and transmitted down by the holy Patriarchs to the Days of Moses; but in his Time Mens Lives becoming shorter, and the Church of Israel being to be incorporate in a Society for God, it was fit that the Lord should give them his Covenant, and this Law to regulate their Lives, in sacred Writing; which is further explained to us in New Testament Revelation; and we are allured by our Redeemer's Love, and strengthened by his Grace to observe it.

§ 14. ISRAEL being terrified after the Law was delivered to them with awful Majesty, and in a Disposition to hear, the Lord gave them by Moses a Caution against Image-worship (i): They must not make Gods of Silver, nor of Gold; these would affront God, and, instead of assisting their Devotion, would rather corrupt it. If they made occasional Altars, such as they reared in the Wilderness before the Tabernacle was erected, and afterwards upon special Emergencies (k) to offer Sacrifices upon; (which the first-born might do, before the Priesthood was restricted to the Tribe of Levi) these Altars must be very plain, of Earth, or of unhewn Stone; so low, as they need not go up by Steps; nor like the Heathen, who imagined the higher the Altar was, the more acceptable the Sacrifice: And God assured them of his gracious Presence: *In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee (l).* Which is a remarkable Promise before giving the ceremonial Law, and may be extended even to Gospel-times.

Several Orders were given (m), which shall be afterwards noticed, when I come to write of the ceremonial and judicial Laws. To engage them to their Duty, God encourages them by gracious Promises: *Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not: for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him (n).* Which is a Promise of our Redeemer, the Messenger of the Covenant, who did undertake the Deliverance and Conduct of Israel, as typical of his great Work in purchasing our Salvation; he keeps them in the Wilderness, and through the Enemy's Country, and brings them into the Land of Rest he had prepared: His Voice they must obey, and carry towards him with all possible Fear and Caution; for God's Name is in him, that is, he is God himself. But many times they had no suitable Regard to these Injunctions; for the Apostle says, *they tempted Christ (o).*

The first Appearance of the Lord upon Mount Sinai being concluded, Moses, Nadab and Abihu, with seventy of the Elders of Israel, are called up to the Mount (p). They must all shew great Reverence: *Worship ye afar off.* None must come so near as Moses, the typical Mediator between God and Israel; yet he did not lead them blindfold into the Covenant, nor taught them a Devotion that was the Daughter of Ignorance, but *told them all the Words of the Lord*; and the People unanimously consented to all the Terms proposed, without Reservation or Exception. Then *Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord.* These young Men might be of the First-born, consecrated to God before the Institution of the Levitical Priesthood. And the Covenant was ratified by the sprinkling of the Blood of the Sacrifices upon the Book and the People, as typical of the Blood of Christ, whereby the good Things contained in the Covenant are purchased and sealed (q). The People having submitted to the Law, and the sprinkling of the

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Blood

(a) 1 Tim. i. 9. 10. Rom. vii. 9. (b) Galat. iii. 24. (c) Rom. i. 20. (d) Galat. iii. 10. (e) Rom. viii. 1. (f) Micah, vi. 8. Math. v. 17. James, ii. 10, 11. (g) Galat. iii. 13. (h) Rom. ii. 15. (i) Exod. xx. 22, 23. Deut. iv. 14, — 20. (k) Judges, vi. 24. xiii. 19. 1 Sam. vii. 9. (l) Exod. xx. 24. (m) Exod. xxi. xxii. xxiii. (n) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. (o) 1 Corin. x. 9. (p) Exod. xxiv. 1. (q) Heb. ix. 19, 20.

Blood, they saw a Glimpse of the divine Glory, and feasted upon the Sacrifice (a). *Moses* and *Joshua* his Minister, at the Lord's Call went up to the Mount, leaving *Aaron* and *Hur* with the Elders of *Israel*, to govern in his Absence. A Cloud covered the Mount six Days; and on the seventh, being perhaps the Sabbath, the Lord called up *Moses* alone; and there he abode forty Days and forty Nights (b), during which Time he did neither eat Bread, nor drink Water (c). A Fast never imitated by any, except by our Saviour and *Elijah*; nor may any pretend to the like, without a divine Call, and extraordinary supernatural Assistance, which is not now to be expected. Then *Moses* received Orders concerning the Structure of the Tabernacle, the Ornaments and Consecration thereof, the Sacrifices, and what related to the Priests, recorded in *Exodus* xxv. to xxxi, which shall be afterwards noticed.

§ 15. THESE forty Days and forty Nights being ended, in the fourth Month after *Israel's* Deliverance from *Egypt*, God gave unto *Moses* the two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God (d). These were the ten Commands of the moral Law before explained, written on Tables of Stone, to signify their perpetual Duration, written by the Finger of God; that is, by his Will and Power, without the Use of any Instrument. *Moses* found them prepared when he went up to the Mount (e). They are called, *Tables of Testimony*, because they testified the Will of God concerning our Duty to him and our Neighbour, with God's good Will to the People; and would be a Testimony against them if they were disobedient; and were given to *Moses*, probably to shew them, to be seen and read of all Men, before he laid them up in the Ark. The People having sinned during *Moses's* Absence, the Lord said to him, *Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: they are quickly turned aside out of the way which I commanded; they have made them a molten image (f)*. While *Moses* was in the Mount receiving the Law from God, the People had Time to meditate upon what had been delivered, and to prepare themselves for what was further to be revealed; and forty Days was little enough for that Work. But instead of being so employed, they, in a tumultuous Manner, addressed *Aaron*, who was intrusted with the Government in his Brother's Absence, saying, *Make us gods which shall go before us (g)*. *Aaron*, to his Shame, being too easily prevailed on by their Clamours, asked their Golden Ear-rings to make a Calf; cast one; all the People owned it for their God, made a great Feast in Honour of it, offered Sacrifices to it, and spent the whole Day in feasting and sinful Pleasure. 'Tis likely *Israel* had learned thus to represent the Deity, from the Worship the *Egyptians* gave to sacred Animals; for the Prophet *Ezekiel* (h) says, *They did not forsake the idols of Egypt*: And they are charged with it in several other Texts (i). I have discoursed more fully of the *Egyptian* Idolatry in another Essay (k), and shall not enlarge upon it here. But it was most unaccountable, that in the very Place where the Law was given, by which they were expressly forbid to worship God by images; and while the Mountain was yet burning before their Eyes, and *Moses* gone to bring the Law to them in Writing, they should be guilty of this Wickedness. The Lord told *Moses* the Crime which the People had committed, expressing his Indignation at so rebellious a Race; but upon *Moses's* humble believing Intercession, tho' their Punishment was determined, yet their Ruin was prevented. After this *Moses* came down with *Joshua*, who had been waiting on the Mount till *Moses* came out of the Cloud, forty Days, 'tis like, fed with Manna, and now they came down together. *Joshua* being a military Man; upon hearing a Noise, feared that there was War in the Camp; and that he would be missed: But *Moses* being inform'd in the Mount, knew that it was the Noise of the People revelling in idolatrous Worship. Being come nearer to the Camp, upon seeing the golden Calf, and the Dancing, in a just Displeasure against their Wickedness, he broke the Tables at the Foot of the Mountain, to convince them that they had forfeited the Favour of God. Then taking the golden Calf, he burnt it, and reduced it to Powder, and cast the Dust into the Water, giving the Children of *Israel* to drink thereof, to teach that false Gods cannot help their Worshippers. Monuments of Idolatry are to be abolished: And his mixing the Powder with their Drink, signified that the Curse they had brought upon themselves would be mingled with and embitter all their Enjoyments. He reproved his Brother *Aaron*, who made but a frivolous Excuse for his Folly. Then *Moses* stood at the Gate of the Camp, and said, *Who is on the Lord's side? Let him come unto me*. Whereon the Children of *Levi* gathered themselves about him; and he bade them take their Swords, go through the Camp, and kill all they met with, that is the Seditious and Ringleaders. The *Levites* did as they were commanded; and there fell of the People that Day about *three thousand men*, as the *Hebrew* Text hath it, and also the *Septuagint*, and the Oriental Versions: But the vulgar Version declared Canonical by the Council of *Trent*, hath by some Mistake in *Exod.* xxxii. 28. twenty three thousand. This Vengeance was taken by the Children of *Levi*, to teach the People, that Idolatry is an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge, being a Denial of the God

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(a) *Exod.* xxiv. 9, — 11. (b) *Exod.* xxiv. 12, — 18. (c) *Deut.* ix. 9. (d) *Exod.* xxxi. 18. (e) *Exod.* xxiv. 12. (f) *Deut.* ix. 12. (g) *Exod.* xxxii. 1. (h) *Ezek.* xx. 8. (i) *Ezek.* xxiii. 8. *Psal.* cvi. 20. *Josh.* xxiv. 14. *Acts* vii. 39, 40. (k) *Propagation of Christianity*, Vol. I. p. 240, — 258.

that is above ; and it was done by the Sword of their own Brethren, not by an Enemy, that this Execution of Justice might redound to the Honour of their own Nation. Yet it seems they killed only those whom they found abroad in the Street of the Camp ; for it may be hoped, that they who had retired to their Tents, were ashamed of what they had done, and were upon their Knees repenting for it. Some Years after this Moses spake of *Levi*, thus ; *Who said unto his father, and to his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own Children (a) : Giving that Tribe an Encomium for their Zeal in this Affair.*

On the Morrow *Moses*, to bring the surviving People to Repentance, told them they had committed a great Sin, and promised again to go to the Lord, to see if he could make an Attonement for their Crime. He addressed God by Prayer, speaking as one overwhelmed, *Oh, this people have sinned a great sin : and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin : and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written (b).* God had told him, that he would consume them, *and make of him a great nation (c) : But Moses here pleads, that he was so far from desiring to see his Name and Family built upon the Ruins of Israel, that he would rather chuse to sink with them. And the Lord condescended so far to these importunate Prayers, that he promised to guide the People towards Canaan ; yet threatens, In the day, when I visit, I will visit this sin upon them.* Hence the Jews observe, That no Judgment came afterwards upon *Israel*, but there was an Ounce of the Pouder of the golden Calf in it. In the thirty third Chapter of *Exodus* we have a further Account of the Mediation of *Moses* between God and *Israel*, for making up the Breach that their Sin had made. He brings a humbling Message from God to them ; which had so good Effect, as to help them to prepare for Mercy, by stripping themselves of their Ornaments at Mount *Horeb*. He settled a Correspondence between God and them ; and both signify their Approbation thereof ; God by descending in a cloudy Pillar, and the People by worshipping at their Tent Doors. He is earnest in Prayer, and prevailed, so as to obtain a Promise of the divine Presence with the People, and a Sight of God's Glory to himself.

God having intimated to *Moses* his Reconciliation with *Israel* in *Exodus* xxxiv. gives further Proofs thereof, by proceeding to settle his Covenant with them : For he ordered *Moses* again to come up unto the Mount, and to hew two Tables of Stone like unto the first, on which God would write the Words that were on the first. Accordingly *Moses* did next Morning. God's writing the Law on our Heart, is the best Evidence of his Reconciliation to us ; and if we would have this done, our Hearts must be prepared by Humiliation for Sin. No sooner was *Moses* got to the Top of the Mount, but the Lord condescended to give some sensible Token of his Presence, and Manifestation of his Glory. He descended in the cloud, to strike an Aw upon this typical Mediator ; and to intimate, That though he made known much of himself, yet there was more concealed. He proclaimed his Name, *The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth ; keeping mercy for thousands ; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin ; and that will by no means clear the guilty.* This was a very solemn Preface to the second Edition of the Law, and a Declaration that God pardoned the People, not for their Merit, but out of his own free Inclination to forgive. And the Lord gave *Moses* many other Instructions and gracious Promises during the forty Days and forty Nights that he abode in the Mount, as at the first, neither eating Bread nor drinking Water (d). And when he came down from Mount *Sinai*, he wist not that the skin of his face shone. He had been in very intimate Communion with God for a long Time, without Interruption, having Meat to eat that the World knew not of : The abundant Satisfaction his Soul enjoyed in the Visions of the Almighty, made him forget his Body and the Pleasures thereof. Coming down enriched with the Law of God in his Hand, and the Love of God in his Heart, his Face shone, tho' not to such a Degree as our Lord's (e). Yet this Shining was an Evidence of his Mission, that the People might never more question it : It was an Effect of the Sight of God, and a Proof of God's accepting his Intercessions for the People : But a Vail was put over his Face when he spake to them, to signify the Darknes of that Dispensation.

§ 16. *MOSES* coming down from the Mount this second Time, in the sixth Month after the Delivery of *Israel* from *Egypt*, set about the erecting of the Tabernacle, and doing all Things concerning the Ornaments, and Consecration of the Priests, and instituting the Sacrifices, according to the Pattern shewed in the Mount. *Bezaliel* and *Aboliab* were nominated, as fitted of God to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship (f) ; endowed with Wisdom to make all that God had commanded (g). The Body of the People having lived all their Days in *Egypt*, knew how to work in Clay, and make Brick ; but to work in Gold and Silver, to cut Diamonds, with other curious Stones for the Breast-plate, and set them

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(a) Deut. xxxiii. 9. (b) Exod. xxxii. 31, 32. (c) Exod. xxxii. 10. (d) Deut. ix. 18. x. 10. Exod. xxxiv. 28 (e) Math. xvii. 2. (f) Exod. xxxi. 1, — 7. (g) Exod. xxxv. 30, — 35.

them according to Art was none of their Profession. How then shall this be done? God raised up Men qualified for this Business, and called them by Name to it. Skill even for secular Employments is God's Gift, and descends from above (*a*). And the People willingly, as soon as desired, contributed the Necessaries for the Service (*b*).

This Work being then begun, we may here discourse of the Tabernacle, and its Service; with the other Rites of the ceremonial Law. These may be classed into such as relate to sacred Places, Persons, Sacrifices and Times. Among the sacred Places, the Tabernacle comes first under Consideration. The Pattern and Direction which God gave to *Moses* for making it, with all the Utenfils thereof we have in *Exodus* xxv. to the xxvii. *inclusive*: But the rearing of it up being interrupted by the Sin of the *Israelites*, in making and worshipping the golden Calf, the finishing and erecting thereof we have in *Exodus* xxxv. — xxxix. It was a Tent covered with Curtains, but much larger than other Tents, and was divided into two Parts. The one covered, properly called the *Tabernacle*; the other open, named the *Court*. The covered Part was again divided into two; the *holy Place*, and the *Holy of Holies*; the former was twenty Cubits long, the latter ten. It was separated from the holy Place by a Vail or Hanging, made of fine Linen, and brodered Work; and there was the like Hanging between the Court and the holy Place. The whole was covered with two Rows of Hangings of fine Linen of divers Colours, embroidered; and above them, to protect the Tabernacle from all Injuries of the Weather, and for Decency and Ornament, there were two other Coverings, one of Goat's Hair, and the other of Rams or Badgers Skins died red, tho' some learned Men take it to be of a stronger sort of Leather, because we read (*c*) of the best Sort of Shoes made of it. Indeed there being no Book but the Bible now extant in pure *Hebrew*; and these Words relating to the Tabernacle and ceremonial Law being not frequently read there, Interpreters and Criticks are sometimes at a Loss how to translate them, which hath occasioned abundance of Contests. These Vails, Coverings or Hangings were laid on a square Frame of Planks resting on Bases. There were forty eight Planks, each a Cubit and a half wide, and ten Cubits high, twenty of them on each Side; and six at one End to the Westward. The Planks were artfully let into one another; and held by Bars running the whole Length. The east End was open, and only covered with a Curtain. The whole Length of the Tabernacle was thirty two Cubits from out to out, that is about fifty Foot; and the Breadth twelve Cubits, or nineteen Foot; and the End was thirty Cubits high. The Court was a Spot of Ground one hundred Cubits long, and fifty in Breadth, enclosed by twenty Columns, each of them twenty Cubits high, and ten in Breadth, covered with Silver, and standing on Copper Bases, five Cubits distant from one another, between which there were Curtains drawn, and fastned with Hooks: At the East end was an Entrance twenty Cubits wide, covered with a Curtain.

The Utenfils, or sacred Things within the Tabernacle, and the Court thereof, were first, the *Ark*, seated in the Holy of Holies. It was like a Chest made of Shittim-wood, two Cubits and a half long, and a Cubit and a half in Breadth and Height; that is, in our Measure, three Foot nine Inches in Length, and two Foot three Inches in Height: It was covered with Plates of Gold, and had a gold Cornish which bore the Lid; on the Sides were Rings, to put Poles through to carry it. The Covering thereof was all of Gold, and called the *Mercy-seat*, or *Propitiatory*; there were two Cherubims of beaten Work of Gold, who covered it with their Wings. The Tables of the Law were in it, and therefore it was named *the Ark of the Covenant*: And there did the Lord meet with *Moses*, and commune with him from above the Mercy-seat (*d*). The Tables of the Law written by the Finger of God, and the Ark, seem to have been preserved from this Time, when they were first framed, till the Temple was burnt down by Order of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and the Ark made to resemble this in the second Temple built after the *Babylonish* Captivity, had none of those Prerogatives peculiar to the first Ark; as shall be illustrated in its proper Place.

The Table was made of Shittim-wood (which some render Cedar) covered with Gold; two Cubits long, one in Breadth; and one and a half in Height. About the Edge thereof was an Ornament or Border of Gold, with a golden Crown; it stood on four Feet, and had wooden Bars plated with Gold to carry it on: Its Dishes, Spoons and Bowls were all of pure Gold. On it they laid the Offering or Shew-bread changed every Day, consisting of six Loaves at each End; one to represent each Tribe; and it was not permitted for any but the Priests to eat of that Bread (*e*).

The Candlestick was of pure Gold; having seven Branches, three on each Side, and one in the Middle; each Branch had three Knops like Apples, and three Sockets, in the Shape of Half-almond Shells, three in the Middle, and one in the Extremity of every Branch, with a Golden-lamp; and Snuffers of the same Metal: The whole being made of a Talent of pure Gold (*f*).

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(*a*) Jam. i. 17. (*b*) Exod. xxxv. 5, — 30. (*c*) Ezek. xvi. 10. (*d*) Exod. xxv. 10, — 22. (*e*) Exod. xxv. 23, — 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, — 9. (*f*) Exod. xxv. 31, — 40.

There were two Altars : The one for Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings in the Court ; which Altar was five Cubits long, as many wide, and three in Height ; being hollow, covered both In-side and Out-side with Brass-plates, and open both at Top and Bottom. In the Middle thereof was a Copper-grate standing on four Feet, a Cubit and a half high, fastened with Hooks and Rings, on which the Wood and the Offerings made by Fire were burnt. All the Necessaries for that Service, as Kettles, Ladles, Tongs and Hooks, were of fine Brass ; and there were Staves of Shittim-wood over-laid with Brass to carry this Altar (a).

The Altar of Incense was but one Cubit in Length, as much in Breadth, and two Cubits high ; it was plated with Gold, and adorned with a Crown of Gold, placed within the Tabernacle : And there was a particular Law concerning the anointing Oyl, the Incense and sweet Perfume presented on this Altar. Besides, there was a Laver of Brass in the open Court, near the Altar of Burnt-offerings, at which the Priests were to wash their Hands and Feet (b).

The Laws concerning the Priests, their Garments and Consecration were given about the same Time (c) ; and accordingly their Garments were prepared, and they consecrated (d). Moses appointed Aaron to be High-priest, his Sons and their Offspring to be of the priestly Race. When they were sanctified, he made them put on their Vestments, anointed their Heads with Oyl ; they offered Sacrifice for Sin, and Fire consumed the Offerings. The Functions of the Priests were chiefly to offer Sacrifice to the Lord ; and there are several other Laws and Regulations concerning them, *Levit. vi. 19, 20. and c. ix.* The High-priest had a peculiar Charge, to go once a Year into the most holy Place, on the Day of Expiation, clothed in his priestly Garments, to burn Incense there before the Ark, and sprinkle the Blood of the expiatory Sacrifices seven times with his Finger. He had also peculiar Garments, the Ephod and the close Coat were of Linen, and covered every Part of his Body, from Neck to Heel ; over it was a Purple or blue Vestment, at the Bottom of which hang Bells and Pomegranates. The curious Girdle of the Ephod was made of Gold, blue, scarlet and fine twined Linen, made fast to a sort of Collar, and hanging down before and behind, and meeting in the Middle, served for a Girdle to the Vestment. On the Shoulders were two Onyx-stones, so large, as six of the Names of the Tribes of *Israel* were engraven upon the one, and six on the other. The Breast-plate was of the same Workmanship, but double, made fast with gold Chains to the Ephod. It was a square Ornament, very thick, covering the Breast, on which were twelve Stones of pretious Sorts, set in four Rows, and on them the Names of the twelve Tribes carved. The Mitre was of fine white Flax ; it covered the whole Head, and on the Forehead had a Plate of Gold, whereon these Words were engraven, *Holiness to the Lord*. These were the solemn Ornaments of the High-priest. Not only were the Priests, the Sons of Aaron, dedicated to the Lord, but also all the rest of that Tribe, called *Levites*. Their Office was to take down and carry the several Parts of the Tabernacle, and Utensils thereof, when ever the Camp removed, and to pitch them again when it rested ; every one knew their own Part, being particularly assigned them (e). When the *Israelites* were settled in the Land of *Canaan*, this Part of the *Levites* Office, in bearing the Tabernacle ceased ; but they had other Service allotted to them about the Tabernacle, and afterwards in *Solomon's* Temple, and also in their Habitations over the Country. Both Priests and *Levites* had a regular Portion allotted to them out of the Offerings (f) in the divine Service. When they came to the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*, they had no particular Portion of the Country assigned to them, distinct from the rest of the Tribes ; only forty eight Cities were given to them, with their Suburbs (g), with Grounds to feed their Cattle : Of which the Priests had thirteen Cities, and the rest belonged to the *Levites*. Also the *Levites* had the Tithe, or Tenth of the Fruits of the Earth, and the Priests the Tithe of that Tithe (h).

The erecting of the Tabernacle, the Consecration of Aaron and his Sons, and their solemn holy Garments being so ordered, some few Things may be more particularly inquired into, before we proceed to consider the rest of the ceremonial Law. First then we may inquire, *How long were the People of Israel in the Wilderness in rearing up this Tabernacle ?* Answer, We have before fixed the Beginning of this Work in the sixth Month after the Deliverance (i) from *Egypt*, when Moses came a second Time, and gave Orders for the Beginning thereof, after he had been forty Days in the Mount with God ; and God and the People were reconciled, after their Sin in making the golden Calf. Now it is positively said, *That in the first month, in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up* (k) : Consequently it was six Months a building. What will not six hundred thousand Men, as the *Israelites* then were, do, when animated with Zeal for the Service of God ? and they might think themselves well rewarded, when a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle (l). God having prepared his House, dwelt in it,

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(a) *Exod. xxvii. 1, — 8.* (b) *Exod. xxx.* (c) *Exod. xxviii. xxix.* (d) *Exod. xxxix. xl.* (e) *Numb. iv.* (f) *Vide Relandi Antiquitates Hebraicas, p. 191.* (g) *Joshua, xxi.* (h) *Numb. xviii. 24, — 29.* (i) Above, p. 101. (k) *Exod. xl. 17.* (l) *Exod. xl. 34.*

shewing that he was then well pleased with this Way of Worship, and would accept of those who sincerely served him.

Quest. 2. *What were the Funds of Expence for building and supporting the Tabernacle, and what did these amount to?* Ans. There were several Ways and Means for this necessary Charge: For there was a free Will-offering (a); there was a Half-shekel, called the Ransom of the soul (b); to be paid by every Man. This was long continued for the Service of the Tabernacle, and also of the Temple; even almost till the second Temple was destroyed by the Romans, of which we may hear Instances in the following Part of this History. The Contributions for building the Tabernacle at this Time did produce twenty nine Talents of Gold, and seven hundred and thirty Shekels after the Shekel of the Sanctuary (c); which some (d) compute to about one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling* in Gold, according to the present Value of it; others (e) reckon it more. To which may be added, that those rich Stuffs that served for the Vails of the Tabernacle, and for the Garments of the High-priest, and the rest of the Priests; and the rich Stones set in several Parts of the Ephod, the Value of which was so great as cannot well be estimated, were all gifted by the Liberality of the People. Besides, the Contributions of six hundred thousand three thousand five hundred and fifty Men, who paid each of them half a Shekel, produced a hundred Talents, and a thousand seven hundred seventy five Shekels of Silver (f); which amounted to about thirty four thousand Pounds *Sterling*. If it be asked, How came a People who came as Slaves out of Egypt to be able to advance so great Sums of Money? I answer, *Moses* prevents the Question, when he tells us that the *Israelites* spoiled the *Egyptians*, and defeated and plundered the *Amalekites*. Nor were all their Riches, with what belonged to their Predecessors, taken from them by the *Egyptians* during the time of their Servitude.

Quest. 3. *What became of the Tabernacle from the time of its building by Moses to that of its Ruin?* Ans. The Tabernacle was removed from Place to Place about thirty nine Years with the Children of *Israel*, while they sojourned in the Wilderness: When they arrived in the Land of Promise, it rested fourteen Years at *Gilgal*: From thence it was carried to *Shiloh*, where it remained about three hundred and fifty Years: It was afterwards twenty Years at *Nob*, from the Death of *Eli* to that of *Samuel*: From thence it was fifty Years at *Gibeon*, according to the *Jewish* Account (g): And after the building of *Solomon's* Temple, the Tabernacle, as such, being of no more use, it was taken down; and so much thereof and its Utenfils as was for Service, was preserved in the Temple.

The last Question that I shall here consider is, *Whether the Tabernacle, the Ark, and the rest of the sacred Things instituted and made by the Order of God, were done in imitation of the Egyptians and other Idolaters who lived in the Time of Moses?* Dr. *Spencer*, who stands for the affirmative, hath rendred this Question famous among the Learned. Sir *John Marsham* (h) pointed out his Way: But the Doctor (i) hath made a large Collection upon this Subject. The Sum of his System is, *That the Rites of the ceremonial Law, given by Moses, are an Imitation of the Gentiles, particularly of the Egyptians; that God, in order to divert the Israelites from the Worship paid to the false Deities of Egypt, consecrated the greatest Part of the Ceremonies performed by those Idolaters, and formed them into a Body of Law; but he made some Alterations therein, as Barriers against Idolatry.* He further pretends, that to this Condescension of God was owing the Origin of the Tabernacle in general, and particularly that of the Ark, and most of the Utenfils for that Service. I am not to go upon the particular Examination of this System, which the Doctor hath adorned with a voluminous Collection from many learned Authors at great length; but only to offer some general Remarks, to establish the Reader in the Truth, and to prevent his being drawn into a wrong way of thinking by this strange Hypothesis. First, It is to be noticed, that there is no *Egyptian* Writer now extant, that can prove the Fact, nor any Heathen Author, till long after *Moses*. *Herodotus*, the first profane Historian, is a thousand Years later. *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* are still many Years after *Herodote*; and there is nothing in them that can be drawn into the Question. *Dion Cassius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Lucian*, *Plutarch*, and the rest of the Heathen Writers, are near two thousand Years later than this Law-giver; as may appear from what I have discoursed more particularly concerning these Writers in another Part of this Work, in my Entry on the Affairs of *Greece* and *Rome*. Now, how can ever these Writers prove a Fact, of *Moses's* having borrowed those Rites from the *Egyptians*, (which indeed they do not assert) when it must be done a thousand or two thousand Years remote from the time of which they had any notice? Secondly, There is nothing of Argument in the whole of the Doctor's System. What Strength is in this: There was a Conformity between the sacred Rites of the *Egyptians* and other Gentiles, and those of the *Jews*; therefore the *Jews* borrowed their sacred Rites from

(a) Exod. xxv. 2. (b) Exod. xxx. 12. (c) Exod. xxxviii. 24. (d) Henry on Exod. xxxviii. (e) Saurin's Dissert. on the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 494. Cumberland's Jewish Weights, p. 60. Ainsworth on Exod. xxxviii. 24. — 26. (f) Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. (g) Seder Olam Rabba, p. m. 56. (h) Canon Chronicus, § 9. (i) Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus.

from the *Egyptians*? We may as well infer the quite contrary, that the *Egyptians* borrowed those things from the *Israelites*; since *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph* and other Sons of *Jacob*, who had been so long in *Egypt*, with others of the *Israelitish* Nation, might have taught them those Rites, particularly *Joseph*, whom they for good Cause had in great Esteem; or they might have imitated the *Israelites*, especially since the Devil endeavours sometimes to mimick sacred Rites instituted of God, to discredit Religion, and to bring his own Delusions into Reputation. *Nicolaus Damascenus* (a) says *Abraham* taught the *Egyptians* Arithmetick and Astrology; and I might cite a Troop of Authors affirming that *Joseph* the Patriarch taught some divine Truths in *Egypt*, which *Plato* and other *Greeks* pick'd up in their Travels. Thirdly, Though we may grant that the *Jews* borrowed some idolatrous Customs from *Egypt*, of which I have wrote more fully in another Essay (b); yet it can never be presumed, that in the sacred Rites of the *Jewish* Religion, God should have instituted the Customs of the *Egyptians* and other Heathens, to be observed as a Model for his Worship: For we find the contrary plain from the Word of God: *When the Lord thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, take heed that thou be not snared by following them, and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto Jehovah thy God: for every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done unto their gods.*—— *What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it* (c). The Lord spake unto *Moses*, saying, *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the Lord your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances. Ye shall do my judgments, and keep mine ordinances* (d). These Texts alone are a plain and sufficient Refutation of the Doctor's System. Fourthly, The introducing of the Rites of Idolatry into the Worship of the true God, was not the way to extirpate Idolatry; but rather to perpetuate it. Could the *Israelites* have forbore looking with Veneration upon the Religion of the *Egyptians*, if God himself had consecrated their Ceremonies, and made use of them as Models for that Religion he appointed? Would they not have lain under a perpetual Temptation to leave the Copy and take to the Original? Fifthly, Even *Tacitus* (e) a Heathen affirms the quite contrary to Dr. *Spencer's* System; for he says, *Moses, that he might strengthen his Interest to all Posterity among the Jews, taught them new Rites contrary to all other Mortals: These things which we Romans account sacred, are profane among them; and what they account lawful, is abhorred among us.* But though no Heathen should have said so, it is certain the ceremonial Laws were a Wall of Partition, to separate between the *Jews* and the Gentiles. Finally, The Doctor's System is framed to deprive us of the mystical Signification of the ceremonial Law; as may appear to any that reads his Book. But this is not to be allowed, as shall be afterwards illustrated; for it is the great Design of those Shadows, to lead us to Christ the true Substance.

These Remarks on Dr. *Spencer's* System might be further justified, if my intended Brevity did allow it, by looking into the Particulars wherein he thinks the ceremonial Laws and Ordinances imitated the Rites of the *Egyptians* and other Heathens. First, The Urim and Thummim in the High-priest's Breast-plate were not the same with the Heathen Teraphim, as the Doctor (f) pretends: For the Teraphim were profane Idols, applied by the Heathens in the East to the same Purpose as the *Lares* or domestick tutelar Gods among the *Latins* in the West; and were commonly made use of as Instruments of Divination, as I have more fully made appear in another Essay (g). Now, what have these profane Idols to do with the Urim and Thummim, the Light and Perfection, these shining Beauties in the High-priest's Breast-plate? Nor, secondly, is the Ark of the Covenant to be derived from the *cistæ* made use of by the *Egyptian* and other Heathenish Priests, in their profane Mysteries. We grant that some of these Heathens made use of a *Cista* or Chest, in their *Orgian* and *Eleusinian Sacra* (h): But the Priests of *Cybele* and *Bacchus*, who did so, were a sort of itinerant Gypsies, that must have a Chest, or something like it, to put their Trinkets in, to keep them from the Eyes of the Vulgar. But what Resemblance is there between these *Cistæ*, and the Ark of the holy Covenant? If we consult *Clemens Alexandrinus* (i), we may see that these Heathenish *Cistæ* were filled with *Pballi*, *puenda Bacchi*, *puenda muliebria*, and the like things, which Modesty hinders me to translate, because it would defile Christian Ears to hear them. Let any Christian judge, if it can be supposed that the Purity of the divine Law could be an Ape to such horrid Debauchery. Thirdly, In the Use of the Priests linen Garments, the *Israelites* were rather opposite to, than Imitators of the *Egyptians*: For the Breast-plate and Robe of the *Jewish* High-priest were made of scarlet, blue, and woolen Cloth, only embroidered with

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(a) Apud Eusebium de Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 16. (b) Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. ch. 2. of the Origin of Idolatry. (c) Deut. xii. 29, — 32. (d) Levit. xviii. 2, 3. (e) Hist. lib. 5. cap. 4. (f) Spencer. de legibus Hebræorum, lib. 3. dissert. 7. p. 331 & seqq. (g) Propag. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 237, — 240. (h) Pars obscura cavis celebrabant Orgia cistis, Catull. Epig. 64. Et levis occultis conscia cista factis, Tibull. lib. 1. eleg. 8. (i) Protrep. p. 14.

Wreaths of fine Linen ; but the Use of all woollen Cloth was abominable to the *Egyptian* Priests, who, as *Plutarch* (a) and *Herodote* (b) inform us, wore nothing but fine Linen, clean washed at all times. Nor can there be any ground, Fourthly, to affirm, that the Cherubims that covered the Mercy-seat within the most holy Place were done in imitation of the like in *Egypt* : For it doth not appear that the *Egyptians* had any such Mercy-seat, nor Covering thereto, nor any such Symbol of the divine; nor of the angelical Presence with them. Fifthly, Nor were the Feasts of the New-moons commanded to *Israel* as an Imitation of the Gentiles, but to bind them to Works of Piety, to consecrate their Time to God, and to imitate the antient Patriarchs, who had done so before them. Sixthly, Nor had the Washings and Lustrations of the *Jews* their Origin from the Gentiles : For washing the Hands and the Feet was a Part of the antient Cleanliness used on solemn Occasions in the Eastern Countries, particularly before Meals, even in *Abraham's* Time (c), long before the giving of the Law on Mount *Sinai* : And the ceremonial Washings were typical of the Blood of Christ that cleanseth from all Sin (d). But I am not to go through every Part of Dr. *Spencer's* Hypothesis, which hath been more fully examined by others (e). I have dissented from him before (f) concerning Circumcision and the Sabbath, and may again take notice of his peculiar Opinions : But now I leave him, that I may go to other Parts of the ceremonial Law.

I have briefly considered the Ceremonies that related to the holy Place, and the Utensils of the Tabernacle, and also to holy Persons or Priests. I shall now a little consider the Ceremonies that relate to the Sacrifices, and to the Times set apart for God's Service. A Sacrifice is an Offering to God, to acknowledge his Sovereignty over the Creatures, and to apply to him for the Expiation of Sin. Others find in it the Person presenting the Sacrifice making an Acknowledgement, *I deserve to die ; but I substitute this sacrifice to die for my sin ; and since neither my Death, nor the death of this Beast I offer, can expiate sin, and all the evils I have committed, I look to the great Propitiation of the promised Messiah, who in the Fulness of Time is to finish Transgression and bring in everlasting Righteousness* (g), *who I hope will completely expiate my Sin, and bring me to Life eternal.* Only five Sorts of Creatures might be offered in Sacrifice, viz. Oxen, Lambs, Goats, Turtles and young Doves ; all which were to be Males, and without Blemish. He who presented the Oblation did it at the Altar, where he laid his Hands on the Head of the Beast, then the Throat of it was cut ; the Blood was received into a Basin ; and with it the Priest sprinkled the Vessels, and the Corners of the Altar. The Victim was flea'd, cut in Pieces, and the Parts laid upon the Altar, where either the whole, or some of them were burnt, according to the Nature of the Sacrifice. Meat and Drink-offerings, called Libations, were added to, or poured out upon them. There were several Sorts of Sacrifices more fully described in *Leviticus* i. to the ix. Chapter. These are named the *Tola*, or Burnt-offering ; the *Mincha*, or the Meat-offering, the *Chattah*, or the Sin-offering ; the *Asbam*, or Trespass-offering, being made either for voluntary Sins, or these done by Ignorance. Besides the Offering of Consecration for the Priests ; the Heave-offering, the Peace-offering, the Scape-Goat (h), the red Heifer (i) the Paschal-lamb, the daily Oblations, and the extraordinary Offerings on the great Festivals and Solemnities.

Lastly, I notice the Ceremonies that concerned the Times set apart for divine Service. We have before discoursed of the Sabbath, and the keeping thereof, as a moral binding Duty. 'Tis true, the Observation of the seventh Day of the Week was ceremonial, and therefore was changed under the Gospel by the Lord of the Sabbath ; but the fourth Command is moral, and perpetually binding. I have also discoursed of the *Jewish* Passover, and the Signification thereof on *Exodus* xii. (k). I shall have Occasion to speak more particularly of the Customs of the modern *Jews*, in observing the Solemnities of their Worship, in the Sequel of this Work (l) ; and therefore may be allowed to insist in a few Words only on their sacred Times in this Place. The *Israelites* then had their new Moons or monthly Feasts, and their annual Feasts. The first Day after the Passover, that is, on the sixteenth Day of the first Month of the Ecclesiastical Year, they offered new Ears of Corn in the Tabernacle, and afterwards at the Temple. Seven Weeks, or fifty Days after this they observed the Feast of Ingatherings (m). This was called afterwards the *Pentecost*. In the Seventh Month, on the first Day of the Month, which was the first of their *Tisri*, with us in *September*, the first of their civil Year, they had a Sabbath, a Memorial of blowing Trumpets (n). They did no servile Work therein. Also on the tenth Day of the same Month, they observed a solemn Day of Atonement, to afflict their Souls (p). No manner of Work was to be done on that Day. Upon the Fifteenth Day of *Tisri*, about the End of our *September*, they celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, dwelling in Booths, in remembrance of their living after that manner in the Desert, when

(a) De Iu & Osyri. (b) lib. 2. cap. 37. (c) Gencl. xviii. 4. xix. 2. (d) Psal. li. 7. 1 John i. 7. (e) Witius in *Egyptiacis*. Nichol's Conference, Vol. 2. Shuckford's Connexion, Book 5. p. 323, — 329. The learned Bishop of Ely, Dr. Patrick, refutes also Spencer's Opinion. See his Notes on *Exod.* xxv. 9. xxviii. 33. (f) Above, p. 52, 95. (g) Dan. ix. 24. (h) Levit. xvi. (i) Numb. xix. (k) See above p. 81. (l) Below, chap. 7. (m) Deut. xvi. 9, 10. Levit. xxiii. 15, 16. (n) Levit. xxiii. 24. (p) Levit. xxiii. 26, — 32.

when they came out of the Land of *Egypt* (a). Besides these they had their seventh Year, wherein their Land was to rest from Labour; they were neither to sow their Field, nor prune their Vineyard: And their Jubilee, or the fiftieth Year, wherein the mortgaged Inheritance was released, the poor Debtor was discharged, the Servant freed from his oppressing Master; the Land had Rest, and *was holy to the Lord* (b). The Sabbattick and Jubilee Years may be also considered as a part of the judicial Law; of which afterwards: And they seem to have begun after Harvest, or in our *September*.

Having given a View of the principal Parts of the ceremonial Law, I shall now offer a few Thoughts upon the great Ends and Uses thereof. That it is not binding in the New Testament Times, I shall have Occasion to prove afterwards in an Appendix to this Work, when discoursing of the Conversion of the *Jews*, and Means to promote the same. The principal Ends and Uses then of the ceremonial Law, were, First, That the *Israelites* by it might have an external Form of publick Worship and good Order approved of God, that might mind them of the great Favours he had done for them, and preserve them from the idolatrous sinful Way of the *Gentiles*. Secondly, This did serve to distinguish the *Israelites* from all others, and to unite them more firmly among themselves: Hence 'tis called a *middle wall of partition* (c). Hereby the Lord did pin them down to Diligence, and oblige them to obey that Yoke of Bondage from which we are happily delivered. Thirdly, the great End and Use of the ceremonial Law, was to lead us to Christ, and the rich Grace of God manifested in him. *The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ* (d); which holds good not only of the moral, but also of the ceremonial Law. 'Tis a *Shadow of the good things to come, but the body is of Christ* (e). 'Tis a *shadow of good things to come, not the very image of the things, that can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect* (f).

To illustrate this Point, That the great Design of the ceremonial Law is to typify and hold out Christ to come, I may explain this in the several Parts thereof already enumerated. First, the *Tabernacle* signified our Redeemer dwelling in our Nature, *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us* (g). ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, dwelt as in a Tabernacle. *The tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them* (h). The *Altar of burnt-offerings* in the outer Court, pointed out the Death and Sacrifice (i) of our Lord; by virtue of whose Blood shed our Sins are pardoned, our Wants supplied, our Diseases healed; we are delivered from Hell, and have the Doors of Heaven opened. This is a City of Refuge, to which if we flee we shall have *strong Consolation* (k). The *Laver* signified the Washing of Regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; and also our Redeemer's Merit, as the Fountain opened to wash away Sin and Uncleanness. The *Altar of Incense* within the holy Place, curiously finished with Gold, pointed out our Lord's glorious and powerful Intercession, in his exalted State of Glory, where he applies all his Purchase to his People (l). The *Table*, furnished always with twelve Loaves of Shew-bread, was a Type of our plentiful Provision, affording an Argument for Thankfulness, and a Token of our Communion with God. The *magnificent Candlestick*, all of pure Gold, was well contrived to scatter Light, and keep the Tabernacle free of Smoke: For that House having no Windows to let in the Light by Day, this must be supplied by the Light of Lamps, signifying the Darkness of that Dispensation, till our Redeemer should come as a Sun of Righteousness, to enlighten the World. His Law is a Light, his Command a Lamp: The Spirit of God in his various Operations and Graces, resting on Gospel Ministers, and New Testament Saints, is like the seven Lamps before the Throne (m). Finally, the *Ark* was a special Symbol of the Divine Presence: There the Law was laid up. The Lord's giving it to his People was a special Token of his Favour, and their Acceptance thereof a Sign of their Subjection to him. The Law is eminently laid up in our Redeemer's Heart (n). In him we have a Throne of Grace, to which we may come with Boldness (o). His Satisfaction to divine Justice is the true Propitiatory or Mercy-seat; and on him the glorious Cherubims or Angels do still attend (p).

Secondly, the Ceremonies that related to the high Priest, and the inferior Priests, were also typical of Christ our Redeemer; and in this View, the inspired Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, doth explain them. The High-Priest was called to his Office; and *Christ glorified not himself, but he that said, Thou art a priest for ever; thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee* (q). The High-Priest was anointed with the holy Oyl of Consecration (r); our Lord is anointed with the oyl of gladness above his fellows (s). God gave him the Spirit not by measure (t). The High-Priest wore a clean Linen Garment; our Lord is, *holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners* (u). The High-Priest under the Law, bare on the Shoulders of his Ephod the Names of the Children of *Israel*; our blessed Jesus, the High-Priest of our Profession, bears the whole Weight of our Salvation, and the Government of his Church

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(a) Levit. xxiii. 42, 43. (b) Levit. xxv. (c) Eph. ii. 14. (d) Gal. iii. 24. (e) Col. ii. 17. (f) Heb. x. 1. (g) John i. 14. (h) Rev. xxi. 3. (i) Heb. xiii. 10. (k) Heb. vi. 18. (l) Rev. viii. 3, 4. Heb. vii. 25. (m) Rev. iv. 5. (n) Psal. xl. 8. (o) Heb. iv. 16. (p) Isaiah. vi. 1, — 3. Psal. lxxx. 1. Math. iv. 23. (q) Heb. v. 4, — 6. (r) Exod. xxviii. (s) Psal. xlv. 8. (t) John iii. 34. (u) Heb. vii. 26.

is laid upon his Shoulders (a). The Jewish High-Priest had also their Names on his Breast-plate; our Lord hath them curiously writ on his Heart in his Love and Affection (b), in his Ability and Willingness to save them. In him Light and Perfection shine. In him are to be found the sounding Bells of pure Doctrine, and the savory Graces of a holy Practice (c). The Jewish High-Priest offered a solemn expiatory Sacrifice once in the Year; our Lord appeared once in the end of the world, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (d). By this he caused the Sacrifice and the daily Oblation to cease (e). After the expiatory Sacrifice the Jewish High-Priest went into the holy Place, there to offer Incense at the golden Altar; our Lord when he had purged our Sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high (f). There he appears in the presence of God for us (g), making continual Intercession for us, by the Incense of his Merits, making our Persons and Prayers to be accepted (h). The High-Priest was obliged to marry a Virgin; and Ministers of the Gospel do espouse their Hearers as a chaste virgin to Christ (i). Finally, The Priests had a daily Ministry to keep the Lamps burning and the Shew-bread fresh upon the Table, which our Lord doth in a more perfect Manner; for he enlightens us by divine Illumination, and feeds us with the Bread of Life that came down from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World.

A third Class of Ceremonies respected the Sacrifices; and whether we look to the Qualifications of the Sacrifices more generally, or to the several sorts of the Sacrifices, all may be found to typify Christ. The Sacrifices were to be blameless; they were publicly presented before the Congregation; they were substituted in the Sinner's Room; and the Iniquities of the Sinner laid upon them. All this is justly applicable to our Redeemer; for he was holy, harmless, undefiled and separated from sinners. That he might sanctify his people, he suffered without the gate, bearing our reproach (k). Our Sins were all laid upon him (l). He who knew no sin, became sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him (m). He was killed as a proper Sacrifice; he endured the Heat of the Father's Wrath, when he gave his soul an offering for sin (n). The Blood of the Sacrifice was sprinkled on the Altar, on the Book, and on the People. Almost all things by the law were purged with blood. It was necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices (o). And all the Privileges of the Gospel State are purchased and ratified by the Blood of Jesus; yea, the Vertue of this Blood is taken into Heaven, where, by Virtue of the Dignity of his Person, and the Fulness of his Merit, he procures the Application to his People of all that he hath purchased by his Death. If we look to the several sorts of Sacrifices, these also lead to Christ. He is the Sin and Trespas-offering, being made Sin for us (p); the Peace-offering, for he made peace by the blood of his cross (q). The Heave-offering, who was lifted up on the cross (r). The Scape-goat, who hath carried away our Sins never to be more remembered against us (s): The Meat and Drink-offering; for his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed (t): The Paschal lamb; for Christ our passover is sacrificed for us (u). He is the great Sacrifice of Attonement; for Jesus Christ the righteous is the propitiation for our sins (v). He is the Sacrifice of Consecration; for it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of our salvation perfect through sufferings, or consecrate through sufferings (w); and in fine, his Blood, who through the eternal Spirit offered up himself to God without spot, is more effectual than the blood of bulls and goats, or the ashes of an heifer, to purge our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God (x).

The last Class of Ceremonies under the Mosaic Law, are these that relate to sacred Times. The Israelites were to offer Sacrifices each Day of the Week, but double on the Sabbath. We Christians are to make use of our Lord Jesus each Day of the Week, but more especially on the Christian Sabbath; which is a Memorial of our Lord's Victory and Resurrection. The Jewish Paschal Solemnity was to mind them of their miraculous Deliverance out of Egypt, and to point out their Saviour to come (y); our paschal Solemnity in the Lord's Supper, is to put us in Remembrance that our Redeemer is already come, and that he by his meritorious and triumphant Death hath redeemed us from Hell and Destruction, and from all our spiritual Enemies. The Pentecost may lead us to Christ, who gave to the Israelites the lively Oracles in the Wilderness; and when in the New Testament Times he had ascended up on high, at the same Time of the Year poured out his holy Spirit on his Apostles. The Feast of Tabernacles may also lead us to think on our Redeemer, who guided his People through the Wilderness to the promised Land (z); who put the Harps of God in their Hand at the Red Sea, who brought them over the Swellings of Jordan; who made the Rock to pour forth Water, the Heavens to rain down Bread, who was in the Pillar of Cloud by Day, to cover them

(a) Isa. ix. 6. (b) John xiii. 1. Ephes. v. 2. (c) Isa. xi. 1, — 5. (d) Heb. ix. 26. (e) Dan. ix. 27. (f) Heb. i. 3. (g) Heb. ix. 24. (h) Rev. viii. 3, 4. (i) 2 Cor. xi. 2. (k) Heb. xiii. 12, 13. (l) Isai. liii. 6. (m) 2 Cor. v. 21. (n) Isa. liii. 10. (o) Heb. ix. 22, 23. (p) 2 Cor. v. 21. (q) Colos. i. 20. (r) John xii. 32. John iii. 14. (s) John i. 29. (t) John vi. 55. (u) 1 Cor. v. 7. See above p. 81. (v) 1 John ii. 1, 2. (w) Heb. ii. 10. (x) Heb. ix. 13, 14. (y) See above p. 81. (z) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.

them from the Heat of the Sun, and the Wrath of God ; and in the Pillar of Fire by Night, to give them Light in their Camps and Journeys, till they came to the promised Land of Rest. The Feast of Ingatherings may teach us to depend on God for a Blessing on our Labours, and to thank him for all his Benefits. The extraordinary Times of the Sabbatic and Jubilee Years, signified the more glorious Liberty the Church was to receive in the Days of the Gospel ; Liberty called, *The acceptable year of the Lord, when to the poor good tidings of grace are preached* (a) ; our Debts released, our Sins pardoned, our Privileges restored, and the heavenly Inheritance which we had mortgaged, purchased. Upon the whole, we by the Benefit of New Testament Revelation may see and understand these Things more plainly, than even the *Israelites* themselves, who had no such Advantage : And we ought to improve our Mercies so as to walk before our Lord and Redeemer in Holiness and Righteousness all the Days of our Life.

§ 17. I proceed now to the judicial Law. It was not given all at the same Time ; for some Part of it was immediately delivered after the giving of the moral Law, in a glorious Manner (b) : Other Parts thereof are to be found in several Places of the three last Books of *Moses*. This Law is of great Use ; for it is an Evidence that the *Jewish* Government is a Theocracy, intirely instituted of God, not only with respect to the Laws concerning Religion, but also with regard to those that punished Crimes, and regulated Justice between Man and Man. Secondly, This Law is an Evidence of the Wisdom and Justice of God, especially to those within the Church ; to whom he gave such a System of Laws touching all their Affairs, as the like was not to be found in the Statutes of *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Draco*, *Numa* ; nor in the Laws of the twelve Tables ; nor among all the Heathen Nations. Thirdly, This Law, in the divine Goodness, doth distinguish *Israel* from all other Nations. God's Church had her very Laws concerning Policy and Equity from Heaven. Fourthly, This judicial Law did reduce into Practice, did strengthen and confirm both moral and ceremonial Laws ; for it appointed Magistrates and Tribunals of Judgment, to see to the Observation, and due Execution of all the other Laws of God : Hence it is called a *Hedge of the Law* ; and very many Authors, some of which are marked at the Foot of the Page (c), have accordingly classed the judicial Laws, as annexed to the ten Commands of the moral Law, having a special Connexion with them ; of which I shall here give a brief View. Under the first Command are the Laws against false Prophets, with those against the Promoters, Practisers and Encouragers of Idolatry (d). Of the same kind and Tendency are the Laws against Witchcraft and Sorcery (e). And to prohibit all Conformity with Idolaters, and to teach us to acquiesce in the Order of Nature God hath established, may be also the Meaning of that Law, *Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind : thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed : neither shalt a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee* (f).

As a Hedge and Sanction to the second Command, these judicial Laws are annexed : *Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land. — But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves. For thou shalt worship no other god : for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God* (g). *Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess, served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree. And you shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire, and you shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place* (h). *Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image* (i).

There are Laws against Blasphemy annexed to the third Command : *Whosoever curseth his God, shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him : as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to death* (k). *The soul that reproacheth the Lord shall be cut off from among his people* (l).

The fourth Command hath also a Hedge of political Precepts : *Ye shall keep the sabbath, therefore : for it is holy unto you. — Six days may work be done, but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord : whosoever doth any work in the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death* (m). Accordingly we find a presumptuous Sabbath-breaker punished (n). Some Authors (o) under this Precept comprehend the Law concerning the Sabbatic or seventh Year (p), and the Laws concerning the Tithes due to the Priests and Levites (q).

The fifth Command hath also a Hedge of political Precepts : *He that smiteth his father or his*

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(a) *Isaiah*, lxi. 1, 2. *Luke*, iv. 18, 19. (b) *Exod.* xxi. xxii. xxiii. (c) *Gerardi loci Theologici*, part. 3. col. 18. *Binchii Melleficium*, part. 3. loc. 15. p. 18, — 36. *Calvinus* in quatuor libros *Mosis* posteriores. *Pistæ Theologicæ Chrétiennæ*, Tom. 1. p. 616. & seqq. *Zepperi legum Mosaicarum forensium explanatio*. (d) *Deut.* xiii. 1, — 18. xvii. 2, — 7. *Exod.* xxii. 20. xxxiv. 11, — 15. *Levit.* xx. 2. (e) *Exod.* xxii. 18. *Deut.* xviii. 10. *Levit.* xx. 27. (f) *Levit.* xix. 19. (g) *Exod.* xxxiv. 12, — 17. (h) *Exod.* xxiii. 24. *Numb.* xxxiii. 52. *Deut.* xii. 2, 3. (i) *Deut.* xxvii. 15. (k) *Levit.* xxiv. 15, 16. (l) *Numb.* xv. 30, 31. (m) *Exod.* xxxi. 14, 15. *Exod.* xxxv. 2. (n) *Numb.* xv. 32, — 36. (o) *Zepperi legum Mosaicarum forensium explanatio*, p. m. 330. (p) *Exod.* xxiii. 10, 11. (q) *Levit.* xxvii. 30.

his mother, shall be surely put to death. And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death (a). — His blood shall be upon him (b). Of the same Nature is the Law concerning the Punishment of the stubborn and rebellious Son (c). And there are other Laws concerning the Reverence due to Rulers: *Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people* (d). *The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel* (e).

Providence takes special Care of the Life of Man, and the Preservation of Society; and therefore there are many of the judicial Laws of Moses that belong to the sixth Command, to keep Men at a distance from violating the same: *He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death* (f). *If men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed: if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed. And if a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money* (g). By the Gospel Liberty, the Condition of Servants is better now, than under the Law; nor must Masters tyrannize over them. Not only did the *Mosaic* Laws take care to prevent Murder, but also to preserve Health, and bodily Safety: Wherefore it was enacted, *That if a man hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, he shall be surely punished* (h). Care was taken to secure against a pushing Ox, and against opening a Pit, and not covering it (i). There was no Injustice in the Law of Retaliation: *Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot* (j): For the Execution of this is not put in the Hand of private Men; which would have introduced Confusion, and made People like the Fishes of the Sea, the greater to devour the lesser; but it was in the Power of the Magistrate to make Reparation to the injured Party. The like was allowed by the Law of the twelve Tables; as we find in *A. Gellius* (k). And the *Jews* say, that for Mutilations, where Death did not ensue, a pecuniary Mulct was generally accepted by, and granted to the maimed Person; and that the Judge did never inflict the Retaliation, but upon the Desire of the injured Party, who, unless he were very malicious, would rather accept a Recompence in Money. Care was also taken to distinguish between a wilful, and fortuitous Murder (l). If a Man killed his Neighbour unwillingly, there were Cities of Refuge appointed for the Criminal to flee to, where he might be safe (m): But if a Man killed his Neighbour presumptuously and maliciously, he might be taken, even from God's Altar, to suffer Death. Provision was made for putting away the Guilt of Blood from the Land, when he that shed it fled from Justice (n). A Law was enacted, to moderate the scourging of a Malefactor, when the Fault was not capital; the Criminal might be beaten, but Stripes must not exceed forty, *lest thy brother should seem vile unto thee* (o). Care was taken to remove the Leper out of the Camp, to prevent the spreading of the Infection (p). Orders were given not to oppress a Stranger (q). If a Servant had run away from his Master who had maltreated him, the Place whither he had retired, should be a Sanctuary to him till the Matter was examined (r). Care was taken of Birds (s). Blood was universally forbidden (t), to teach to avoid Cruelty, and because it was God's Part of the Sacrifice; the Blood of Atonement.

Encouragements were given to a lawful War (u). These were to be sent back, whose private Affairs called for their Attendance at home, or whose Weakness and timorous Spirits made them unfit for waiting on the Camp. The *Israelites* were reckoned from twenty Years old and upwards (v): They gave Security for their good Behaviour in their March, to keep the King's high Road, and not to trespass upon any Man's Property (w). They sent Spies before them, to try what the Land was they were to go to, and the People, whether they were strong or weak, few or many; what were their Cities, whether they dwelt in Tents or strong Holds (x). When they were in their Camp, they were to keep from every wicked Thing (y); and to keep themselves very clean, from a Reverence to the divine Majesty, and out of a due Regard to one another. They had Officers and Captains of their Armies to lead the People (z). When they besieged a City, they were not to destroy the Fruit-bearing Trees: They were not to make War upon their Enemies, nor attack their Cities, till they had given fair Notice, and Offers of Peace; which if they refused, they were to besiege their Cities: Which is not to be understood of the seven Nations that were to be destroyed; but when they were settled in *Canaan*, they must not make unnecessary Wars for enlarging

(a) Exod. xxi. 15, 17. (b) Levit. xx. 9. Deut. xxvii. 16. (c) Deut. xxi. 18, — 22. (d) Exod. xxii. 28. (e) Deut. xvii. 12. (f) Exod. xxi. 12. See Levit. xxiv. 17. Numb. xxxv. 16. Deut. xxvii. 24, 25. (g) Exod. xxi. 18, — 22. (h) Exod. xxi. 22. (i) Exod. xxi. 28, — 36. (j) Exod. xxi. 24, 25. (k) Noctes Atticæ, lib. 20. cap. 1. Si membrum rapit, ni cum eo pacit, talio esto. (l) Exod. xxi. 13, 14. (m) Numb. xxxv. 22. Deut. xix. 4. (n) Deut. xxi. 1, — 9. (o) Deut. xxv. 2, 3. (p) Numb. v. 2, 3. Levit. xiii. 14. (q) Exod. xxii. 21, 24. xxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33. (r) Deut. xxiii. 15. (s) Deut. xxii. 6. (t) Levit. iii. 17. vii. 26. xvii. 10. (u) Deut. xx. 1, — 4. (v) Numb. i. 3. xxvi. 2. (w) Numb. xx. 17. (x) Numb. xiii. 1, — 20. Deut. i. 22. (y) Deut. xxiii. 7, — 14. (z) Deut. xx. 9.

enlarging their Borders, or avenging Wrongs, without Offers of Peace (a) : And when they had gained the Victory, an equal Dividend of the Spoil taken, was to be made ; whereof one Half to the Soldiers, another to the Congregation, and a Tribute to the Lord out of each (b).

The Lord also, in his great Wisdom, by the judicial Laws did take great care to preserve the Chastity and Modesty that ought to be among the Congregation of his People. Therefore several of these Statutes may be considered as an Hedge to the seventh Command, particularly the Laws against incestuous Mixtures (c), which are founded on a moral Reason that is obligatory, and are ushered in with a remarkable Introduction : *After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do : and after the doings of the land of Canaan whither I bring you, shall ye not do* : Which shews, against Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spencer, that none of these Laws are borrowed from Egypt, nor from any other neighbouring Nation. Sodomy, or defiling themselves by Copulation with Mankind ; Buggery, or lying with any Beast ; and Adultery, are all ordered to be punished with Death (d). There are many other Laws against unlawful Lusts ; as, against Copulation with a Woman in her Uncleanness (e) ; concerning a Man who hath reproached his Wife if she be innocent (f) ; of the Preservation of the Chastity of Wives, of Virgins, betrothed and not betrothed (g) ; of the Conduct of Masters towards their Maid-servants (h) ; of the Trial of a Wife suspected of Adultery, by the Waters of Jealousy (i) : This Trial was miraculous, and did cease after the Destruction of Solomon's Temple. The Israelites were not to marry with any of the idolatrous Heathens : *Neither shalt thou make marriages with them ; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. For they will turn away thy son from following the Lord, that they may serve other gods : so will the Lord's anger be kindled against you suddenly* (k). Yet if a Man shall please a captive Maid, he might marry her ; if afterwards he be displeased with her, he might dismiss her, but not sell her for Money (l). The Right of the first-born Son is to be secured, even though he be not a Favourite (m). The surviving Brother is appointed to marry his Brother's Widow (n). This is the Law of the Levirate, which was peculiar to the Jewish Economy, and an antient Custom among them (o), for keeping up the Distinction of Families till the Messiah was born. Immodest Women were to be punished (p). If a Man entice a Maid to Uncleanness, he shall pay to her the Dowry of Virgins, if her Father refuse to give her to him to Wife ; but if her Father consent, then they may marry ; and the Man must not put her away all the Days of his Life (q) : Which Law restrains Fornication. If the Daughter of any Priest play the Whore, she shall be burnt (r). No Man may prostitute his Daughter to be a Whore (s). No Whore nor Sodomite is to be suffered to live in the holy Land, nor is the Price of any such infamous Wickedness to be brought into the Temple of the Lord, as the same was into the Heathen Temples (t). The Woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a Man, neither shall a Man put on a Woman's Garment (u). This does also condemn the idolatrous Customs of the Heathen, where different Sexes often interchanged Habits. And many of these Laws overthrow Dr. Spencer's Opinion.

The Laws of Moses did also take special care to secure Property, to preserve Justice and Equity between Man and Man, and to forbid all Theft and Rapine, as a Fence to the eighth Command. For here it is enacted, *If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him ; then that thief shall die* (v). *If a man shall steal an ox or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it ; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep* (x). Fraud and Injustice will not enrich, but rather impoverish a Man. If a Thief break a House in the Night, and he be killed in the Fact ; his Blood shall be upon his own Head, it shall not be required at the Hand of him that shed it : But if the Sun be risen when the Thief is killed, he who shed his Blood must make account for it, unless it be in necessary Defence of his own Life. He who wilfully puts his Cattle into his Neighbour's Field, must make Restitution of the best of his own. If Fire be rashly kindled, so as to consume Stacks of Corn, or Corn in the Fields ; he that kindleth the Fire shall make Restitution (y). If a Man deliver Goods in Trust to another ; if these Goods be stoln, perish, or be damaged, and if this appear to be by no Fault in the Trustee ; then the Owner must stand to his Loss, but the Trustee must prove his Innocence by Oath before the Judges. If a Man lend his Plough or the like to his Neighbour, upon a valuable Consideration ; then whatever Harm befalls it casually, the Owner must stand to his Loss ; but if it be lent of free Favour, the Borrower must make good the Loss (z). We must be ready to do all good Offices to any, even to our Enemies ; and therefore the Law enjoins, *If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him*

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(a) Deut. xx. 10, — 19. (b) Numb. xxxi. 26, 28, 50, 51. (c) Levit. xviii. 1, — 18. (d) Levit. xviii. 22, — 24. xx. 13, 15, 16. Deut. xxii. 22. (e) Levit. xviii. 19. xx. 18. (f) Deut. xxii. 13, — 19. (g) Deut. xxii. 23, — 29. (h) Exod. xxi. 7, — 11. (i) Numb. v. 11, — 31. (k) Deut. vii. 1, — 4. (l) Deut. xxi. 10, — 14. (m) Deut. xxi. 15, — 17. (n) Deut. xxv. 5, — 10. (o) Genes. xxxviii. 8. (p) Deut. xxv. 11, 12. (q) Exod. xxii. 16, 17. Deut. xxii. 28, 29. (r) Levit. xxi. 9. (s) Levit. xix. 29. (t) Deut. xxiii. 17, 18. (u) Deut. xxii. 5. (v) Deut. xxiv. 7. (x) Exod. xxii. 1. (y) Exod. xxii. 2, — 6. (z) Exod. xxii. 7, — 15.

that hateth thee, lying under his burden, thou shalt surely help him (a). If a Man deny a Trust, defraud a Partner, or sweareth to that which is wrong; he shall restore the principal, and bring a Trespass-offering (b). Justice in Weights and Measures is strictly enjoined: *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in mete-yard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have* (c). *Thou shalt not remove thy neighbours land-mark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance* (d). *When thou comest into thy neighbours vineyard, thou mayst eat grapes thy fill; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. When thou comest into the standing-corn of thy neighbours, thou mayst pluck the ears with thine hand: but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbours standing-corn* (e). There was such Plenty in the Land of Canaan, that a little taken for Necessity or Pleasure would not be miss'd: But the Kindness of Friends must not be abused. Usury was forbidden: *Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother: unto a stranger thou mayst lend upon usury* (f). The Reason of this Law seems to be, that the Estates of the Israelites were so to be settled as there could be little Merchandice among them: And they seldom or never had occasion to borrow great Sums; but only some small Thing for subsisting their Families, when the Fruits of the Ground did meet with some Disaster, or the like Event: And in such a case the Borrower could suffer no great Loss; and to insist on Interest, would have been barbarous. But for the Stranger, who lived by Trade, and could make Profit of what he borrowed, by turning his Penny among them, they might require Usury. So that Usury it self is not oppressive; for they might not oppress a Stranger: But only in such Circumstances it is not to be practised. Charity must be exercised to the Poor (g). In case there were no Issue of a Marriage but only Daughters, these were to retain their Father's Inheritance; only they were to marry within their own Tribe (h). At the End of every seven Years, there was a Release of Debts to the poor Israelites (i). The Land was not to be sold for ever: *For* (saith the Lord) *the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me* (k). A House in a walled City might be redeemed in a full Year; or if not, it was established with the Buyer for ever. But Houses in Villages were counted as Fields: *They may be redeemed, and shall go out in the Jubilee* (l). The Cities of the Levites might be redeemed at any time; but their Fields and Suburbs could not be sold: *They are their perpetual possession* (m). There was no Injustice in the Return of mortgaged Estates; for an Estate could be sold for no more than an Annuity, from the Time of the Sale till the Year of the Jubilee, was worth, it was at the Purchaser's Peril if he ventured more upon it: And there was Encouragement enough for Men of Parts and Industry to raise themselves, by Purchase only of Annuities for fifty Years. And this Law seems well contrived to hinder the encroaching Purchases of covetous Men, which do raise many Disturbances in a State; and occasioned the *Leges Agrarie* among the Romans. By those Laws it was also enacted, *Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates. At his day thou shalt give him his hire* (n). *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn* (o). By which we are taught, not to deprive the very Beast that serveth us of the necessary Supports of Life, and Advantages of their Labour: And much more ought we to encourage them who labour for our spiritual good (p). A Hebrew Servant at the End of six Years might go out free (q): And he was not to go out empty: *Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press* (r).

These Laws of Moses did also take care to preserve a good Name and Truth in Witness-bearing, and are as a Hedge about the ninth Command; for it is enacted, *Thou shalt not raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness* (s). *If a soul sin, and hear the voice of swearing, and is a witness, whether he hath seen or known of it; if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity* (t); where the Trespass condemned is concealing the Truth, when a Man is called as a Witness before a Judge to declare it. *At the mouth of two or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death, be put to death; but at the mouth of one witness, he shall not be put to death. The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him, and afterward the hands of all the people* (u).

The tenth Command plainly forbids Covetousness, and all inordinate Affection to that which is our Neighbours; which being a secret Sin lurking in the Heart, cannot be punished by Judges upon Earth; and therefore Laws are not necessary to direct them to pass Sentence in an Affair, which falls not under their Cognizance. These who desire to see larger Dissertations on the judicial Laws, may consult Criticks and Commentators, with other Authors, who have writ particularly on this Subject; among whom I presume to name the learned

(a) Exod. xxiii. 5, 6. Deut. xxii. 1, — 4. (b) Levit. vi. 1, — 6. (c) Levit. xix. 35, 36. Deut. xxi. 13, — 16. (d) Deut. xix. 14. xxvii. 17. (e) Deut. xxiii. 24, 25. (f) Deut. xxiii. 19, 20. Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 35, 36. (g) Deut. xv. 7, — 11. xxiv. 10, — 13. Exod. xxii. 26, 27. (h) Numb. xxvii. 7, 8. and xxxvi. (i) Deut. xv. 1, — 4. (k) Levit. xxv. 23. (l) Levit. xxv. 31. (m) Levit. xxv. 34. (n) Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. (o) Deut. xxv. 4. (p) 1 Tim. v. 17, 18. (q) Exod. xxi. 2. Levit. xxv. 39, — 44. Deut. xv. 12. (r) Deut. xv. 14. (s) Exod. xxiii. 1. (t) Lev. v. 1. (u) Deut. xvii. 6. xix. 15, — 21.

ned Zepperus, in a Book whose Title is at the Foot of the Page (a), which tho' it be old, yet in my Opinion is still valuable.

As to the Obligation of these Laws, I shall only remark, That in so far as they were a Wall of Partition to separate between *Jews* and *Gentiles*, they are abrogated, and their Obligation doth now cease (b). And also, as they were typical of Christ, and of the good Things to come; for when the Substance is come, the Shadows must fly away. The *Jewish* State being dissolved, these Things that were peculiar to that Policy, as the Privileges of the First-born, the Cities of Refuge, the Jubilee, the bitter Waters of Jealousie, the Land's resting each seventh Year, the dividing of the Land of *Canaan* among the twelve Tribes by Lot, with other things of that kind, must also cease. But on the other Hand, there are many Things in the judicial Laws that are conform to the Law of Nature, that serve to illustrate and confirm the moral Law, and are commanded as such in the Gospel, which may be useful to *Gentiles* as well as to the *Jews*, and an excellent Model for any Government to frame their Laws by. These Things that are so founded in the Law of Nature, to which all are subject, so agreeable to Equity and Right, and so well established on solid Grounds, cannot be said to be entirely abrogated, but may be still useful, tho' they do not oblige us as a part of the *Jewish* Policy, but on the lasting Grounds above-named, which God in great Wisdom has manifested in his Word.

The judicial and political Laws which God gave to *Israel* being then so excellent, as no Nation under Heaven had at that Time the like, I wonder why Dr. *Spencer* hath employed two hundred Pages in close Print to explain these *Mosaic* Laws as derived from the Rites of the *Zabians* (c). This learned Author is unlucky in deducing these Laws from the Rites of such an unknown People, since neither the *Zabians*, nor their Rites, nor any Books concerning them were known in *Moses's* Time, nor for many hundred Years afterwards. For the Doctor himself confesseth that the first Mention we have of the *Zabians* (d), or their Books, is in the Alcoran, which was writ by *Mahomet* in the seventh Century of the Christian *Era*; and he also owns, that there is no *Arabian* Author extant above eight hundred Years before our Time (e). But *Rabbi Moses ben Maimon*, otherwise named *Maimonides*, or by a *Jewish* Abbreviation, *Rambam*, who wrote in the twelfth Century, gives the plainest Account of these People, when he tells us of a *Zabian* Book (f) called, *Hattel Eshmaoth*, or of speaking Images; and another concerning the Degrees of the celestial Orbs, and of the ascendant Figures in each Degree; and another wrote by one *Isaac*, who disputes for the Law of the *Zabians*; and another of Agriculture. If these be so ancient as pretended, how comes it that they were never heard of but among the *Jews* in *Egypt* and *Spain* about four or five hundred Years ago? Why do none of the sacred Writers, none of the *Greek* nor *Latin* Authors ever make the least mention of them? But, to be plain, these Books carry Marks of Forgery in their Bosom. The Story of speaking Images looks like that of the *Talismans* or lying Gypsies; such the *Zabians* were. The Book of celestial Orbs and Ascendants look as a Fiction in *Maimonides's* Time, when the Follies of judicial Astrology were at their Height. The Disputes of the pretended *Isaac* the *Zabian* about the Eternity of the World, shew that they were taken from *Aristotle* upon that Subject. The Treatise on Agriculture is no better than the rest. Besides these Books plainly appear to be the Invention of some idle *Jew* about *Maimonides's* Time; for there *Abraham* is introduced disputing with a King of the *Zabians*; that there is another God besides the Sun; That the Sun is but the Hatchet in the Hand of God; for which the King claps *Abraham* up in Prison; but fearing *Abraham* would do him some Mischief, he seized his Goods, and banished him to a remote part of the East. There are other strange Tales of *Adam*, *Seth* and *Noah*; That *Adam* was the Apostle of the Moon, and exhorted Men to her Worship; so was *Noah*; that *Adam* went to a far Country, near the *Indies*, and brought thence a Tree with Flowers, Leaves and Branches of Gold; and *Seth* was a Renegado to his Father's Worship. But I love not to weary the Reader with such Talmudic Fables and Lies: Only from what is said, it may sufficiently appear, that no such modern Impostor could give Rise or Occasion to the Laws of *Moses*. God in infinite Wisdom framed the Statutes he gave to his People. He did not need any to direct him; and he appended to them a Sanction of comfortable Promises to the obedient, and of terrible Punishments to the Disobedient, recorded in *Leviticus* xxvi, and in *Deuteronomy* xxvii, xxviii, xxix; which have been exactly fulfilled upon the *Jews* for their Idolatry and Disobedience, and particularly for rejecting our Saviour, and the Word of God spoken by him and his sent Servants.

§ 18. HAVING given a View of the moral, ceremonial, and judicial Laws, I shall now notice the other Events that happened to the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, till they came to the promised Land. In the second Year after their Deliverance from *Egypt*, on the first Day of the first Month, was the Tabernacle erected in the Sight of all *Israel*, as hath been be-

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(a) Legum Mosaicarum forensium explanatio, auctore Wilhelmo Zeppero Herbörnæ 1614; and the Bishop of Ely's Comment. on the Pentateuch. (b) Ephes. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 28. (c) Spencerus de legibus Hebræorum, lib. 1. pet totum. (d) Ibid. pag. 215. (e) Ibid. p. 217. (f) Maimonides, More Nevochim, parte 3. cap. 29.

A. M. 2457. fore observed (a). *Moses* brought the holy Utensils, as the Altar of Incense, the Table of Shew-bread, the Ark of the Covenant, the golden Candlestick, the Priests Vestments, and the holy Oil into it; and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle. Afterwards for seven Days the Altar and the Priests were duly consecrated (b). The same Year the *Israelites* celebrated the second Passover, on the fourteenth Day of the first Month. Some of the People made a Complaint to *Moses* and *Aaron*, That they having contracted legal Uncleaness, by touching the dead Body of a Man, could not join in that Solemnity with their Brethren; whereupon God enacted, that they who by such Uncleaness, or by a necessary Journey, should be hindered from the Passover, at the stated Time, the 14th Day of the first Month, might celebrate it on the 14th of the second Month (c). On the Day of erecting the Tabernacle, God commanded *Moses* to number all the Males of the Children of *Israel* from twenty to sixty Years; and the Number of the whole at that Time was 603550. At the same Time the Disposition of the whole Army in their Encampments and Marches is appointed, forming a Square of twelve Miles round the Tabernacle (d). While this was a doing the Lord commanded *Moses* to separate the *Levites* from all the Tribes of *Israel*, and set them apart for the Service of the Tabernacle (e). Accordingly the *Levites* fit for Service were numbred, from thirty Years old to fifty; for they served not before twenty five, nor after fifty. Their Number extended to 8580 (f) who had their Officers appointed them within and without the Tabernacle. About the same Time Laws were made concerning Lepers and other unclean Persons to be removed out of the Camp, about Restitution of Damages and Trespases, the Trial of Jealousy, the Vow of the Nazarites, with the Form of the Priests blessing the People (g).

Upon the eight Day of the second Month of the second Year after the Deliverance, *Moses* called *Aaron* and his Sons, with the Elders of *Israel*; and *Aaron* went in before the Altar to begin the Execution of his Office as High-priest, with his Sons the Priests, where he offered Sacrifices and Gifts; first for himself, and then for all the People; and was confirmed in his Function, not only by the *Shechinah*, or Glory of the Lord appearing to all the People; but also, *There came a fire out from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering, and the fat; which when all the people saw, they shouted and fell on their faces* (h). Upon the same Day the Princes of the Tribes brought their Offerings before the Lord, six covered Wagons, and twelve Oxen, or two Oxen drawing each Wagon, which were delivered to the *Levites*, the Sons of *Gershon* and *Merari* (i). And afterwards each Prince for himself, for twelve Days, offered their Sacrifices for dedicating the Altar; first of all *Naasson*, one of the Progenitors of the *Messiah*, Prince of the Tribe of *Judah*, presented his Gift, viz. One Silver Charger weighing 130 Shekels, one Silver Bowl of 70 Shekels, after the Shekel of the Sanctuary, both full of fine flower mingled with Oyl, for a Meat-offering; one golden Spoon of ten Shekels full of Incense; one young Bullock, one Ram, one Lamb of the first Year for a Burnt-offering; one kid of the Goats for a Sin-offering; and for a Sacrifice of Peace-offerings, two Oxen, five Rams, five He-goats, and five Lambs of the first Year. The other eleven Princes offered as much, and in the same Manner on the succeeding Days.

While the Princes made their Oblations, *Nadab* and *Abihu* the two eldest Sons of *Aaron*, who with their Father had ascended Mount *Sinai*, and seen the Glory of the God of *Israel*, presumptuously entered the Sanctuary, attempting to offer Sacrifices to the Lord with other Fire than that which came down from Heaven, and was kept constantly burning on the Altar, till the Destruction of *Solomon's* Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Priests were to burn Incense only when it was their Lot (k): But *Nadab* and *Abihu*, proud of their late Consecration, without Order, presumed to take common or strange Fire; whereby they were guilty of Will-worship, or of worshipping God not in a Way of his own Institution, but of their Invention; wherefore they perished at the Altar, being devoured by Fire that came forth from *Jehovah* (l). At this Occasion God forbid *Aaron* and his two remaining Sons, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* to put on mourning Habits, or to go out of the Tabernacle, because the anointing Oyl of *Jehovah* was upon them. Whereby we are taught the Aw and Terror of this Dispensation; that 'tis dangerous in the Service of God to decline from his Institutions; and that we ought to have a greater Affection for God's Interest and Glory, than for the nearest Friend we have in the World. At this Time God ordained by a particular Law, That neither *Aaron* nor his Sons should drink Wine nor strong Drink, when they go into the Tabernacle (m): Where some conceive that Drunkenness had been an Aggravation of the Sin of these two Priests lately punished (n); and all after Ages are to take Warning by them. Also upon this Occasion a Law was made, That the High-priest should enter alone into the most holy Place before the Mercy-seat once a Year, namely, on the Day of Attonement, which was to be yearly observed on the tenth Day of the seventh Ecclesiastical Month called *Tisri*; which was the first Month of the civil Year (o).

In

(a) See above p. 103. (b) Exod. xix. 35. Levit. viii. (c) Numb. ix. 1, 14. (d) Numb. ii. Bishop of Ely on Numb. ii. 34. (e) Numb. iii. 6. (f) Numb. iv. 48. (g) Numb. v. vi. (h) Levit. ix. (i) Numb. vii. (k) Luke i. 9. (l) Levit. x. 1, 2. Numb. iii. 4. xxvi. 61. (m) Levit. x. 8, 11. (n) Bishop of Ely on Levit. x. (o) Levit. xvi. 1, 2.

In the same second Month of the second Year, after the Deliverance, an *Egyptian* Youth by the Father Side, but by the Mother's Side an *Israelite*, born of *Shelomith* the Daughter of *Dibri*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, was put into Prison; and, by express Order of God, was condemned to be stoned to Death, for cursing and blaspheming the Name of *Jehovah*; and the like Punishment was appointed for the like Crime in succeeding Times (a); and the Laws contained in *Leviticus* from the tenth Chapter to the End of the Book were made the same Month. About the same Time God commanded two Silver Trumpets to be made, for convening the Assemblies of *Israel*, for signifying the Time and Order of their Marches, and Expeditions, and of their Sacrifices, when sounded by the Priests (b). On the twentieth Day of the said Month, God gave the Signal of moving the Camp, by taking up the Cloud from off the Tabernacle of the Testimony; whereon *Moses* ordered the Priests to sound a March with the Trumpets; and the grand Camp moved towards *Canaan* in their appointed Order (c). After they had staid about Mount *Sinai* for the Space of one Year, in three Days Journey they came to the Wilderness of *Paran*. At *Taberah* or *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, the *Israelites* fell into new Offences, which interrupted the Course of God's Favour to them. Since the Matter of the golden Calf, they seemed to take care to keep their Camp pure. Their Princes were devout and generous; the People received the Law cheerfully, and were content with their Manna: But these Measures were all broke when their Murmurings kindled a Fire among them, which was for a Time quenched by the Prayer of *Moses*, yet it breaks out again when they cried, *Who shall give us flesh to eat? we remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions and the garlick* (d). *Egypt* was indeed a very plentiful Country (e) for all sort of Food: But had they in little more than two Years Time forgot their Slavery and Bondage, the Mercy of God in their Deliverance, the giving of the holy Law, the erecting of the Tabernacle, the Covenant of God, their holy Religion; with all the Symbols of the divine Presence: Would they quit all this for Onions and Garlick? These Murmurings made *Moses* very uneasy; and he complained that the whole Burden of the People was laid upon him. Upon which God graciously promiseth him Help; the Spirit of God qualified the Seventy Elders for Government; and even *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesied, and taught in the Camp. And in Answer to the Complaints of the People, the Power of God brought plenty of Quails to feast them even for a whole Month (f). A Question hath been moved among the Learned, What kind of Creatures these Quails were? *Ludolfus* (g) contends, that they were Locusts, a delicious sort of Meat well known in these Parts, brought by the East or South-east Wind in Heaps; and being dried by the Sun were fit for Food. The learned *Bochart* (h) maintains that they were a sort of Fowl named Quails; and shews by abundance of Authors, that these came in vast Shoals to several Parts of the World, and particularly to these where the *Israelites* sojourned, for the Space of a whole Month together; and accordingly they are named feathered Fowls (i). Whatever they were, the *Israelites* paid dear for their lusting; for the Lord smote them with a very great plague; and he called the name of the place *Kibroth-Hattaavah*; that is, the Graves of Concupiscence, because there they buried the people that lusted (k).

After staying near a Month at the Place last named, the Children of *Israel* took up their fourteenth Station at *Hazereth* (l); where *Aaron* and *Miriam* his Sister spoke against their Brother *Moses*, because of *Zipporah* his Wife, named in Derision by them an *Ethiopian* or *Cushite* Woman (m), because born in *Arabia* where the *Cushites* prevailed, tho' she was rather a *Midianite*, or *Kenite*, descended of *Abraham* by *Keturah*. But God publickly put Honour upon *Moses*, and smote *Miriam* with a Leprosy, for which she was thrust out of the Camp; till upon the Prayer of *Moses*, she was cured in seven Days. Which is fully recorded, to shew that the best of Families have their Follies and Crosses; and *Moses* is so faithful as to transmit even those of his nearest Kindred to Posterity.

From *Hazereth*, *Israel* removed to *Rithmath*, or to the Wilderness of *Paran* (n); which was their fifteenth Station. From thence, in the fourth Month of the second Year after their Delivery from *Egypt*, by God's Command, to which *Moses* and the People consented, in the Days of the first ripe Fruits, twelve Spies, being one for each Tribe, were sent to view the Land of *Canaan* (o); who beginning at the South Border, travelled Northwards to *Rehob*, near *Hamath*; and in their Return came to *Hebron* (called of old *Kirjath-arba*, built seven Years before *Zoan* in *Egypt*) where *Abiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmi*, the Children of *Anak*, the Giant, were: And at the Valley of *Eshcol*, near *Hebron*, they cut down a Branch with a Cluster of Grapes on it, which they carried to the Camp at *Rithmath*, about sixty Miles Distance. In the sixth ecclesiastical Month, called *Elul*, at the End of forty Days, the Spies returned with their Fruits. Ten of those Spies brought such an evil Report of the promised Land, as

F f 2

fright-

(a) Levit. xxiv. 10, — 16. (b) Numb. x. 1, — 18. (c) Numb. x. 11, — 28. (d) Numb. xi. 4, 5. (e) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 71, 72. (f) Numb. xi. 19, — 35. Psal. lxxviii. 26, 27. (g) Commen. ad Hist. Ethiop. lib. 1. cap. 4. (h) Hierozoicon. parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 15. (i) Psal. lxxviii. 27. (k) Numb. xi. 33, 34. (l) Numb. xi. 35. (m) Numb. xii. 1, — 15. (n) Numb. xii. 16. xxxiii. 18. (o) Numb. xiii.

frightened the *Israelitish* Camp : *And the whole congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron; and said, Would God we had died in the wilderness, or in the land of Egypt. And wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt?* Let us make a captain, and return into Egypt (a). Yea so resolute were they, that though *Caleb* and *Joshua*, two of the twelve Spies, gave a good Report of the promised Land, and encouraged the People; and though *Moses* and *Aaron* dissuaded them from their sinful Purposes, yet, instead of hearkning to their Advice, the whole Assembly *bade stone them with stones*. This Sin of *Israel* was a shameful Piece of Cowardice; were not the Hosts of *Israel* very numerous? six hundred thousand effective Men, well modelled, and intirely united in Interest and Affection, made up perhaps as formidable an Army as ever was brought into the Field. *Alexander* the Great, many Roman Captains, and other Princes subdued greater Countries than all the Land of *Canaan*, with a lesser Force. What tho' the *Canaanites* were strong? yet they were dispersed, not united under one common Head. If *Israel* defeated them in the Field, their walled Cities would soon fall into the Conquerors Hands. And as for the Giants, the bulkiest Men have not the best Mettle. There was not only Cowardice, but also unreasonable Murmuring and Unbelief in it. *Israel* had God's Promise of Success, and the manifest Tokens of his sensible Presence with them. To question this is justly sentenced as Unbelief (b), and improved as a Warning to us Christians to guard against the like Sin (c). It provoked God to turn back the *Israelites* from the Borders of *Canaan*, when they were just ready to set their Foot in it; and to sentence them to wander and perish in the Wilderness, yea to threaten utterly to destroy them (d). But *Moses* interceded by fervent Prayer, and the Lord mitigated the Sentence; intimating, That as surely as the Lord did live, all those men who had seen his glory and his miracles in Egypt, and in the wilderness, and had tempted him these ten times, and had not hearkned to his voice, should not see the land promised to their fathers (e). Their carcases should fall in the wilderness; all that were numbred of them, from twenty years old and upward, save *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh*, and *Joshua* the son of *Nun*. But their little ones, which they said should be a prey, them would He bring in, and they should know the land. And their children should wander in the wilderness forty years (f), (which forty Years are to be reckoned from their Departure out of Egypt.) They had tempted God ten times; that is, many times; a certain Number being frequently put for an uncertain. Some Interpreters (g) count this precisely the tenth Time the Body of the Congregation had provoked God: First at the Red Sea (h); in *Marah* (i); in the Wilderness of *Sin* (k); twice about Manna (l); at *Rephidim* (m); the golden Calf; then at *Taberah*; then at *Kibroth-hattaavah* (n): And so this was the tenth Time upon the Report of the unbelieving Spies. Monsieur *Saurin* (o) inclines too much to restrict the Threatning, saying, *There were perhaps several among the Israelites who had not embarked in the Crime, and consequently were not involved in that Punishment*. But I see no Reason to make an Exception where the Scripture hath made none. The *Mosaic* History points out the whole Congregation who had come out of Egypt, from twenty Years old and upward, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, guilty; and therefore the whole seem to have shared of the Punishment. The ten Spies who brought up the evil Report of the Land, and made the Congregation murmur, died first of the Plague: The rest of the People, repenting of their Folly when it was too late, added thereto, by disobeying the Command of God, attempting to go up and invade *Canaan*, against divine Orders; and were beat from the Mountains by the *Amalekites* and Southern *Canaanites*, and driven to *Hormah* (p).

Ex. M.
2458.
Ant. C.
1492.

Moses tells us that *Israel* abode in *Kadesh* many Days (q), which is usually reckoned to the End of the second Year after their Deliverance from Egypt. At length they obeyed the Command of God, and departed from *Rithmath* and *Kadesh-barnea*. They journeyed Southward towards the Red Sea: And in the first Month of the third Year after their Deliverance they came to *Rimmon-parez*, to the South-east of *Kadesh-barnea*: For though they went back into the Wilderness towards the Red Sea, yet not in the same Tract in which they had before marched, but in a crooked Path. Thus, for thirty eight complete Years they wandered in the Wilderness, between *Kadesh-barnea* to the North, and *Ezion-geber* to the South, to punish their Rebellion and Unbelief, till all that Race who had disobeyed the Lord were cut off, and their Children fit to invade *Canaan*, under *Joshua* (r). *Moses* hath given us an exact History of what happened at each Station for the first two Years after the Deliverance, and also of the fortieth Year. But though the Names of the Places where *Israel* had their other Stations be recorded in the thirty third Chapter of *Numbers*, yet not the particular Events done there: Only it may be thought proper to assign some of the Events that happened to *Israel*

(a) Numb. xiv. 1, — 4. (b) Psal. xcv. 7, 8. (c) Heb. iii. 7, — 12. (d) Numb. xiv. 11, 12. (e) Numb. xiv. 13, — 24. (f) Numb. xiv. 29, — 33. (g) See Ainsworth, and Mr. Henry, on Numb. xiv. 22. (h) Exod. xiv. 11. (i) Exod. xv. 23, 24. (k) Exod. xvi. 2. (l) Exod. xvi. 20, 27. (m) Exod. xvii. 1, 2. (n) Numb. xi. (o) Dissertations on the Old and New Testaments, Vol. 1. p. 563. Eng. Edit. (p) Numb. xiv. 36, — 45. Deut. i. 40, — 45. (q) Deut. i. 46. (r) Deut. ii. 14, — 16.

Israel in the sacred History to some of their various Stations, rather than to pin them down all to one.

The seventeenth Station of the *Israelites* was at *Libnah* *. There the Laws seem to be given, mentioned *Numb.* xv. 1, — 31. Their eighteenth Station was at *Rissab* †, where the Sabbath-breaker, who gathered Sticks on the Sabbath, was put in Prison, and, by God's Command, stoned to Death (a). Their nineteenth Station was at *Kebelahab* ‡. Here the Law concerning Fringes was made, to put them in mind of Obedience. Their twentieth Station was at Mount *Shapher* (b).

* A. M.
2459.
Ant. C.
1491.

† After
the Deliverance
5 X.

Their twentieth and first Station was at *Haradah* *. There the Rebellion of *Korah*, *Dathan* † and *Abiram* is supposed to have been. The Rebels were not a mixed Multitude, nor the Dregs of the People, but Men of Quality. *Korah*, their Ring-leader, was Cousin-german to *Moses*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* were chief Men of the Tribe of *Reuben*. The Ground of the Quarrel was, the Settlement of the Priesthood upon *Aaron* and his Family; which they thought an Honour too great for *Moses* to give, or *Aaron* to accept, since all the Congregation were holy; perhaps alluding to *Exod.* xix. 5, 6. though they had small Reason to boast of their Purity, who had been so frequently, and so lately, defiled with Rebellion. *Moses*, after declaring his Sorrow for this Contest, by falling on his Face (c), agreed to refer the Matter to the Lord for Decision. Accordingly these Mutineers, being two hundred and fifty in Number, appeared with Censers full of Incense in their Hands, to wait for the Lord's Acceptance, at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, or in the Court; where was an Appearance of the Glory of the Lord, which had consumed the Congregation, if *Moses* and *Aaron* had not humbly interceded, saying, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation (d)? At length the Controversy was decided by a signal Act of divine Vengeance cutting off the Rebels; those in their Tents the Earth opened her Mouth and swallowed up; those at the Door of the Tabernacle were consumed by Fire, and of their brazen Censers Plates were made to cover the Altar of Burnt-offerings. The Judgment was terrible and miraculous (e), and may teach us not to murmur against God, nor his Ministers, but cheerfully to submit to his Dispensations. Next Day the *Israelites* having murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron*, because of this Judgment upon *Korah* and his Company, saying, they had killed the people of the Lord; God sent a Plague, which destroyed fourteen thousand seven hundred of the People, till *Moses* by Prayer, and *Aaron* by an Act of his priestly Office, making Atonement, obtained that the Plague was stayed (f).

* A. M.
2461.
Ant. C.
1489.
Vit. Moses
86.

* A. M.
2463.
Ant. C.
1487.
After
the Deliverance
7 X.

Enough had been done to hinder any of the Families of the Tribe of *Levi* to set up in Competition against *Aaron*; but it seems the Princes of the rest of the Tribes began to murmur. If the Head of a Tribe must be High-priest, why not the Head of some other Tribe than that of *Levi*? God, who searcheth the Hearts, knew this; and to prevent the Grudge from breaking out in some open Act of Rebellion, he works a Miracle of Grace (g); each Tribe having taken a Rod, perhaps all of the Almond-tree, these were laid up in the Tabernacle before the Ark, the Symbol of God's Presence, and to morrow, the Rod of *Aaron*, for the House of *Levi*, brought forth Buds, Blossoms and Almonds (h), whereas the Rods of the rest of the Princes were only dry Sticks. To preserve the Memory of this Determination, *Aaron's* Rod that budded was laid up near the Ark, and the People submitted to the Decision, and engaged *Moses* to intercede for them, that they might not be consumed with dying.

After the many Calamities and Judgments sent upon *Israel*, because of their Rebellions against God, *Moses* observing the divine Threatning to be daily accomplished, by the frequent Deaths of those who came out of *Egypt*; to whom God had sworn in his Wrath, that they should not enter into *Canaan*, but that their Carcasses should fall in the Wilderness, he composed the nintieth Psalm; wherein he signifies, that the ordinary Days of Men were reduced to seventy or eighty Years: They had been gradually shortning ever since the Flood, above eight hundred Years before this, and now are narrowed to that Term; about which they have for most part stopped ever since.

The *Israelites* leaving *Haradah* in the eighth Year of their Peregrination, they encamped at *Makeloth*, their twenty second Station. From thence they came to *Tabath*, their twenty third Station. Thence to *Tarah*, their twenty fourth Station. Thence to *Mithcab*, their twenty fifth Station. Thence to *Hashmonah*, their twenty sixth Station. Thence to *Beeroth Bene-jaakan*, the Wells of the Sons of *Jaakan* (i). Thence to *Moseroth*. Thence to *Horhagidgad*, or *Gudgodab* (k), their twenty ninth Station. Thence to *Jotbathab* (l), a Land of Rivers of Waters, rare in those Parts. Thence to *Ebronah*, their thirty first Station. And thence to *Ezion-gaber*, which is beside *Eloth*, on the Shore of the Red Sea, in the Land of *Edom*, which was their thirty second Station. The Events that happened them in those Places, nor the Time how long they remained in them, is not particularly related; they stayed

A. M.
2464.
Ant. C.
1486.

G g

longer

(a) *Numb.* xv. 32, — 36. (b) *Numb.* xxxiii. 23. (c) *Numb.* xvi. 4. (d) *Numb.* xvi. 22. (e) *Psal.* cvi. 17, 18. (f) *Numb.* xvi. 41, — 50. (g) *Numb.* xvii. (h) See the Bishop of Ely on *Numb.* xvii. (i) *Numb.* xxxiii. 24, — 31. *Deut.* x. 6. (k) *Deut.* x. 7. (l) *Deut.* x. 7.

longer or shorter, as God thought fit to direct, by moving the Pillar of Cloud from off the Tabernacle, to march before the Camp; and when it rested, the *Levites* pitched the Tabernacle under it, and the grand Camp pitched round the Tabernacle (a); but still they moved South, toward the Red Sea, and spent in those eleven Stations, between *Haradah* and *Ezion-gaber*, full twenty nine Years; supposing them to have encamped at *Ezion-gaber*, in the first Month of the thirty seventh Year after their Deliverance from *Egypt*.

A. M. 2423. *Ant. C.* 1457. *Vit. Mos.* 117. In the Beginning of that Year, the grand Camp arrived at *Ezion-gaber*; where we may suppose *Naasson*, Prince of *Judah*, General of the first Camp, died, and was succeeded by *Salmon* his Son, born in the Wilderness: And most of the Princes and great Men that came out of *Egypt* were now dead; for all of them were gone, except *Caleb*, *Joshua* and *Moses*, by the Time *Israel* came to the Brook *Zered*, in the Borders of *Moab* (b).

A. M. 2426. *Ant. C.* 1454. *Vit. Mos.* 120. After *Israel* had encamped by the Red Sea about two full Years, God gave them a Signal to march toward the Land of *Canaan*, by removing the Pillar of Cloud; and in the first Day of the Month *Abib*, about the twentieth of our *April*, began the fortieth Year of their Peregrination, and in a few Days they pitched their Tents at *Kadesh*, upon the South Border of the Land of the *Edomites*. There *Miriam*, or *Mary*, the Sister of *Moses* and *Aaron*, died (c); being 133 Years old.

When the Children of *Israel* had been thirty nine Years in the Wilderness, their Preservation might have convinced them of Gods watchful Care; and the Punishment of their Fathers who had come out of *Egypt*, might have discovered that it was a desperate Thing, to rebel against the Lord their God: Yet now when they were in the Borders of *Palestine*, being straitned for Water, they became guilty of the same Crime with their Fathers, in murmuring for that useful Element. God had compassion on them, and ordered *Moses* to take his Rod, and bring Water out of the Rock; which was done. But he having smote the Rock twice, and uttered unadvised Words with his Lips (d), The Lord told *Moses* and *Aaron*, Because they believed him not, to sanctify him in the eyes of the children of *Israel*; therefore they should not bring that congregation into the land which he had given them (e). Accordingly these two great Men both died this Year on the East side of *Jordan*, and the Place where they so provoked God, was called *Meribah*, the Water of Strife, or *Meribah-kadesh* (f), to distinguish it from the other *Meribah*, where there Fathers had murmured against the Lord, in the first Year after they came out of *Egypt*. From this Station *Moses* sent Ambassadors to the King of *Edom*, desiring Leave to pass through Mount *Seir* into *Canaan*, the shortest Way, promising to do him no Damage, only to march on the high Road; but that King would not trust them (g): Yet *Israel* did not molest him, only travelled by the Skirts of his Country. The People having abode at *Kadesh* near four Months, God gave the Signal, and they decamped into their thirty fourth Station at Mount *Hor*, in the Neighbourhood of *Moferah*. On the first Day of the fifth Month of this fortieth Year, *Aaron*, being now 123 Years old, was by God's Decree gathered to his People. From *Moferah* he went to the Top of Mount *Hor*, with his Brother *Moses*, and his Son *Eleazar*; where *Moses* stript him of all his pontifical Habits, and before his Face put them upon *Eleazar*, who was thus solemnly invested with the High-priesthood, when aged fifty seven Years. No doubt it was a Satisfaction to *Moses* and *Aaron*, to see a Succession of the Priesthood kept up in the same Family, and a Favour to the People. This being done, *Aaron* expired in the Arms of *Moses* and *Eleazar* (h). *Moferah* being in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Hor*, probably it is therefore said, that there *Aaron* died (i). When the People heard that he was gone, they mourned for him thirty Days.

About the Beginning of the sixth Month, *Arad*, who reigned over the *Canaanites*, to the South of *Canaan*, near *Edom*, hearing that *Israel* marched by the way of the spies; that is, either of those Spies sent thirty eight Years ago (k), or of some late Spies whom *Moses* had sent, drew out an Army, fought against some part of their Camp, and took some Prisoners: Whereon *Israel* vowed utterly to destroy the Cities of these *Canaanites*, if God would deliver them into their Hands; which was afterwards accomplished, and the Place called *Hormah*, or utter Destruction (l). Near the End of this sixth Month they journeyed from Mount *Hor*; and in order to compass the Land of *Edom*, turned down into the Plains that lie along the Red Sea, north of *Eloth* and *Ezion-Gaber*; and then marched to the North-east, until they came to the East Border of *Edom*, where they pitched their Tents in the thirty fifth Station at *Zalmonah* (m); where again their fretful discontented Spirits fell a murmuring (n); for the people spake against God and against *Moses*; wherefore have ye brought us up out of *Egypt*, to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is there any water, and our soul loatheth this light bread. This was very unaccountable; they had just now gained a Victory over the *Canaanites*, and were going on as Conquerors, yet to murmur against God, and to loath his heavenly Manna: Therefore the Lord in his righteous Judgment sent fiery Serpents among them, which bit them

(a) Deut. i. 33. (b) Deut. ii. 13, — 15. (c) Numb. xx. 1. (d) Psal. cvi. 32, 33. (e) Numb. xx. 12. (f) Deut. xxxii. 51. (g) Numb. xx. 14, — 21. (h) Numb. xx. 22, — 29. xxxiii. 38, 39. (i) Deut. x. 6. (k) Above p. 115. (l) Numb. xxi. 1, — 3. xxxiii. 40. (m) Numb. xxxiii. 41. xxi. 4. (n) Numb. xxxiii. 5.

them so as many died. The Wilderness through which they had travelled these many Years, was full of these Serpents (a); hitherto God had wonderfully preserved the People from receiving any Hurt by them: But now to chastise them for their Murmurings, these Creatures invade the Camp, and sting them to Death. They had unjustly complained for want of Water, and God sent on them a Thirst which no Water could quench. In this Case they confessed they had sinned against God, and spoke against his Servant *Moses*; yet they desired him to pray for them. In answer to his Prayers God in great Compassion gave them a miraculous Cure; for he ordered *Moses* to set up a Serpent of Brass upon a long Pole, which when the People looked to they were cured of their Distresses. Some Authors have here enlarged upon the Worship of the Heathens paid to *Æsculapius* in the Form of a Serpent, and how the Devil affected to be adored in that Shape (b): But I have in another Essay insisted a little upon that Subject (c); and shall here only notice, that the Gospel (d) leads us practically to improve this wonderful Cure; so as finding our selves wounded by the Sting of Sin, and the Biting of the Devil the old Serpent, we should look by Faith to Christ our Saviour crucified for us, to be healed of these dangerous Sores, and to receive eternal Life.

Several other Stations of the grand Camp of the Children of *Israel* in the latter Half of this last Year of their Peregrination, are briefly mentioned in sacred Record; for they decamped from *Zalmonah*, and pitched in *Punon*, which was their thirty sixth Station; thence they marched to *Oboth*; thence to *Ijebbarim* in the Border of *Moab* (e), their thirty eighth Station; where God forbid *Israel* to distress the *Moabites*, because they were the Children of *Lot* (f). Accordingly they crossed the Brook *Zered*, and surrounding the Borders of *Moab*, they encamped at *Dibon-gad*. Thence they proceeded to their fortieth Station (g), at *Almondiblathaim*, towards the South Banks of the River *Arnon*, in the Wilderness of *Moab*. From thence they went to *Beer*, where the Lord gave them refreshing Water, of which *Israel* sang this Song, *Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it: the princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it, by the direction of the law-giver, with their staves* (h). Coming to *Bamoth* in the Valley, that is in the Country of *Moab*, they sent a Message to *Sibon* King of the *Amorites* for a peaceable Passage through his Country, offering to pay for Necessaries, and not to disturb him as they had done to the *Edomites* and *Moabites* (i). But *Sibon* not only refused their Demand, but marched his Army as far as *Jabaz*, to give them Battle. And the Lord, says the inspired Historian (k), *our God, delivered him before us; and we smote him and his sons, and all his people; and we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men and the women, and little ones of every city; we left none to remain; only the cattle we took for a prey unto our selves, and the spoil of the cities which we took*. Thus *Israel* possessed a fine rich Country, from *Arnon* to *Jabbok*, about sixty English Miles in Extent, from South to North, where the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* got their Possessions, and was long afterwards by the Greeks called *Ituræa* and *Peræa*. The *Amorites* were the Aggressors; their Land was long before promised to the Seed of *Abraham*, and their Cup was now full (l). This Conquest being made, about the End of the eighth Month of the fortieth Year after their Deliverance, *Israel* marched to their forty first Station in Mount *Abarim*, before, or over against *Nebo* (m). From thence they extended their Conquests over all the late Kingdom of *Heshbon*: And to secure their Purchase, *Moses* sent Spies to discover the Lake *Jaafer*, upon one of the Branches of the River *Arnon*, where a part of the *Amorites* remained unsubdued; and *Israel* drove them out, and took Possession of the Lake with the Villages thereof (n).

About the middle of the ninth Month of the same fortieth Year, the Army detached from the grand Camp at Mount *Abarim* had not returned; for they marched northwards up the High-way to *Basban*, and *Og* the King of that Country drew out all his People at *Edrei*, where the *Israelites* met him and gave him Battle. *Moses* it seems commanded the Army in Person; for he says, *The Lord said unto me, Fear him not, for I will deliver him and all his people, and his land into thy hand; and thou shalt do unto him as thou did unto Sibon, king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon*. So the Lord our God delivered into our hands *Og* the king of *Basban*, and all his people; and we smote him until none was left remaining. And we took all his cities at that time;—three score cities, all the region of *Argob*.—All these were fenced cities, with walls, gates and bars, beside unwalled towns a great many; and we utterly destroyed them, with the men, women and children of every city; but the cattle we took for a prey, and the spoil of the cities to our selves (o). *Og* was of the Race of the Giants (p); and he seems to have trusted too much to his own Strength. *Israel's* Victory over him is frequently mentioned in Songs of Praise (q). And he being next Neighbour to *Sibon* King of the *Amorites* who dwelt in *Basban*, by reducing both these Kingdoms, they became possessed of a vast

(a) Deut. viii. 15. (b) Saurin's Dissertations on Old Test. Vol. i. differ. 63. pag. 590. & seqq. (c) Propagation of Christianity, Vol. i. pag. 333, — 337. (d) John iii. 14; 15. (e) Numb. xxxiii. 42, — 44. (f) Deut. ii. 13, — 21. (g) Numb. xxxiii. 46. (h) Numb. xxi. 17, 18. (i) Numb. xxi. 21, — 24. Deut. ii. 26, — 29. (k) Deut. ii. 32, — 36. (l) Gen. xv. 16. (m) Numb. xxxiii. 47. (n) Numb. xxi. 31. 32. (o) Numb. xxi. 33, — 35. Deut. iii. 2, — 7. (p) Deut. iii. 11. (q) Psal. cxxxv. 11. Psal. cxxxvi. 19.

Tract of a rich Country, from the River *Arnon* to the South, to Mount *Libanus*, *Amana*, *She-nir*, *Hermoz*, and the Springs of *Jordan* to the North. *Basban* was given for most part to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, and was afterwards by the *Greeks* and *Romans* called *Traconitis*. About the Beginning of the tenth Month of this Year, *Moses* returned in Triumph to the grand Camp at Mount *Abarim*, from whence by divine Direction *Israel* soon removed to their forty second Station, in the Plains of *Moab*, along the River *Jordan*, over against *Jericho*, being extended from *Beth-Jeshimoth* unto *Abel-shittim* (a), where they remained till *Jeshua* led them over *Jordan*. The Country where they encamped was now their own, they having taken it from *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, who had taken it from the King of *Moab*.

In this Valley *Balak* King of *Moab* sent for the old Conjuror *Balaam*, saying, *Come curse me this people* (b). This Prince was afraid lest the *Israelites* should strip him of his Territories; and putting more Confidence in his Arts than in his Arms, he sent for this extraordinary Man out of *Mesopotamia* (c) or from *Aram* (d), perhaps *Nabarijm*, or *Aram* among the Rivers. He was endowed with a great Knowledge of Mind, and yet a great Corruption of Heart and Wickedness of Life prevailed with him; for he loved the Wages of Unrighteousness, and the Scripture always gives him a bad Character (e). Tho' the first Messengers offered him great Presents and Preferment, yet he refused to go with them: But a second Embassy coming for him, away he went; and tho' the Angel of the Lord in a miraculous Way opposed him, because God was displeased with the Design of his Journey, yet he proceeded till he met with *Balak*, where they consulted to do *Israel* a Mischief. Neither *Moses*, nor the Elders of *Israel* knew any thing of the Matter: But the Shepherd of *Israel*, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, baffled the Attempt. Thrice did *Balak* and *Balaam* offer Sacrifices and aimed to curse *Israel*; but as oft their designed Curse was turned into a remarkable Blessing (f); for he says, *How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed? or, how shall I defy whom Jehovah hath not defied? Lo the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations. Who can count the dust of Jacob, and number the fourth part of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.* He confessed his Inclination to curse *Israel*, but that he was over-ruled by a Sovereignty of divine Power, which turned all his Counsels and Purposes to nothing. He saw *Israel* in their Tents as a regular Body of Men; that their Singularity would be their special Honour; that their Numbers were and should be great; and their future State in a blessed Immortality unspeakably happy, in which he would be glad to partake. He adds, *God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent.— He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, nor perverseness in Israel. The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them. God brought them out of Egypt.— Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel.* He had no Reason to hope to be able to ruin *Israel*, since God is unchangeable. There was no Idolatry, nor such Perverseness with them, for which God would cast them off. That same Power that brought them out of *Egypt*, would perform all the divine Promises to them; and he owns all his Enchantments baffled. The Curses of Hell could not prevail against the Blessings of Heaven. In *Balaam's* last Speech, there is still something more lofty and divine, when he says, *I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh. There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have the dominion.* Where we have something prophetic concerning our Redeemer. *Balaam*, a wicked Man, says, *I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh.* He did not see him as *Job*, who saw him as his own Redeemer (g); but as the rich Man in Hell, who saw *Abraham* afar off (h): Or as they who have pierced him, shall see him, and weep and wail because of him (i). Our Lord is the Star out of *Jacob*, even the bright and morning star (k); the light which lightens the Gentiles. His scepter or Government is a right Scepter. He shall destroy, or, as it may be rendred, shall subdue all the Children of *Seth*. *Cain's* Race being destroyed by the Flood, *Noah* the Restorer of Mankind, and consequently all the World who descended from him are the Children of *Seth*. Here then is foretold, *That all nations shall serve our Lord* (l). All People shall either submit to the Scepter of his Grace, or be dashed in Pieces by his Rod of Iron.

Tho' *Israel* escaped the Curse *Balaam* intended, yet before he left *Balak* he put him on a more effectual Way to separate between them and their God (m); for the Daughters of *Moab* and these of *Midian* went in to the *Israelitish* Camp, and tempted the People first to Whoredom, and then to Idolatry, to bow down to their Gods, and join themselves to *Baal-peor*, for which the Anger of the Lord was kindled (n). Men are never more effectually ruined than by their own Lusts. I have writ in another Essay (o) more fully of the filthy Worship of *Baal-peor*, which I shall not here resume. The Ring-leaders of this wicked Practice

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(a) Numb. xxxiii. 48, 49. (b) Numb. xxii. (c) Deut. xxxiii. 4. (d) Numb. xxiii. 7. (e) Micah vi. 5. 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude 11. (f) Numb. xxiii. and xxiv. (g) Job xix. 26. (h) Luke xvi. 23. (i) Revel. i. 7. (k) Rev. xxii. 16. (l) Psal. lxxii 11, 12. (m) Numb. xxxi. 16. (n) Numb. xxv. 1, — 4. (o) Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 264, — 269.

are ordered to be put to Death by the Hand of publick Justice; a Plague broke in, and destroyed of the People twenty four thousand (a). Then *Phinehas* rose, and did Justice, by killing *Zimri* a Prince of the *Simeonites*, and *Cozbi* a *Midianitish* Woman, in the Act of Whoredom. The Crime was notour, in the very Time when *Moses* and all the Congregation were Weeping at the Door of the Tabernacle. 'Tis not difficult to justify *Phinehas* in what he did; for being Heir apparent to the High-priesthood, he was no doubt one of these Judges whom *Moses* had ordered by divine Appointment to slay those who had joined themselves to *Baal-peor*: But this gives no Countenance to private Persons, under Pretence of Zeal against Sin, to put Offenders to Death, who ought to be prosecuted by due Course of Law before the Civil Magistrate, who is the Avenger, to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil. God testified the Acceptance of *Phinehas's* Zeal, by putting an immediate Stop to the Plague, and giving him the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood; for the High-priest's Office was long in his Family, almost to the Time of the *Maccabees*, except for a short while it remained in the Family of *Itamar*, from *Eli* to *Abiathar*.

The *Israelites* were soon avenged of the *Midianites*, whose Country being adjacent to the River *Arnon* to the South, bordering upon the *Moabites*, was very near the Place where *Moses* lay encamped; who by the Lord's Appointment detached a thousand out of each Tribe, making in all twelve thousand, with *Phinehas* the Son of *Eleazar* the Priest, and the holy Instruments. They making War against the *Midianites*, slew all the Males, with five Kings or Governors of *Midian*, and *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*. Only they took the Women, the Children, and all the Prey and Spoil both of Men and Beasts, and brought it to the grand Camp in the Plains of *Moab*, by *Jordan*, near *Fericho*. *Moses* received the Conquerors with Honour, but was displeased with sparing the Women alive, who had by the Counsel of *Balaam* caused the *Israelites* commit Trespas against the Lord in the Matter of *Peor*: Wherefore Orders were given to kill each Woman that had known Man. The People who had been at the Battle being purified seven Days, were admitted within the Camp. The Spoil was divided into two Parts, the one to the Soldiers, the other to the Congregation, and a Tribute to the Lord out of each, besides a Free-will-offering that the Officers made, of Gold, Bracelets and Jewels (b).

Then *Moses* divided the Kingdoms of *Sihon* and *Og* among the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* and the Half-tribe of *Manasseh*, they having engaged to go over *Jordan*, and assist their Brethren in reducing *Canaan*; and so soon as their Bounds were assigned, they finished the Conquest of any Cities that remained in the Hands of the Heathen (c). By divine Direction he enjoined the *Israelites*, when they should enter *Canaan*, utterly to destroy the *Canaanites* and their Idols (d); and ordered how to divide the Land to the West of *Jordan* among the nine Tribes and the Half-tribe of *Manasseh*; to separate for the *Levites* forty eight Cities, with six Cities of Refuge, of which three were to be on the East Side of *Jordan* (e). Also in the Plains of *Moab* those Laws seem to have been enacted which are recorded in the twenty eighth, twenty ninth and thirtieth Chapters of *Numbers*. And the Death of *Moses* being denounced, and *Joshua* appointed his Successor, he installed him in his Office by Imposition of Hands, and gave him a Charge (f).

On the first Day of the eleventh Month of this fortieth Year of their Peregrination, being the Sabbath, *Moses* made a Speech to the grand Camp of the *Israelites*, containing a Recapitulation of the Laws and Ordinances God had given to this People, contained in the Book we call *Deuteronomy*. For when he perceived that the Time drew nigh in which he was to go the way of all the Earth, and give account of the most glorious Administration that ever any mortal Man was invested with, he thought it necessary to use his last Endeavours to stamp upon the Minds of the People the Laws which he by divine Direction had given them; especially because the Men of that Generation to whom the Law was first delivered, were all dead; and a new Generation sprung up, to whom God would have it repeted by *Moses* himself, that it might leave a lasting Impression upon them. They were now to enter into the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*, and therefore he read the Articles of Agreement to them, that they might know on what Conditions they were to enjoy that Country, and that they were on their good Behaviour in it. The Laws are particularly repeted which concern the People and their Practice; for the Rules that concerned the Priests, the *Levites*, and the Execution of their Office, are not resumed. This Repetition was not all done in one Day: It is joined with pathetic Exhortations to Obedience, with Promises and Blessings to those that observe the Precepts, and Threatnings and Curses to those who disobey them. Then he delivered to them the first five Books of the Bible in Writing, which was to be read to the People by the Priests at the Feast of Tabernacles every seventh Year; and ordered the original Copy to be put at the Side of the Ark of the Covenant (g). He concluded all with a Song, as a standing Admonition to the People to take heed of forsaking God (h), and a Blessing to all the Tribes (i),

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except

(a) Numb. xxv. 9. Psal. cvi. 29. (b) Numb. xxxi. with xxv. 16, — 18. (c) Numb. xxxii. Deut. iii. 12, — 20. (d) Numb. xxxiii. 50, — 54. (e) Numb. xxxv. Deut. iv. 41. (f) Numb. xxvii. 12, — 23. Deut. iii. 26, — 28. (g) Deut. xxxi. 10, — 26. (h) Deut. xxxii. (i) Deut. xxxiii.

except *Simeon*, who is included in what is said concerning *Judah*. These things being done, *Moses* went up from the plains of *Moab*, unto the mountain *Nebo*, to the top of *Pisgah*, that is over against *Jericho*: and the Lord shewed him all the land of *Gilead*, unto *Dan*. — And the Lord said unto him, *This is the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither* (a). To explain this Sight, we need not have Recourse to a Miracle: Though *Moses* was one hundred and twenty Years of Age, his Eyes were not dim. We do not suppose that he had a narrow View of every particular Place, yet he might observe *Dan* and Mount *Lebanon* to the North, the Lake of *Sodom* and the City *Zoar* to the South, the *Mediterranean* or the outmost Sea to the West, with several Parts of *Ephraim*, *Manasseh* and *Judah*. *Jericho*, the City of Palm-trees, was near him; and he might see the Land of *Gilead* to the North-east. He might have a delightful Prospect of these Regions, especially when the Lord shewed the same to him.

Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of *Moab*, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in a valley, over against *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth his sepulchre unto this day (b). The Devil, for some evil Design or other, endeavoured to discover the Body or Burial-place: But the Lord, by the Ministry of an Angel, effectually hindered this Attempt (c). The Children of *Israel* wept for *Moses* in the Plains of *Moab* thirty Days (d): Which proves that he died in the first Day of the twelfth Month after the Deliverance from *Egypt* (e). And the Lord gave him a noble Encomium, saying, *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all the land of Egypt; and in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel* (f).

§ 19. BEFORE I conclude the *Mosaic* History, 'tis proper to observe, that it is a very rash and dangerous Attempt in Father *Simon* (g), or those who follow him, to deny that *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, or to say that these Books are only a Collection made by some Men under *Moses*, who took care to preserve his Acts to Posterity (h): For there can be nothing more plain in the whole sacred Scripture, than that *Moses* himself was the Penman of these five Books. He often affirms it: *And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord*. — *And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people* (i). *And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi*. — *Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel* (k). *And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua* (l). Not only *Moses* himself, but also many of the Penmen of the sacred Scripture confirm the same: Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayst observe to do according to all the law, which *Moses* my servant commanded thee (m). *David* directs his Son *Solomon*, to keep the charge of the Lord, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, his commandments, his judgments, and his testimonies, as is written in the law of *Moses*, that he might prosper in all that he should do (n). It is said to the Commendation of *Josiah*, that like to him there was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, — according to all the law of *Moses*. In his Reign, *Hilkiah* the priest found the book of the law of the Lord given by *Moses* (o); (perhaps it was the original Copy, and therefore so highly valued.) We have frequent mention of the Law of *Moses* in the *Psalms* (p). In the Prophecy of *Daniel* (q) it is said, *Tea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, — therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God*. Near the End of the Old Testament (r) a Charge is given: *Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments*. Our Lord *Jesus* also confirms the same Truth, when he tells the *Jews*, *There is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me* (s). Also when conversing with the two Disciples as they went to *Emmaus*: *Beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself* (t). *Moses's* Writings then were the most antient Books of the *Jews*; and were as truly done by him, as those of the Prophets were done by them. Not only the sacred Writers, but all Nations have owned *Moses* to have been the first Writer of the Religion and Laws of the *Jews*: No body ever doubted it, before some pretended Christians of loose Principles in these late Ages. The most antient Authors among the Gentiles affirm it, particularly they who have transcribed Parcels of the *Mosaic* History; as *Hecataeus*, *Berosus*, *Abdennus*, *Manetho*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Artapanus* and others, whose Fragments (for the Authors themselves are lost)

(a) Deut. xxxiv. 1, — 5. (b) Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. (c) Jude, 9. (d) Deut. xxxiv. 8. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 4. in fine, Usseri Annal. p. m. 22. (f) Deut. xxxiv. 10, — 12. (g) Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, par Richard Simon, lib. 1. cap. 5, 6, 7, & passim. (h) Ibid. p. m. 51. (i) Exod. xxiv. 4, 7. (k) Deut. xxxi. 9, 22. (l) Exod. xvii. 14. (m) Josh. i. 7. (n) 1 Kings ii. 3. (o) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. (p) lxxviii. cv. cxxxv. (q) ix. 11. (r) Mal. iv. 4. (s) John, v. 45, 46. (t) Luke, xxiv. 27.

lost) are cited by *Josephus* (a) the *Jew*, by *Justin Martyr* in his *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Clement of Alexandria*, and by *Eusebius* (b). The same is owned by *Philocorus of Athens*, *Polemon*, *Castor*, and *Chæremon*, and also by Authors that are preserved to us more entire, as *Justin* (c), *Strabo* (d), who even ascribes too much to *Moses*, *Juvenal* (e), *Cornelius Tacitus* (f), and *Diodorus Siculus* (g), who says, *That among the Jews, Moses pretends that the God Jao was the Author of his Laws*. *Numerius*, who calls *Plato, Moses Atticizing*; *Longinus*, who commends the Beginning of *Genesis*, and gives it as an Example of a sublime Style; *Porphry*, *Celsus* and the Emperor *Julian*, three learned Advocates for Paganism, always own, and never call it in question, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*. *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the later *Jewish* Writers assert the same. Besides, if this new Hypothesis should hold, it would be a Thrust at the Vitals of Religion; and weaken the Arguments we bring for its antient Date; which are mainly supported by the Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*: But if these falsely bear his Name; where is the Argument? Monsieur *Simon*, Priest of the Oration at *Paris*, hath employed a great deal of Pains and Learning to undervalue the sacred Writings, by his precarious and false Suppositions, making them only a Collection done by some unknown Person, out of some larger Acts then laid up among the *Jews*: Which Notion some (h) of his own *Popish* Communion have at large refuted, though his Design be to exalt the Authority of that Church over the inspired Books; and to make way for humane Tradition and an infallible Guide. But far be it from us so to condemn any of these inspired Writings, and particularly the Books of *Moses*, that are so antient and valuable, the Foundation of the whole *Jewish* Religion, and from which even the Heathen Poets and Philosophers borrowed their best Thoughts; as *Tertullian* (i) long ago observed, saying, *Which of the Poets, which of the Sophists did not drink at this Fountain? Thence the Philosophers did quench their Thirst; so as they compare with us by what they have taken from our Scriptures*. Finally, to confirm this Truth I might bring into the Field many things concerning the Excellency of the *Pentateuch*, and to shew, that neither *Moses* in his own Time could impose these Books on the People if there had been any Cheat in them, since the Matters of Fact related from the fifth Chapter of *Exodus* to the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy* are Things that were done in the Face of the Sun, and in the Sight of all *Israel*; nor could any since *Moses's* Time have imposed them upon the Church, seeing such Narratives of which there was no Notice before, would still have been suspected and discovered: But having at greater length insisted upon this in another Essay (k), I shall not here repete what hath been there advanced. The Objections that Monsieur *Simon* hath offered against *Moses's* being the Author of the *Pentateuch*, may be easily removed, by granting that *Ezra*, after the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, in his Edition of the holy Scriptures added some Clauses which appeared necessary for illustrating or connecting the same, wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit by which these sacred Writings were first indited. Of this sort we may reckon the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, giving an Account of *Moses's* Death and Burial, and of the Succession of *Joshua*. At the same time *Ezra* also changed the old Names of some Places, grown obsolete, putting in stead of them new Names, by which they were then called, that People might better understand what was written.

§ 20. So soon as the Days of mourning for *Moses* were over, God, to shew his great Wisdom and tender Care of his People, called *Joshua* to take the Command of *Israel*. He was a Man of Age and Experience, who, thirty nine Years before this, viewed the Land of *Canaan*; and he with *Caleb* were the only honest Spies who had brought up a good Report of it; wherefore they, of all that came out of *Egypt*, were alone spared, and had the Honour to enter into that happy Country. Being a constant Minister and Attendant of *Moses*, and having before commanded the Armies of *Israel* against *Amalek* (l); and being clothed with the Gifts and Graces of the holy Spirit; he was by all these Things eminently fitted for this high Trust. It is not material to determine, who was the Penman of the Book named by him; whether *Joshua* himself, as seems most likely from *Chap. xxiv. 26*. or some other holy Prophet: 'Tis sufficient that the Book is a Part of the holy Scriptures committed to, and carefully kept by the *Jews*, and by them faithfully delivered to us; as appears by the concurring Testimony of Christ and his Apostles, who owned and approved the same holy Scriptures; as the Church of the *Jews* did. It is thought the whole Book contains a History of seventeen Years; whereof seven were spent in completing the Conquest of *Canaan*; which *Joshua* survived ten Years; though this last Part of the Period not being determined in Scripture, Chronologers and Critics differ about it. A Question hath been moved, Why doth the Lord promise to *Joshua*, *From the wilderness and this Lebanon; unto the great river Euphrates; all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea, toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast* (m), since

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(a) Contra Appionem, lib. 1. (b) De Præp. Evang. lib. 9. per totum. (c) Lib. 36. cap. 2. (d) Lib. 16. p. 760, 761. (e) Satyr. 14. ver. 102. Tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses. (f) Hist. lib. 5. (g) Lib. ult. (h) Vide Du-pin's Bibliotheque des auteurs Eccles. Dissertation preliminaire. (i) Apolog. cap. 47. (k) Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. ch. 1. p. 130, — 187. (l) Exod. xvii. 9, 10. (m) Josh. i. 4.

the *Israelites* never possessed all these Territories? *Answer*, That their Possessions did not extend so far, is to be ascribed to their own Negligence, Disobedience to God, and Breach of those Conditions to which the Promise was annexed (a); but though they never inhabited all the Way to the *Euphrates*, yet their Dominion did reach so far; for all those Lands were tributary to *Israel* in King *David* and *Solomon's* Time. God strengthened this great Captain with a comfortable Promise: *I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee*; which is a lasting Encouragement to the People of God in all Ages, to go on in his Service, and to be content with the Dispensations of his Providence (b). He also commanded him to be strong and courageous, to observe the Law of *Moses*, and meditate on it Day and Night; for though he had as much to do as any one Man, yet nothing was to hinder him from this Study: This Law was to be the only Rule of his private Actions, and publick Administrations.

Joshua having received this Charge, entred streight upon the Execution of his Office. In order thereto, he commanded the People to prepare Victuals; for though the Manna was given to supply their Wants in the Wilderness, yet they were allowed, when they had Opportunity, to purchase other Provisions (c); and they having now for some Time been in a planted Country, taken from the *Amorites* on the East-side of *Jordan*, they were there plentifully supplied with Necessaries, and also furnished for their approaching March. He likewise ordered them to make ready to pass over *Jordan* in three Days (d). Though he had neither Pontoons nor a Bridge of Boats to carry them over that River, yet he trusted in the Promise of God to conduct *Israel*. During these three Days, the Spies sent to *Jericho* might go and return. He charged the *Reubenites*, the *Gadites*, and the Half Tribe of *Manasseh*, according to their Promise under *Moses's* Administration, to go over *Jordan*, and assist their Brethren in the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan*; which they chearfully consented to do. Which should teach us to comply with the just and reasonable Dictates of those whom God hath appointed to conduct us, especially when the same tends to promote the Glory of God, and the Safety of our selves and others.

Joshua, to encourage the People in what they were further to do, and to understand the Measures he was to take in the Conquest of *Canaan*, sent out Spies to view *Jericho* (e). The Men sent, trusting to divine Protection, ventured their Lives in the Enemy's Country, but found none in the City to which they were sent willing to entertain them, save one *Rahab* an Harlot. If she had once deserved that Name, it is like she had repented of her bad Practices. The King of *Jericho* being informed of the Matter, caused the Gates be shut, and Search to be made for the Men; but *Rahab* hid them, and said they were gone. This Lie was her Infirmity, which was graciously pardoned, and her Faith amply rewarded. Pursuers were sent in Quest of them; but in the mean time she let them down in a Basket over the Town-wall, upon their Promise, that when the Place should be taken, they would save her with her Family, provided she hung a scarlet Cord out at the Window where they made their Escape. The kind Entertainment she gave to the Spies proceeded from her Faith, that God would give to *Israel* the Land of *Canaan* in Possession, otherwise her Conduct toward her own King and Country would have been blameable; but for her Faith she was preserved, when *Jericho* was destroyed (f), and is set before us for a good Example (g). She was afterwards married to *Salmon*, and is one of whom our Lord descended according to the Flesh (h). The Spies having lien three Days, or a part of them hid in the Mountains till the Pursuers were returned, safely repassed *Jordan*, and acquainted *Joshua* with what had happened, saying, *Truly the Lord hath delivered into our hand all the land; for even all the inhabitants of the country do faint because of us* (i).

Joshua having received the Report of the Spies, caused all the Host prepare for passing *Jordan*, which had then overflowed all its Banks. It was then the Time of Harvest, that is the Early-harvest (which fell early in the Spring in these hot Countries) for the *Israelites* kept the Passover at their first Entrance into *Canaan* (k); and the melting of the Snows, and the great Rains in Mount *Lebanon*, whence the River springs, caused it overflow at that Time of the Year (l). The Priests who carried the Ark upon their Shoulders, were first to enter the River, and the People to follow. They need not fear to follow the Sign of God's Presence. 'Tis like the Pillar of Cloud which was with them through the Wilderness, had now left them; but they had the Promise of God, and the Signs of his Presence to assure them of Safety. So soon as the Priests carrying the Ark had entered *Jordan*, the Waters that came from above stood as an Heap, and the Waters from below falling off, gave *Israel* Access to pass on dry Ground; the Priests with the Ark going foremost, and the rest of the People, to shew their Reverence to the sacred Symbol of God's Presence, marching after it, at two thousand Cubits, or about a thousand Yards Distance. The Ark, with the Priests carrying it, staid in the Channel of the River till twelve Men carried each a Stone out of the River, to be taken to their Head-Quarters

(a) Judges, i. 21. ii. 20, 21. (b) Heb. xiii. 5. (c) Deut. ii. 6, 28. (d) Josh. i. 11. (e) Josh. ii. 31. (f) Heb. ii. 25. (g) James, ii. 25. (h) Matth. i. 5. (i) Josh. ii. 24. (k) Josh. v. 10. (l) 1 Chron. xii. 15.

ters that Night ; and other twelve Stones were set up as a Pillar in the Channel of the Water, when the River was low and clear, as a Memorial of this wonderful Passage. The Priests with the Ark being come to the Shore, the River returned to its usual Channel, and overflowed all its Banks. The Miracle is not only recorded in *Joshua* iii. and iv. but also frequently mentioned in other Parts of Scripture, as a Monument of God's Kindness to this People (a) : And indeed it was very useful ; First, To confirm *Joshua's* Call to command, and to strengthen his Authority among all *Israel* ; assuring them, that God who wrought such Wonders for them, would also put them in Possession of the Land of *Canaan*. Secondly, To mind them of that great Miracle which God had done for their Fathers forty Years before, in their passing through the *Red Sea* as on dry Land. Thirdly, This wonderful Passage being noised abroad, did fill the *Canaanites* with Terror, and made the Conquest of their Country more easy to *Israel*. Fourthly, When the Ark of the Covenant went before them, the Waters were stopped, which might teach the People, that it was only by the Favour and Assistance of God these great Things were done for them ; and that through his Favour they were only to expect the Performance of the rest of his Promises. Finally, The Monuments erected might teach them and all of us, to remember the Wonders of Mercy God hath done for us, especially our Deliverance from Hell and Misery through Jesus Christ, and to teach them to our Children, that they may love and serve the Lord.

Joshua being now encamped in the Plains of *Jericho*, the numerous Host of *Israel* made there a mighty Show ; *Who can count the dust of Israel?* The News were soon dispersed over all the Country, which filled the *Canaanites* with Fear ; *their hearts melted, neither was there spirit in them any more* (b) ; which was a Performance of the Promise, *I will send my fear before thee* (c). When the Country round about was in that Consternation, God ordered *Joshua* to circumcise the Children of *Israel*, their Adversaries Hearts and Hands being weakened by Fear, they could not take Advantage of them as *Simeon* and *Levi* did against the *Sichemites*, to come against them *when they were fore* ; and God having commanded his People to do it, he would no doubt protect them in obeying his Precept. The People that came out of *Egypt* were circumcised, which, during the Plagues on the *Egyptians*, the *Israelites* might have Leisure to perform : But these that were born in the Wilderness, especially after the second Year of their Deliverance, when they were sentenced to wander for their Unbelief and Disobedience, were yet uncircumcised, as a Token of God's Displeasure against them : But it must be now done, to teach them that God gave them the Land of *Canaan*, upon account of his Covenant, of which Circumcision was a Seal. Thus the Lord *rolled away the reproach of Egypt*. The *Egyptians* being then uncircumcised, reproached *Israel* with their Bondage, and that for Mischief the Lord had brought *Israel* into the Wilderness, and had shut them in (d) : But by this Seal of the Covenant they were owned to be God's free-born Children, devoted to his Service, whom he would bring into *Canaan* in Triumph, and there perfect their Salvation. For the like Reasons they kept the Passover at the Time appointed by their Law, the fourteenth Day of the first Ecclesiastical Month, at the same Place in *Gilgal*. When Soldiers take the Field, they think themselves excused from religious Exercises ; but here *Joshua* opens his most successful Campaign with one Act of Devotion after another, in the Sight and Defiance of the *Canaanites* : And hereby the Lord gives his People an Instance of his performing that Promise, That when they went up to keep their Feasts, no Man should disturb their Land (e). Provision was made for their Camp of the Corn of the Land, whereof they found enough in the Barns of the *Canaanites* which they had abandoned : And hereon the Manna ceased, to teach them not to expect extraordinary Supplies, when these may be had in an ordinary Way.

Gilgal was but about two short Miles from *Jericho* (f) : From the Camp then *Joshua* might easily go out to view the City, to meditate and contrive how to attack it. Upon that Occasion *he saw a man over against him, with his sword drawn in his hand*. He went to him, and, with holy Courage, asked, *Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?* He answered, *Nay, but as a prince of the host of Jehovah am I now come*. Whereon *Joshua* fell down and worshipped him (g). The Man who here appeared is no created Angel, but the Son of God (h), the same who promised to guide his People through the Wilderness (i), comes now as a King with his Sword drawn, to encourage *Joshua*, and to authorise him and the People to carry on the War with Vigour ; for he accepts of religious Worship and Adoration, which a created Angel durst not admit of (k). He makes the Place holy by his Presence, which is God's Prerogative, and is called *Jehovah* (l), a Name incommunicable to any Creature. Upon this Encouragement, under the Command and Direction of God, *Jericho* was vigourously attacked. *Joshua* had no battering Rams, nor other Engines to bring down the Walls ; but the Lord ordered him to cause all the Forces march round the City, with seven Priests before the Ark,

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(a) Psal. cxiv. Micah. vi. 5. (b) Josh. v. 1. (c) Exod. xxiii. 7. (d) Exod. xiv. 3. (e) Exod. xxxiv. 24. (f) Hieronymus de locis Hebraicis, Tom. 7. fol. m. 128. (g) Josh. v. 13, — 15. (h) See the Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, pag. 234. (i) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. (k) Rev. xxii. 8, 9. (l) Josh. vi. 2.

bearing Trumpets of Rams Horns, six Days successively ; and on the seventh Day, when they made a long Blast with the Rams Horns, or the Trumpets whereby they founded the Jubilee, the Wall of the City should fall down flat, and the People ascend every Man straight before him. This Method was used to shew that their Success did not proceed from their own Valour or Skill, but meerly from God's Appointment and Blessing ; and that we are not to judge of divine Institutions by meer carnal Reason. He can do what he pleaseth by the most contemptible Means. The Orders being obeyed, on the seventh Day the Walls of the City fell down ; the *Israelites* entred, and put to the Sword all the Men, Women and Children, and the very Beasts, sparing only *Rahab*, and these in her House, conform to the Promise made by the Spies. Then they burnt the Town and all that was in it, excepting Gold and Silver, with the Vessels of Brass and Iron, which being purified by Fire, as in a preceeding Case (a), were put into the Treasury of the House of the Lord. 'Tis not to be doubted but that the heathenish Idols found there were utterly destroyed, conform to the Law (b). If the *Israelites* had not done all this Execution by virtue of a divine Warrant, under the Seal of Miracles, it could not have been justified ; nor can it justify the like now, when we are sure no such Warrant can be produced. But being appointed by the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, who is not unrighteous in taking Vengeance, they are to be applauded as faithful Ministers of his Justice. The City was a *Cherem*, an accursed Thing ; none of the Spoil thereof was to be taken by the Army, lest the Soldiers being gluttoned thereby, should grow sensual and sluggish in their Work ; and that by this Destruction a greater Terror might be struck upon the rest of their Enemies. But the Spirit of the Gospel is quite different ; for Christ came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them (c). A Curse was denounced against the very Man that rebuilt the City *Jericho* (d), which was accomplished in *Hiel* the *Bethelite* (e). But we are not to think that this Curse reached the City it self, nor these who did afterwards inhabit it ; for we find it was honoured not only by the Presence of these great Prophets *Elijah* and *Elisha*, but also of our Saviour himself (f).

This being done at *Jericho*, *Joshua* sent a Detachment of 3000 Men to seize on the next City in their Way, which was *Ai* ; but the Lord suffered the *Israelites* to be put to the flight, with the Loss of thirty six Men, because *Achan* the Son of *Carmi*, the Son of *Zabdi*, the Son of *Zerah*, who had taken of the Spoil of *Jericho* that was accursed, a *Babylonish*, or Garment of *Sbinar*, two hundred Shekels of Silver, and a Wedge of Gold of fifty Shekels Weight, which he hid in the Earth, in the midst of his Tent (g). This Sin gave an Interruption to the Progress of their Arms, and embarrassed their Affairs. The Hearts of the People melted not so much for the Loss, as because this did harden the *Canaanites*, and evidence God's Displeasure against *Israel*. *Joshua* rent his Cloaths, and humbly interceded for *Israel*, and that the Lord would not suffer his holy Name to be dishonoured among the *Gentiles*. In answer to this Address, the Lord, 'tis like, from the Oracle before the Ark, shewed that the People could not stand before their Enemies, because of the accursed Thing among them, and directed them how to discover and punish the guilty Person. According to this Order, *Joshua* rose early next Morning, and discovered by casting of Lots, *Achan* to be guilty ; who having, after a grave Admonition, confessed his Crime ; and the Concealment being found, he was stoned to Death, and all that he had was burnt. His Children being it seems accessory to the Guilt, and the Punishment being inflicted by the Command of God, for the Terror of others, it cannot be counted unjust. They lose their own that grasp at more than their own, like the Eagle in the Fable, which stole Flesh from the Altar, but brought a fiery Coal with it, which burnt her Nest.

This Embarrassment being over, God encouraged and directed *Joshua* how to take *Ai*, and to do to it as he had done to *Jericho*, only the Spoil and the Cattle *Israel* were allowed to take for a Prey to themselves. They need not call a Council of War, who had God so near to give them Counsel in every case. *Joshua* marched against the City, with thirty thousand Forces, leaving five thousand of them in Ambush betwixt *Ai* and *Bethel*. The King of *Ai*, with his Confederates sallying out, *Joshua* seemed to give Way ; and his Adversaries pursued him. When they were gone far from the City, the *Israelites* who lay in Ambush, marched in to the Town, and set Fire to it ; which *Joshua* observing, he faced about, and charged his Enemies, and cut them in Pieces. The King of *Ai* was taken and hanged, all his People destroyed, their City burnt, and entirely overthrown, only the Cattle and the Spoil *Israel* took for a Prey (h). The Spoil *Israel* had brought out of *Egypt*, by borrowing from their Neighbours, was much of it expended on the Tabernacle reared up in the Wilderness, for which they are now reimbursed with Interest ; for what was here, or at the like Occasions, taken, was probably divided by *Joshua* in due Proportions. God is a God of Order, and not of Confusion. The Stratagem used was lawful and good, being appointed of God. There was no League, Oath nor Promise broken, only military Art used, of which their Adversaries ought to have taken Care. *Joshua*, after taking *Ai*, being not far from the Mounts *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, minded the Command of *Moses*

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(a) Numb. xxxi. 22, 23. (b) Deut. vii. 25. (c) Luke ix. 56. (d) Josh. vi. 26. (e) 1 Kings xvi. 34. (f) Matth. xx. 29. Luke xix. i. (g) Josh. vii. (h) Josh. viii.

(a) concerning the reading the Law, with the Blessings and Curses thereto annexed, from these Mountains ; and amidst his successful Conquests, took Time for this religious Solemnity, the Lord taking a watchful Care that his People, while about his Service, should be safe in the Heart of an Enemies Country. He caused erect an Altar of unhewn Stones upon Mount *Ebal*, to signify, that in that Place where the Curses were denounced, by the Sacrifice of our Redeemer, we may have Peace with God (b) ; and by the Sacrifices there offered, he gave God the Glory of his Victories. The Law, or, 'tis like, only the Ten Commands, which are a Sum of the whole, was writ on Stones, that every one might read them ; and the whole Law, with the Blessings and Curses was publicly read before a great Assembly of all the Tribes.

All the People of that Country, namely, the *Hittites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hivites*, and the *Jebusites*, hearing of the Success of the *Israelites* against *Jericho* and *Ai*, joined in a League to defend themselves. But the *Gibeonites* sent Messengers to *Joshua*, who pretending to come from a far Country, prevailed on him and the Heads of the Tribes to covenant with them. We do not read of any King then in *Gibeon* ; had the Government been in a single Person, he might probably been too proud to yield, but would have joined with the rest of the Kings against *Israel* ; but the Affairs here being managed by four confederated Cities, *Gibeon*, *Cephirah*, *Beeroth* and *Kirjath-jearim* (c), they had a greater Regard to the common Safety, than to their own personal Dignity. *Joshua* coming into their Country, three Days after the League was concluded, discovered the Fraud ; yet being bound by the Oath of Alliance, would not permit them to be killed, but condemned them to cut Wood and draw Water for the Place the Lord should appoint for his Worship, to which they submitted.

Adonizedek King of *Jerusalem*, hearing of the Progress of *Joshua's* Arms, sent unto *Hotham* King of *Hebron*, to *Biram* King of *Farmuth*, to *Japhia* King of *Lachish*, and to *Debir* King of *Eglon*, inviting all of them to make War against *Gibeon*, because that City had made Peace with *Israel* (d) ; whereon these five Kings joined against it. The *Gibeonites* on the other Hand begged Aid of *Joshua* : And he was so faithful to the Alliance made with them, tho' fraudulently obtained, that he would not sit still to see them ruined, but marched speedily to attack these Kings, who had invested their City, the Lord encouraging him to this Undertaking ; and accordingly he overthrew them with a great Slaughter, putting them to the Flight. Heaven assisted him ; for a Shower of Hail-stones fell upon his Enemies, which killed more than were slain with the Sword. They had worshipped the Host of Heaven, giving that Glory to the Creature which was due to the Creator, and now the Host of Heaven fought against them. *Joshua* with strong Faith and fervent Prayer sought a Miracle, which no doubt God allowed him to do ; for the Petition had not been granted by divine Power, if it had not been dictated by divine Grace. Then spake *Joshua* to the Lord, in the sight of *Israel*, *Sun stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is it not written in the book of Jasher ? So the Sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it, or after it* (e). 'Tis the Observation of *Laur. Codomanius* (f), That since both the Sun and the Moon were seen in the Horizon near together, the Moon was then decreasing ; and since both stood, their Stay could make no Alteration in Astronomical Calculations. The God of Nature can easily stop the Course of Nature for a whole Day ; which, if it be supposed in the middle of Summer, when the Day in that Country is about fourteen Hours between Sun and Sun, then this Day would be twenty eight Hours in length. The Miracle is mentioned in other Parts of Scripture (g). Nor is there any Ground to question it, because Heathen Authors make no mention thereof ; for we have no Heathen Writer before *Homer*, who is about eight hundred Years after *Joshua*. Neither need we enquire at what Time of the Day this Stop of the Luminaries happened ? Only since *Joshua* then pursued his Enemies towards *Makkedah* to the West, and mean Time saw the Sun over *Gibeon*, and *Ajalon* to the East, the Miracle seems to have been some Hours before Noon. 'Tis said to be written in the book of *Jasher*, which was some historical Piece as well as the Book of the Wars of the Lord (h), or some Collection of State Poems ; which not being canonical, is now lost, without any Prejudice to our Faith. There was no day like that before it, or after it ; that is, in these Parts of the World ; and therefore we are not to compare it with the length of Time the Sun appears above the Horizon to these who live near the North and South Poles. Nor doth the Length of the Day in *Hezekiah's* Time, when the Sun, at his Prayer, went back ten Degrees in the Dial of *Abaz*, appear to be greater ; for those Degrees might be but Half-hours, or Quarters. The Sun might return these ten Degrees more quickly than he went down ; and it is safer to believe Scripture-assertion, than to deny or question it upon mere Conjectures. The Reason given for the Miracle,

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racle,

(a) Deut. xi. 29. and xxvii. 1—13. (b) Gal. iii. 13. (c) Josh. ix. 17. (d) Josh. x. (e) Josh. x. 12.—14. (f) Apud Usserium in annalibus, pag. 23. (g) Hab. iii. 11. (h) Numb. xxi. 14.

racle, is, *Until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies.* And it may further signify, first, that God would magnify *Joshua* as a Favourite of Heaven, and as a Type of our *Jesus*, who hath all Power in Heaven and Earth. Secondly, He would hereby notify to the World, what he was doing for his People *Israel*. Thirdly, He would convince Idolaters that the Sun and Moon, which they worshipped, were subject to the Command of the God of *Israel*. Fourthly, That in the latter Days, the Sun of Righteousness would appear, and remove the Darknefs of Pagan Idolatry, by a long lasting Day of Gospel-light. Fifthly, That at the End of the World, the Sun should be turned into Darknefs, and the Moon into Blood.

Joshua having got a long Day to pursue his Enemies, the five Kings before mentioned were shut up in a Cave at *Makkedah*, and upon the Return of the Army hanged. Then he took Possession of three of the Royal Cities of those Kings conquered in the Field; namely, *Lachish*, *Eglon* and *Hebron*; the other two, viz. *Jerusalem* and *Jarmuth*, were not taken at this Time; but he reduced three other great Cities, *Makkedah*, *Libnah* and *Debir*, utterly destroying the Inhabitants. Thus the Southern Parts of the Land of *Canaan* were subdued; most of which were afterwards possessed by the Tribe of *Judah*. And *Joshua*, and all *Israel* with him, returned to their head Quarters at *Gilgal* in Triumph (a). These Things seem to have been done in the first Year of *Joshua*'s Government. After the Harvest of this Year the *Israelites* began to labour their new Conquests (b): And hence the Computation of the Sabbatical Years is to be reckoned.

A. M. 2503. Ant. C. 1447. The Conquests of the Northern Parts of *Canaan* took a longer Space: For it is said, *Joshua made war a long time with all those kings (c)*; that is, six Years, as is computed by *Prime Usher* and others. The *Canaanites* were the Aggressors, God hardning their Hearts to begin the War, that *Israel* might be justified beyond Exception in destroying them. *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, was at the Head of the Confederacy, and prevailed with all his neighbouring Potentates to join in the War, with Horses and Chariots very many, as the Sand on the Sea-shore for Multitude; whereby they had an Advantage over *Israel*, whose Army consisted only of Foot, and were not allowed to bring Horses and Chariots into the Field. *Josephus (d)* tells us, that the Army of the *Canaanites* consisted of three hundred thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Chariots. Whatever their Number was, the Lord encouraged *Joshua*, saying, *Be not afraid of them: for to morrow about this time will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt bough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.* Which was ordered, that the *Israelites* might not fear them now, nor use them hereafter. Upon this Encouragement *Joshua* came upon them suddenly, at the Waters of *Merom*, or *Semehonite Lake*, lying to the North, in the Course of *Jordan*; where he obtained the Honour of a complete Victory, chased his Enemies unto great *Zidon*, and *Misrephoth-maim*, houghed, or ham-stringed their Horses, and burnt their Chariots. After the Victory, *Joshua* took *Hazor*, killed the King thereof, and all the Inhabitants with the Edge of the Sword, and burnt their City with Fire. He seized also the Cities of the rest of the Kings that had opposed him, destroyed their Inhabitants, took the Cattle and the Spoil for a Prey, as a Stock wherewith to set up in the Land of *Canaan*; but burnt not their Towns, for God had promised to *Israel*, that they should dwell in great and goodly cities which they builded not (e). Thus all the Land of *Canaan* was subdued; there was not a City that made Peace with *Israel*, save those of the *Gibeonites*; all the rest they took in War. The *Anakims*, those formidable Giants in *Hebron*, *Debir* and *Anab*, and in the Mountains, were destroyed; there was none of them left, except in the Land of the *Philistines*, and the Land enjoyed Peace. The Promises given to *Moses* relating to the Conquest being all performed; it is not to be doubted, but some of the *Canaanites* hearing of the Destruction of their Brethren, might flee to the neighbouring Parts of *Tyre* and *Zidon*; which being trading Cities, they might thence take shipping for some Part of *Afric*. And we have an Inscription in *Procopius (f)*, which he says was found on an antient Monument, that favours this Conjecture: ἡμεῖς ὅσμεν οἱ πυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, i. e. *We are those who have fled from the Face of that Robber, Jesus, the Son of Nave.*

The twelfth Chapter of *Joshua* contains a Summary of *Israel*'s Conquests, both on the East and West Side of *Jordan*; which comes in as a Conclusion of the History of the Wars of *Canaan*, and also as a Preface to the dividing that Country, that we may see at one View what they were to make Distribution of. *Israel* conquered thirty one Kings in all: And here we may remark, first, what a fruitful Country *Canaan* then was, that could subsist so many Kingdoms, and yet at this Day, it is one of the most barren and despicable Parts of the World, as an Effect of the Curse of God it lies under, since the *Jews* crucified the Lord of Glory, and rejected his Gospel, which was foretold by *Moses (g)*. Secondly, What narrow Limits Mens Ambition was then confined to; those Kings satisfied themselves, each of them with the Govern-

(a) Josh. x. 15, — 43. (b) Usserii Annales, p. 23. (c) Josh. xi. 18. (d) Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 140. (e) Deut. vi. 10. (f) De bello Vandalico, lib. 2. cap. 10. (g) Deut. xxix. 22, — 25.

ment of one City, with its Towns and Villages; yet they were absolute in their Power, having all their Subjects as Slaves at command. Thirdly, the wise and kind Providence of God, which so governed the Minds and Hearts of the *Canaanites*, that they did not all join their Counsels and Forces together to oppose the *Israelites* at their first Entrance, which Interest obliged them to; but quietly suffered the Destruction of their Brethren, thereby preparing the way for their own, and giving Victory to *Israel*, that they might observe God's statutes, and keep his laws (a). He gave their land for an heritage, even an heritage unto *Israel* his servant: for his mercy endureth for ever (b).

Joshua being old and stricken in Years, the Lord instructed him concerning what Part of the Land was yet to be conquered, which was necessary for him and the People to know, that they might admire the Goodness of God in what he had done, and designed to do for them, that they might not make any dangerous League with those Heathen Neighbours, nor learn their Way, but might hold themselves in a Readiness to go against them, though *Joshua* should not live to see it. He also ordered him to divide the Land *Israel* was already possessed of, among the Tribes by Lot; which was accordingly done (c). This κληρονομία, or Division, may, 'tis like, not be so entertaining to some Readers; yet the Lord saw fit to insert it in sacred Record, to illustrate the Performance of the Promise made to the Fathers, that this Land should be given to the Seed of *Jacob*, to prevent any Dispute afterwards about their Limits, that the Land might not be transferred from Tribe to Tribe, since they might still appeal to this Distribution; and it is a Piece of sacred Geography that is very useful to understand the holy Scriptures. The Limits of the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, on the East Side of *Jordan*, we have already (d) noticed. *Levi* got no Inheritance among the Tribes, the Lord God of *Israel* was their Inheritance (e): They had a Share of the Sacrifices to feed on, and also their *Levitical* Cities, with their Suburbs (scattered up and down *Canaan* for convenient instructing the People) with their Tithes, and First-fruits; as hath been before (f) observed. So that though they were dispersed, yet they were liberally provided. *Caleb*, who forty five Years before this, had been one of the two faithful Spies, that had brought up a good Report of the Land; and though now eighty five Years old, and more aged and venerable than any in the Camp, except *Joshua*, yet his Strength was not abated, demanded *Hebron*, as his Share in the Distribution, the same being promised to him by *Moses* long ago. His Desire being found reasonable, was granted: *Joshua* blessed him, and gave unto *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh*, *Hebron* for an inheritance. — Because he wholly followed the Lord God of *Israel* (g).

I shall not endeavour to describe the particular Towns and Territories assigned to each Tribe: The Curious may consult what learned Men (h) have wrote on this Subject. The Tribe of *Judah* had their Lot (which was not fortuitous, but ordered by Providence) to the South (i). Their Territories were large; for this was a numerous Tribe, in which the Sceptre, Royal Dignity and Government of the *Jews* were for a long time fixed. The Children of *Ephraim* had their Lot to the North of *Judah*, being bounded with *Jordan* to the East, and the *Mediterranean* Sea to the West (k). The Tabernacle was fixed at *Shiloh* (l), a City belonging to this Tribe, but close upon the Lot of *Benjamin*. There it remained for about three hundred and fifty Years, till the Sins of *Eli*'s House forfeited that Favour, and ruined the City (m). 'Tis like *Shiloh* was chosen as the Seat of the Ark after the first Settlement in *Canaan*; because *Joshua*, who was then alive, was of that Tribe, and it was fit he should be near it. The Word *Shiloh* also denotes the Peaceableness of the Land at that time. To the North of *Ephraim* lay the Portion of the Half-tribe of *Manasseh*, on the West Side of *Jordan*. When the Posterity of *Joseph* desired a greater Extent of Land, *Joshua* had them work and fight for it, cut down the Woods, and destroy the *Canaanites* that were left among them (n). Three Men out of each Tribe were appointed to divide the Remainder of the Country among the seven Tribes yet unprovided for (o). *Josephus* (p) says these Arbiters had some People skill'd in Geometry with them, and they took seven Months to divide the Land, and report their Opinion in Writing to *Joshua* at *Shiloh*. And if we consider what they had to do, that the Land was newly conquered, and many *Canaanites* in it to way-lay them, it may be allowed that their Work required Time and Pains. The Lot of *Benjamin* lay between *Judah* to the South, *Ephraim* to the North, *Jericho* and *Jordan* to the East, and went near the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West. Though their Borders were narrow, yet their Land was fruitful, and had twenty six considerable Cities. The Inheritance of the Tribe of *Simeon* is described by their Cities; because these were for most part within, or on the Skirts of the Portion of *Judah*, whose abundance did supply the want of others. The Lot of the Tribe of *Zebulun* (q) was

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washed

(a) Psal. cv. 45. (b) Psal. cxxxvi. 17, — 22. (c) Josh. xiii. — xxi. (d) Above, p. 119, 120. (e) Numb. xviii. 20. Josh. xiii. 33. (f) Above, p. 103. (g) Josh. xiv. 13, 14. (h) Masius in Josuam, Relandi Palestina, & de urbibus & vicis Palestinæ, Critica Lond. & Poli, Hieronymus de locis Hebraicis, Wells's Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. 2. Fuller's Pisgah Sight, Adrichomii Descriptio terræ sanctæ, Rawleigh's History, Part 1. Book 2. Chap. 7, — 13. Dr. Patrick, &c. (i) Josh. xv. (k) Josh. xvi. (l) Josh. xviii. (m) 1 Sam. iii. iv. vii. 1. Psal. lxxviii. 60. Jer. vii. 12. (n) Josh. xvii. (o) Josh. xvii. 4, — 9. (p) Antiq. lib 5. cap. 1. p. m. 141. (q) Josh. xix. 10, — 16.

washed by the *Mediterranean* or Great Sea on the West, and by the Sea of *Tiberias* or Lake of *Galilee* on the East; answering *Jacob's* Prophecy, *Zebulon shall be for a haven of ships* (a); trading Ships on the *Mediterranean*, and Fishing-boats or Ships on the Sea of *Galilee*. In the Territories of this Tribe our Saviour preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles. The Lot of *Issachar* run from *Jordan* to the East, to the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West, and from the Tribe of *Manasseh* to the South, to that of *Zebulon* on the West. The Tribe of *Asker* lay upon the Coast of the *Mediterranean* Sea: And adjoining to it were the famous Sea-port Towns of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, which still remained in the Hands of the Heathen. The Tribe of *Nephtali* lay to the North, and bordered upon Mount *Lebanon*. Finally, the Lot of the Tribe of *Dan* was between the Land of the *Philistines* on the West, *Judah* on the East, *Ephraim* on the North, and *Simeon* on the South. Providence ordered this powerful Tribe to a Post of Danger, as best able to deal with the *Philistines*: And so it was found in the Case of *Samson*. When they had made an End of dividing the Land, *Joshua* was last served, to shew that he fought the Good of his Country, and not his own private Interest. *Timmath Serah*, in the mountainous *Ephraim*, was assigned to him; where he built a City (b), and dwelt to the Day of his Death.

The appointing of Cities of Refuge was ordered by the Law of *Moses* (c) to be done when they came into *Canaan*: Now when the Lord had given them Rest, *Joshua* named these Cities, to protect such as were guilty of casual Murder (d). There were six of them, placed at convenient Distances, for the unfortunate Person to flee unto, and were all Cities of the *Levites*; whereby an Honour was put on that Tribe, to judge in this critical Case: And since those who fled thither were not allowed to go up to the House of the Lord, it was well they had *Levites* at hand to instruct and pray for them. All the Tribes being provided for, the *Levites* put in their Claim; and without delay, forty eight Cities with their Suburbs, dispers'd among the several Tribes, were assigned to them (e). The Maintenance of Ministers is not an arbitrary Thing, that People may let them starve if they please: No; as the God of *Israel* commanded the *Levites* should be provided for, so our Redeemer, the King of the Christian Church, hath decreed by a perpetual Ordinance, *that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel* (f).

The two Tribes of the *Reubenites* and *Gadites*, with the Half-tribe of *Manasseh*, who dwelt on the East Side of *Jordan*, having served as Auxiliaries during all the Wars of *Canaan*, at least a Quota of forty thousand of them; the War being now ended with glorious Success, *Joshua* (g) dismisseth them, with Riches, Cattle, Silver and Gold, the Spoil of the *Canaanites*, as their Pay, for the Use of their own Families and that of their Brethren. He gave them a good Character for their faithful Service, and good Counsel, To take heed to the Law, to keep the Commands of the Lord, to cleave to him, and serve him with all their Heart and Soul; and sent them away with his kind Blessing. At their Departure they erected a great Altar near the River *Jordan*. If they had consulted the Oracle of God before setting up this Altar, and explained their Purpose to their Brethren, as they did afterwards, this might have prevented a Misunderstanding, which at first View had a dangerous Aspect. For the Children of *Israel* to the West of *Jordan*, conceiving the two Tribes and a half designed by what they had done to rebell against the Lord, and to set up a separate Worship from that of the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, resolved on a War against them: But before they would draw their Swords, they sent the Princes of the chief Houses, and with them *Phinehas* the Son of *Eleazar* the Priest, (the same who had done Justice (h) in the Matter of *Peor*) as Ambassadors to reason the Matter. To whom the two Tribes and a half made a calm Apology, appealing to the heart-searching God, that it was not out of any Design to rebell against the Lord, nor to depart from the Worship appointed at *Shiloh*, nor to break the Unity of the Church that they had erected this Altar; but only to be a Witness, that their Posterity in process of time might not by reason of their Distance be counted Strangers to the Commonwealth of *Israel*. With which Answer the Commissioners from the nine Tribes and a half, and the whole Congregation rested satisfied; and so the War was prevented.

Sometime after this, when *Joshua* was grown old, and saw Death approaching, he made two farewell Sermons to the People of *Israel* (i); wherein he endeavoured to entail on them and their Posterity a Sense of Religion and their Duty to God, ever to be mindful of his Covenant, and to beware of Familiarity with Idolaters, as they would not bring down the Wrath of God upon themselves and their Posterity after he had done so great things for them. Having yet a longer Space given him, he convened the Tribes again at *Shechem*, which lay near him, now that he was old, and unfit for Travel: Where he took great care to confirm the People in the Faith and Worship of the true God, that after his Death they might persevere therein; he recounted the great things God had done for them and their Fathers, and gave them a Charge to serve and worship a holy and jealous God, by making a deliberate and determinate Choice of him;

(a) Genes. xlix. 13. (b) Josh. xix. 50. (c) Above, p. 110. (d) Josh. xx. (e) Josh. xxi. (f) 1 Cor. ix. 14. (g) Josh. xxii. (h) Numb. xxv. (i) Josh. xxiii. xxiv.

him, to which they might ever adhere ; and concluded his Exhortation with a solemn Covenant, by putting it in Writing, calling Witnesses, and setting up a great Stone as a Memorial thereof for the Benefit of Posterity. After these things, *Joshua* the Servant of the Lord died, being an hundred and ten Years old : And they buried him in the Borders of his own Inheritance, in *Tinnath-serab* in Mount *Ephraim*. About the same time the Bones of *Joseph* were interred in a Parcel of Ground which *Jacob* bought of the Sons of *Hamor*. This Patriarch, when a-dying in *Egypt*, about two hundred Years before, gave commandment concerning his bones, that they should not rest in their Grave till *Israel* had Rest in the Land of Promise. Therefore the *Israelites* brought his Coffin out of *Egypt*, carried it along with them in all their Marches, by the Care, 'tis like, of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, who descended of him, and now buried it in that Piece of Ground which his Father gave him near *Shechem* (a). At the same time died *Eleazar* the High-priest, and was buried in a Hill which pertained to *Phinehas* his Son and Successor. And here ends the Book of *Joshua*.

A. M.
2513.
Ant. C.
1437.

§ 21. IT is not very certain, whether *Samuel*, *Ezra*, or some Prophet was the Penman of the Book of *Judges* ; nor is it of great Moment to know : For it is no great Matter who was the King's Secretary, or with what Pen a Decree was written, if it be sure that it was done by the King's Order. We know that to the *Jews* were committed the oracles of God (b), that is the holy Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, of which this is a Part by the Confession of all Parties : And that the *Jews* did not betray their Trust, but kept these sacred Books themselves, and delivered them to the World entire, we are assured ; because neither Christ nor his Apostles, who reprove them for mistaking the Meaning of some Passages of Scripture, ever charge them for Perfidy about the Canon. It is called the Book of *Judges*, because in it we have the History of the Commonwealth of *Israel* for about three hundred Years, under all the Judges that governed *Israel*, except *Eli* and *Samuel* ; who giving occasion to the Change of the Government, their Affairs are narrated in another Book. These Judges were a sort of Magistrates, who could neither make new Laws, nor impose Tribute ; but were supreme Executors of God's Law, and Generals of the Armies of *Israel*. Under them the People were very corrupt, and sadly oppressed by their Heathen Neighbours, and made no Figure proportionable to their glorious Entry into the Land of *Canaan*. However, we hope the Face of Religion was then kept up : Though too many turned to Idolatry, yet the Tabernacle-service was maintained, and many attended it. Indeed the Historian mainly records Provocations and Grievances, the Disturbances that happened, and the Peace that was restored by Deliverers raised up of God, as an Instance of a Theocracy, the Lord's keeping the Reins of Government in his own Hands ; and does not insist upon every thing our Curiosity may lead us to expect.

We have an Account of what Progress the several Tribes made in driving out the *Canaanites*, in the first Chapter of *Judges*. *Joshua* had done so much in this Affair, that they might easily have perfected it, had they not been wanting to themselves. The Children of *Judah*, with the Assistance of *Simeon* their Brother, by the Direction of God went up first ; and the Lord delivered the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* into their hand, and they slew of them in *Bezek* ten thousand men. They not only sought God's Counsel, but they gave him the Praise of the Victory. Such Acknowledgments are scarce to be met with in Heathen Writers : And it is to be wish'd that such religious Expressions go not into disuse in our Days. *Adonibezek*, the King of the Country, was taken Prisoner. He had been a cruel Tyrant, having cut off the Thumbs and great Toes of seventy Kings, and forced them to gather Meat under his Table : And Providence ordered that he should be served in the same Manner, that his Sin might be writ in his Judgment. The Tribe of *Judah* also took *Jerusalem*. *Joshua* had killed the King thereof (c), but the City seems not to have been taken till this time. They smote it with the edge of the sword, and set it on fire. 'Tis like they did this in detestation of Idolatry, with which it had been very much infected : And though the Fire consumed many Parts of it, yet Habitations might be left for as many as they had to put in possession thereof. They also took *Debir*, *Hormah*, *Gaza* and *Hebron* : The last of these Cities had been given by *Joshua*, ten Years ago, to *Caleb* ; but now he is put in the through Possession thereof, and the Giants in these Bounds were cut off. The City *Debir* was before named *Kirjath-sepher*, that is the City of Books. Some take it to have been a kind of Academy. *Caleb* promised his Daughter *Achsah* to him that would smite it. *Othniel* the Son of *Kenaz* gained the Town and the Lady, and by her Management with her Father, got a good Inheritance to himself and his Family (d). The *Kenites*, who were of the Posterity of *Jethro*, Father-in-law to *Moses*, got a Settlement in the Tribe of *Judah*. The Tribe of *Simeon* also gained ground of the *Canaanites* : Yet *Judah* failed in Courage, and did not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valley, because they had Chariots of Iron ; though by the Assistance of the God of *Israel*, they might have destroyed them, and given a noble Example to the rest of their Brethren. The House of *Joseph* had

K k 2

Success

(a) Genes. xlviii. 22. (b) Rom. iii. 2. (c) Josh. x. (d) Judges, i. 11, — 15. Josh. xv. 16, — 19.

Success against *Beth-el* : But the rest of the Tribes did meanly ; for they destroyed not the *Canaanites* nor the *Amorites*, only made them tributary.

Though *Israel* served the Lord all the Days of *Joshua*, and of the Elders that outlived him, who had seen the Works of the Lord (a) ; yet they soon degenerated, and made a League with the Inhabitants of the Land. For which the Angel of the Lord sharply admonished them, even the Angel of the Covenant, who is *Jehovah* ; and spoke to them in his own Name (b), telling them, that these Nations shall be *as thorns in their sides, and their gods a snare unto them*. Upon this Message *they wept* ; they relented, crying out against their own Folly and Ingratitude, and called the Name of the Place *Bochim*, a Place of weeping, and *they sacrificed there unto the Lord*. Being, as is supposed, met at *Shiloh*, where was God's Altar, there they offered Sacrifice, to turn away his Wrath, and obtain his Favour ; to dedicate themselves to him, and to make a Covenant by Sacrifice. Nevertheless they did not sincerely reform : For when that Generation who lived with *Joshua* were gathered to their fathers, there arose another generation after them who knew not the Lord, nor the works he had done for *Israel*. And the children of *Israel* did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served *Baalim*. [The Word is in the plural, to signify many Idols bearing this Name (c).] And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which had brought them out of the land of Egypt, and served *Baal* and *Ashtaroth*. For these things the Anger of the Lord was hot against them, and he delivered them into the Hands of Spoilers : Yet in his great Pity he raised up Deliverers. But when the Judge was dead, they returned to Idolatry : Wherefore the Lord put a Stop to their good Success, and sent upon them new Calamities. The five Lords of the *Philistines*, who commanded five maritime Towns, named *Asdod*, *Askelon*, *Gath*, *Gaza* and *Ekron*, who were never fully subdued till the Reign of King *David*, were their Oppressors, who ensnared them into Sin, and then became their Enemies. Besides, *Israel* dwelt among the *Sidonians*, the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites* and *Jebusites* ; they made Intermarriages with them, forgot the Lord their God, and served *Baalim* and the Groves to their own Ruin.

Their first Oppressor after *Joshua's* Days was, *Cushan Rishathaim*, King of *Mesopotamia* ; the Lord, for their Sin, sold them into his hands ; and *Israel* served him eight years (d). We might know more of the Genealogy and History of this Prince, if there were any profane History of these Times : But that's not now to be had, only it appears by the sacred Text, that he was King of *Mesopotamia* or *Aram Nahorajim*, between the two great Rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the same Country where *Laban*, *Jacob's* Father-in-law once dwelt. *Cushan* endeavouring to enlarge his Dominions, came all the Way to *Canaan*, and there oppressed *Israel*, probably by levying Contributions with Rigour, and quartering his Soldiers among them. In this distressed Case, *Israel* cried to the Lord ; and the Lord raised up *Othniel* the Son of *Kenaz*, *Caleb's* younger Brother. He was *Caleb's* Nephew, and also his Son-in-Law, by marrying his Daughter *Achisah*, being the same Man of whom we read in *Joshua* xv. 16,—19. and *Judges* i. 13,—15. and so could not be long after *Joshua's* Time. In his Government is connected the History of *Joshua* and *Judges*. Soon after *Israel's* Settlement in *Canaan*, their Purity began to be corrupted, and by consequence their Peace disturbed. The Spirit of the Lord came upon *Othniel* ; that is, a Spirit of Wisdom and Courage to qualify him for this Service ; he himself having seen the Works of the Lord, retained his Integrity, and lamented *Israel's* Apostacy, reprov'd them for it, and then went out to War, in which he was successful ; for the Lord delivered *Cushan Rishathaim* into his hand ; and the land had rest forty years.

A. M.
2553.
Ant. C.
1327.

'Tis agreed by most Chronologers, that the Years of Oppression are here included in the Years of Rest, otherwise the Particulars would far exceed the total Sum of the Period (e) : So that from *Joshua's* Death to that of *Kenaz*, are only forty Years. 'Tis not needful to debate whether thirty two of these Years were before the Oppression or after it, tho' I incline more to think they were before it. During that Time, namely, from the Death of *Joshua*, to the Oppression of *Cushan Rishathaim*, the Idolatry of the *Danites*, and the War with the *Benjamites*, occasioned by abusing the *Levite's* Concubine, tho' recorded in *Judges* xvii. to xxi. seem to have happened ; for then every Tribe had very much of its Government within it self, and acted without one common Head or Council, which occasioned Disorders ; and there are some Things in these Passages of History, that seem to pin them down to that Time, as will appear by looking into them.

A Man of the Tribe of *Ephraim* called *Micah*, having stolen from his Mother eleven hundred Shekels of Silver, he owned the Fact, and restored her two hundred ; of which she made an Idol. *Micah* built a little Chapel for it, with an Ephod or Teraphim, appointing one of his Sons to serve as a Priest ; but a young *Levite* of *Bethlehem* coming thither, *Micah* kept him to serve instead of his Son. About the same Time some of the Tribe of *Dan*, having their Lot assigned to them last of all the Tribes, and thinking it too strait, which must be

(a) *Josh.* xxiv. 31. (b) *Judges.* ii. (c) See Remarks concerning Baal in the History of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. i. p. 281,—294. (d) *Judges* iii. 8. —11. (e) 1 *Kings* vi. 1.

be soon after *Joshua's* Days, sent five Men as Spies from the South to the North of the Land, to look out for some other Habitation. In their Journey the Spies found out *Micah* and his Idol, and afterwards discovered the City *Laish* in the North-west Part of *Canaan*, which they judged might be easily gained by Surprise, because the Inhabitants feared nothing. Upon the Report of the Spies, the *Danites* sent six hundred Men, well armed, who took *Micah's* Priest and his Idol, and went to *Laish*; which they seized without Trouble, put to the Sword all the Inhabitants, burnt the Town; and having rebuilt it, gave it the Name of *Dan* their Father. There they kept *Micah's* Idol, and made *Jonathan* the Son of *Gershom*, the Son of *Manasseh* and his Sons their Priests, all the Time that the Ark of the Lord was at *Shiloh*, that is, till *Samuel's* Days.

The War with the *Benjamites* is another tragical Piece of History, which seems to have happened about the same Time, or not long after the Death of *Joshua*; for it was when there was no King nor chief Governor in *Israel* (a); and *Phinehas* the Son of *Eleazar*, the Son of *Aaron* was then High-priest (b). And 'tis like the Idolatry of the *Danites* and the Immorality of the *Benjamites*, introduced the general Defection of the Tribes mentioned in *Judges* iii. 7. The Sum of the Story is; A *Levite* of Mount *Ephraim* having taken a Concubine, or Wife, as some read it, of *Bethlehem-Judah*; she played the whore, and made an adulterous Elopement from her Husband; to her Father's House, where she staid some Months; yet the *Levite* himself went to court her Return. Her father entertained him kindly for some Days; but in the Afternoon of the fifth Day they departed, and were obliged to lodge in *Gibeab* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There were then no Houses of Entertainment on the Road, and no Man of that City would invite them, till an old Man of Mount *Ephraim*, who only sojourned there, after some Converse, received them into his Lodgings. That Night, while they were at Table, the Men of *Gibeab* were so wicked as to beset the House, and demand the *Levite* that they might know him. The old Man finding them deaf to all Reason, the *Levite's* Concubine by Consent went out to them, and they abused her till she died. Next Morning the *Levite* finding his Wife's dead Body lying on the Threshold, carried it home, and cutting it into twelve parts, sent one to every Tribe, that a general Assembly of *Israel* might consider what was fit to be done for the Punishment of this Wickedness, that a Stop might be put to such an Inundation of Debauchery, and the Wrath of God might not be poured out on the whole Nation for it. The *Israelites* being all assembled, from *Dan* on the North, to *Beerseba* on the South, sent to demand of the Tribe of *Benjamin* the Men that had committed the Crime; but the *Benjamites* refused to deliver them, and gathered together to defend *Gibeab*. A great Army of the *Israelites* of about 400000 Men, after asking Counsel of the Lord, which of them should go up first? that is, who should march in the Van, and command the Battle? went to attack the Place. But the Army of the *Benjamites* tho' only 26000 Men, put them to the Rout, killing 22000 of them. The *Israelites* again asked Counsel of God, lamenting their Loss, and were a second Time defeated, with the Loss of 18000 Men. Being too confident of the Goodness of their Cause, and the Superiority of their Numbers, they only enquired, who should go up first? but did not depend on the Lord for his Assistance and Blessing; wherefore by these repeated Losses, he signified his Displeasure for their Sins. Before the third Engagement, they being truly humbled, looking to the Lord for Success, the same was promised to them; which did not make them negligent; but they were more careful in laying an Ambush, and using all warlike Stratagems, in which they were so successful, that they entirely defeated the *Benjamites*, set Fire to their Cities, killed of them 25000 Men, and destroyed every thing belonging to them that came to Hand. 'Tis easy to justify the Hand of God in this Matter; for *Benjamin* had deeply sinned; and the Lord had threatened, that if they did so, they should surely perish (c). The Sin of *Gibeab* was the Beginning of the Corruption of *Israel* (d); But their Brethren in the Heat of War seem to have dealt very hardly with them, to destroy them all, as if they had been *Canaanites* devoted to Ruin, only six hundred Men of the whole Tribe escaping, who hid themselves four Months in the Rock *Rimmon* (e). Wherefore the *Israelites*, when they came to cooler Thoughts, repented that they had almost cut off one of their own Tribes, and considered how they might retrieve that Loss: But being all under a solemn Oath not to give their Daughters to the *Benjamites*, upon a Muster they found the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead* had been absent from the War; tho' threatened with Death in case of Neglect; therefore they sent twelve thousand Men thither, with Orders to kill all the Men and married Women in *Jabesh*, and to bring away the Maids to be matched with the Men that remained of *Benjamin*. Accordingly they found four hundred Maids who were given to the *Benjamites* remaining in the Rock *Rimmon*; but this being too small a Number of Wives for them all, they gave them leave to carry off as many more as they had Occasion for, of the young Women that repaired to the Festival at *Shiloh*, and to marry them. This was a preposterous Way of matching, without previous

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Affecti-

(a) Judges xix. 1. (b) Judges ix. 18. (c) Deut xxviii. 20. (d) Hosea ix. 9. & x. 9. (e) Judges xx. 47.

Affection of Parties, or Consent of Parents, not to be drawn into a Precedent ; tho perhaps the Parents might be afterwards satisfied when they understood that their Daughters were married to Men of plentiful Fortunes, who had the whole Tribe of *Benjamin* among them, and would be honourable Mothers to a Tribe in *Israel* : But these Disorders were occasioned by Want of a fixed Magistracy ; which, blessed be God, is not our Case.

Soon after the Death of *Othniel*, the Children of *Israel* revolted again to Idolatry, and did Evil in the Sight of the Lord : Therefore the Lord delivered them into the Hands of *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who oppressed them eighteen Years ; yet when they cried to the Lord, he raised up a Deliverer, *Ehud* the Son of *Gera*, a *Benjamite* (a). Though *Benjamin* was now the weakest of the Tribes, yet out of it God raised a Saviour, to signify that he was reconciled to them, and to manifest his Power, in ordaining Strength out of Weakness. This Man put to Death *Eglon* King of *Moab*, as a Minister of Justice, executing the Wrath of God upon him, as an implacable Enemy to God and his *Israel*. The Fact justifies it self, since it was done by a Commission from God, who is righteous in taking Vengeance, tho' it will by no means warrant any now in doing the like, when no such Commission can be produced. *Ehud* told *Eglon*, That he had a Message from God to him, which made the corpulent Prince stand on his Feet to shew Reverence ; and in the mean Time *Ehud* gave him a mortal Wound in the Belly by a Dagger, made his Escape at a back Door, gathered the People of *Israel*, secured the Fords on the River *Jordan*, and killed all the *Moabites* that came to pass that Way. In this manner he destroyed tenthousand of them, who might be the whole Number then on the West-side of *Jordan*, to keep *Israel* in Aw : And the Land enjoyed Peace eighty Years. In this Space is to be included the Administration of *Shamgar* the son of *Anath*, who slew of the *Philistines* six hundred men with an ox-goad, and he also delivered *Israel*. 'Tis probable that *Ehud* being superannuated, the *Philistines* made an Inroad into *Canaan*, to ravage it, and God put it into the Heart of *Shamgar* to oppose them, he having neither Sword nor Spear, took the Instruments next at hand, the Tools of his Plough, and with these killed so many Men and came off unhurt. Thus a Deliverance was wrought by unlikely Means, that the Excellency of the Power might be seen to be of God and not of Men.

The children of *Israel* again did evil in the sight of the Lord, when *Ehud* was dead. And the Lord sold them into the band of *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, that reigned in *Hazor* ; the captain of whose host was *Sisera*, which dwelt in *Harosheth* of the *Gentiles*. And the children of *Israel* cried unto the Lord : for he had nine hundred chariots of iron ; and twenty years he mightily oppressed them (b). This *Jabin* seems to have been a Successor to another of the same Name, whom *Joshua* overthrew. The City that was then burnt, he repaired, and reigned in the Bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, near the Waters of *Merom*, to the North-east of the Land of *Canaan*. This Oppression was more severe to *Israel* than the former ; the Enemy being nearer to them, in their very Bowels, more capable to do them Mischief. These *Canaanites* had been subdued by *Joshua*, and might have been rendred incapable of giving any Disturbance, if the Sloth, Cowardice and Unbelief of *Israel* had not suffered them to gather to a Head ; and the Memory of their former Overthrow made them implacable. When God heard the Cry of his People, he raised up *Deborah*, a Prophetess in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who corrected Abuses, redressed Grievances, especially such as related to the Worship of God, and decided Differences between those that resorted to her for Judgment. She sent and called *Barak* the Son of *Abinoam* out of *Kedesh-Naphtali*, directing him to take ten thousand Men out of his own and the neighbouring Tribes, and fight the Army of *Jabin*. At his Desire she went with him ; and in the Name of the Lord promised Success. They marched to the River *Kishon*, which seems to rise from the two Sides of Mount *Tabor*, and runs in one Branch to the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West, and by another into *Jordan* on the East. There *Sisera* met them with nine hundred Chariots of Iron, and a numerous Army. But the Lord struck a Terror upon him and his Forces. The stars in their courses fought against him (c) *Josephus* says (d), A violent Storm of Hail and Rain was driven by the Wind in the Faces of the *Canaanites*, so as they could neither use Darts, Slings nor other Weapons ; but the Wind being on the Backs of the *Israelites*, encouraged and pushed them forward : And thus by the Assistance of Heaven, the *Canaanites* were overthrown, and *Barak's* Army pursued and cut them in Pieces. *Sisera* himself leaving his Chariot, fled a Foot till he came to the Tent of *Jael* the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who entertained him kindly till he fell asleep, and then she drove a Nail through his Head ; and when *Barak* came, he found him dead. A divine Impulse may justify this Fact of *Jael* to a publick Enemy : But now when no such Warrant can be pretended, it ought not to be imitated ; but the Laws of Friendship and Hospitality must be observed to those who put Confidence in us. *Deborah* the Prophetess praised God in a sweet Song for the Victory (e), where she magnifies the Deliverance, by considering the Calamities from which

(a) Judges iii. 12.—30. (b) Judges iv. 1,—3. (c) Judges v. 20. (d) Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. m. 152, 153. (e) Judges v.

which they were freed, by a remarkable Appearance of the same God who gave the Law at Mount Sinai. She calls those who reaped the Benefit to join in Praises, commends these Tribes who were forward in the War, and upbraids those who declined the Service. And the Land had Rest forty Years.

About the eighth Year of *Deborah's* Government happened the History that's recorded in the Book of *Ruth*; for from the Time of *Joshua*, we have only these Generations, *Salmon* married *Rahab*, saved from the Ruin of *Jericho*, because she hid the Spies; of her he had *Boaz*, who married *Ruth* the *Moabitefs*. Now, if we reckon from the second Year of *Joshua's* Government, some Time being requisite to instruct *Rahab* in the Jewish Religion before her Marriage, to the eighth Year of *Deborah*, we will find 144 Years: For sixteen Years of *Joshua's* Government, forty for that of *Othniel*, eighty for that of *Ehud* and *Shamgar*, and eight Years of *Deborah*, make up that Sum. If then we allow that *Rahab* was married in the eighteenth Year of her Age, which is not extraordinary, especially in those Times, and brought forth *Boaz* in her fifty sixth, having been married then thirty eight Years; and that *Boaz* had by *Ruth*, *Obed*, in the hundred and sixth Year of his Age: These two Numbers, 38 and 106, will also make 144 Years, and consequently fall in the eighth Year of *Deborah*, as the Time of *Obed's* Birth. I own that where the Scriptures do not precisely point out the Year, Chronologers differ; and so it is in the present Case: But the Reason why we thus fix the Time of this Event, will further appear when we come to answer Difficulties upon the Chronology of this Period. 'Tis not very necessary to know who was the Penman of this Book; 'tis like to have been the same who wrote the Book of *Judges* (a), with which it is connected, because the Matters here recorded, happened in the Time of the Judges; and it fitly goes before the Books of *Samuel*, because in the End thereof the Genealogy of *David* is introduced. Nevertheless the Jews commonly in their Bibles separate it from both, making it one of the five *Megilloth*, or Volumes near the End of their sacred Writings; in this Order, *Solomon's Song*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Esther*. Here we have related, that in the Time of the Judges, a great Famine being in *Israel*, a Man of *Bethlehem* named *Eliamelech*, went with his Wife *Naomi*, and his two Sons *Mablon* and *Chilion*, into the Land of *Moab* to find Food. *Eliamelech* died there, and his Relict married her Sons to two Women of the Country, named *Orpah* and *Ruth*. Two Years thereafter the two Sons of *Naomi* died; and she resolving to return to *Israel*, desired her Daughters in Law to remain in *Moab*. *Orpah* with Tears bid her farewell; but *Ruth* cleaving to the Jewish Religion, and to her Mother-in-Law, followed her to *Bethlehem*, where she afterward married *Boaz*, by whom she had *Obed* the Father of *Jesse*, and Grandfather of King *David*. 'Tis not in vain that the Scripture records the Circumstances of *Ruth*, a poor *Moabitish* Widow; for it is in order to her being grafted into the Line of whom our Saviour according to the Flesh came, that she might be a Figure of the Espousals of the Gentile Church to Christ. Here also we have the Law concerning marrying a Brother's Widow (b) illustrated by an Example. The Innocency of the Times in which *Ruth* lived, and the Character of *Boaz*, clear her of Indecency in the Methods she used in gaining the Marriage, tho' the bad Times wherein our Lot is fallen will not justify any now in doing the like.

To return to the History of the Judges: *Deborah* being dead, the children of *Israel* did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord delivered them into the hands of *Midian* seven years (c). This was a severe Oppression: For the *Midianites*, who lay on the East Side of *Jordan*, were a People whom *Israel* had conquered (d); yet now this headless Mob came over *Jordan* as Grasshoppers for Multitude, destroyed all the Provisions and Forage; and sinful *Israel* being separated from their God, had no Spirit to make head against their Enemies, but hid themselves in Dens and Caves of the Mountains. In this Distress they cried to the Lord, who sent a Prophet to reprove them for their Sin and Idolatry; and an Angel of the Lord came to *Gideon* the Son of *Joash* the *Abiezrite*, of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, as he was threshing Wheat secretly, to hide it from the *Midianites*, and appointed him to deliver *Israel* from their Oppression. This was no created Angel, but the Son of God our Redeemer, as a Prelude of his Incarnation: For he is called *Jehovah*, a Name never given to a Creature, and is worshipped and acknowledged as God. *Gideon* being conscious of his own Weakness for so great a Work, demanded a Sign, to assure him of the divine Assistance. He brought a kid dressed, and some unleavened cakes: and there arose up a fire out of the rock, and consumed them: Where the Angel of the Lord turned the Meat-offering into one made by Fire of a sweet Savour, testifying his Acceptance by a Fire that came down from Heaven. *Gideon* began his Reformation by throwing down the Altar of *Baal*, which his Father had, either for himself, or for the whole Town: Which being done, and the People of the Place being informed who had done it, they demanded him of his Father, to put him to Death. *Joash* would not deliver him, but said, If *Baal* is God, let him revenge himself on him that hath thrown down his altar: Therefore he was called *Jerub-*

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(a) Above, p. 131. (b) Deut. xxv. 5. (c) Judges, vi. (d) Numb. xxxi.

rub-baal, as a standing Defiance to *Baal*, (Let him defend his Worshippers if he can) and an Honour to *Gideon*, to be a declared Enemy to this Idol. The *Midianites* and *Amalekites* being encamped in the Valley of *Jezreel*, the Spirit of the Lord put Life in *Gideon* to oppose them. He gathered an Army for that end : And upon his Desire to have his Hopes of Success confirmed by Signs, of a Fleece wet with the Dew, and the rest of the Floor round it dry, and again, the Floor wet and the Fleece dry, the same was granted ; which being truly miraculous, did abundantly serve to confirm his Commission. Some make this an Emblem of the *Jewish* Church at that time, which was wet with the Dew of God's Word and Ordinances, while all the rest of the World was dry : But since they rejected Christ and his Gospel, they are dry while the rest of the Nations are as a watered Garden.

Gideon being thus encouraged by Heaven, marched with his Forces, then consisting of thirty two thousand Men, and encamped by the Well of *Harod* (a), at or near the Fountain of *Jezreel* (b). The Lord told him he had too many Men : He would not deliver the *Midianites* into the Hands of so great a Number, that *Israel* should not glory in the Deliverance as done by their own Strength, but might give all the Praise to the Almighty. Therefore *Gideon* made a Proclamation, that whosoever was afraid might return to their own home : Whereupon two and twenty thousand left the Army. The Lord again told him that the People were yet too many, and ordered him to bring them to the Water, and separate those who drank out of their Hands, from those who lay flat on the Ground, and lapped out the Water with their Mouths : There were only three hundred who did the latter ; yet the Lord assured him, that by so small a Number he would deliver *Israel* from the *Midianites* : Whereupon the rest were dismissed. Next Night *Gideon* went, with his Servant *Pburah*, by divine Appointment, so near the Enemy's Camp, that he heard one Soldier expound a Dream to another, signifying that *Gideon* should rout the *Midianites*. Encouraged by this Prediction, he marched with his three hundred Men, each of them carrying a Trumpet, and an earthen Pitcher in which was a lighted Lamp. He posted them round the Camp of the Enemy. They all sounded their Trumpets together, broke their Pots, held their Lamps in their Hands, and cried, *The sword of the Lord and of Gideon*. Terror and Confusion, impressed by a supernatural Power, seized on the Enemy's Camp : They slaughtered one another ; and those who survived, fled to *Jordan* ; where even the *Israelites* who had been at home, pursued and destroyed them. Some Interpreters (c) make this to signify the Destruction of the Devil's Kingdom in this World, by sounding the Trumpet of the everlasting Gospel, and holding forth the Light thereof out of weak earthen Vessels ; for such Ministers are (d), that the Excellency of the Power may be of God : Or as representing the Terrors of the great Day. If these Trumpets, Pitchers and Firebrands, did so affright the proud Troops of *Midian* and *Amalek* ; who shall be able to stand before that great Terror, when the Trumpet of the Archangel shall sound, the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat, and the Lord himself shall descend with a Shout ?

Gideon having by a miraculous Assistance gained a complete Victory, gave notice to the Inhabitants of Mount *Ephraim*, to cut off the Retreat of the *Midianites*, and secure the Passes on *Jordan*. They seized *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, whom they put to Death, presenting their Heads to *Gideon* ; yet complained that he had not called them to share of the Honour of the Victory. But he, like a wise Judge, calmed their Passions by a condescending Speech (e) ; then, as a valiant General, he pursued the Remainder of the *Midianites* over *Jordan*. They had made a terrible Havock of themselves ; one hundred and twenty thousand fell : But the two Kings of *Midian* being, 'tis like, better provided for an Escape than the rest, got over *Jordan* before the Passes could be secured by the *Ephraimites*, and made towards their own Country. *Gideon* followed them with his three hundred Men ; who being fatigued and weary, he asked Provisions for them of the Men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* ; which they not only refused, but also mocked him : For which Insolence he threatened them with military Execution upon his Return. At last he overtook the *Midianites*, while they were secure ; routed them, took their two Kings, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Prisoners ; seized their Ornaments, and killed themselves with his own Hand, because by their own Confession he found they had slain his Brethren at *Tabor*. The Destruction of these Kings is long after pleaded in Prayer as a Precedent to hope for the Ruin of the Church's Enemies (f). Next Day, in his Return, he chastised the Elders of *Succoth* with Thorns and Briers, beat down the Tower of *Penuel*, (both which Places are in the Tribe of *Gad*, on the other Side of *Jordan*) and slew the Men of their City, or those who had affronted him, as he had before threatened, for their Ingratitude and Insolence. After the Victory, the Men of *Israel* said unto *Gideon*, *Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son : for thou hast delivered us from the hands of Midian*. This being in effect to give him an hereditary kingly Government, he declined it, saying, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you : the Lord shall rule over you*. *Israel* was then under

(a) Judges, vii. (b) 1 Sam. xxix. 1. Wells's Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. 2. p. 296. (c) Henry on Judges vii. (d) 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. (e) Judges, viii. (f) Psal. lxxxiii. 11.

a Theocracy; God raised up extraordinary Judges or Rulers, and qualified them for governing his People prosperously, while they were subject to his Laws: And such a Ruler *Gideon* affected to be, and not to change their Form of Government. Nevertheless in this he erred, that having erected an Altar by divine Appointment in his own City *Opbrab*, for an extraordinary Occasion, he thought it might be continued for ordinary Use; and therefore raised Contributions out of the Spoil taken from his Enemies, to hire Priests, and to make priestly Garments, especially an Ephod, that he might consult God at his own home upon all Occasions. *Which became a snare unto Gideon and to his house (a)*: For there was in this Practice, Superstition and Will-worship, serving God by a Device of his own; Presumption, in causing other Priests to wear this kind of Ephod which was peculiar to the High-priest; Transgression of a plain Command, of worshipping God but at one Place and one Altar (b), making a Schism among the People, and laying a Stumbling-block or an Occasion of Superstition before them. *Midian* being subdued before the Children of *Israel*, so that they lifted up their Heads no more, the Country was quiet forty Years (c):

A. M.
2713.
Ant. C.
1237.

So soon as *Gideon* was dead, the children of *Israel* turned again, and went a whoring after *Baalim*, and made *Baal-berith* their god (d). The Name of this Idol signifies, The Lord or God of the Covenant. Dr. Cumberland (e) conceives, that it was *Chronus* or *Cham*, worshipped at *Berytus*: Others (f) think this was a Goddess of the *Phœnicians*, (the Hebrew Terminations *ith* and *uth* being feminine) and that she was the same worshipped antiently by the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the Name of *Cybele*: But I stay no longer upon it (g). This Apostacy was punished by intestine Broils and Confusions among the *Israelites* themselves: For *Gideon* having several Wives, had by them seventy Sons, and also one named *Abimelech*, a base or natural Son, born of a Concubine at *Shechem*; who thrust himself into the Government in his own City, by Subtlety, and cruel Murder of all the Sons of his Father. The *Israelites* were so degenerate, and so ungrateful to the House of *Gideon*, as not to revenge this barbarous Massacre. For which *Jotham*, the youngest Son of *Gideon*, who had been by kind Providence hid when his Brethren were killed, reproved them in a pleasant Parable (h), upbraiding them for chusing such a base Person to be their King; and then retired for fear of *Abimelech*. At length a Spirit of Division arose between *Abimelech* and the Men of *Shechem*, headed by one *Gaal* the Son of *Ebed*, who being betrayed by *Zebul*, *Abimelech's* Confident, was soon made disappear, and the Men of *Shechem* ruined, a thousand of them being burnt to Death in the House of their Idol *Berith*. *Abimelech* pursued the Remainder of his Enemies to a small City in the Neighbourhood of *Shechem*, or *Neapolis*, called (i) *Thebez*, where he forced the Inhabitants from the Town into the Castle; which when he endeavoured to burn, a Woman threw a Piece of a Millstone on his Head, which broke his Skull; and he called on his Armour-bearer to thrust him through with a Sword, that it might not be said a Woman had slain him. Thus God recompensed the Wickedness that *Abimelech* had done in killing his seventy Brethren. Of him it may be said, as of another Tyrant, That he came in like a Fox, ruled as a Lion, and died like a Dog, after he had been a Plague to his Country three Years.

A. M.
2716.
Ant. C.
1234.

After him there arose to defend *Israel*, *Tolab* the Son of *Puab*, the Son of *Dodo*, of the Tribe of *Issachar*. He dwelt in Mount *Ephraim* near the Heart of the Country, that the People might conveniently resort to him for Judgment. Tho' there be little on Record of him, yet he seems to have been a good peaceable Man, raised up to reform Abuses, to put down Idolatry, to appease Tumults, and heal Wounds given to the Church and State during *Abimelech's* Usurpation; and he governed *Israel* twenty three Years (k).

A. M.
2739
Ant. C.
1211.

Fair a *Gileadite* succeeded him, and judged *Israel* twenty two Years. He was of the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, on the East Side of *Jordan*: Tho' they seemed separated from their Brethren, yet God took Care, that while the Honour of the Government shifted from Tribe to Tribe, before it settled in *Judah*, that they who lay remote should sometimes share in it. 'Tis remarked concerning this Judge, *That he had thirty sons who rode on thirty asses colts*. His Family increased, and his Sons had Preferments, being itinerant Judges, who rode from Place to Place in their Circuits, to administer Justice, as Deputies to their Father; and they had good Possessions, every one a City, called *Havoth-Fair*, that is, the Villages or Cities of *Fair*; either from a famous Man among their Ancestors of that Name (l), or from their own Father, who gave them to his Sons, who fortified and enlarged them.

A. M.
2761.
Ant. C.
1189.

The children of *Israel* did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and served *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*, and the gods of *Syria*, and the gods of *Zidon*, and the gods of *Moab*, and the gods of the children of *Ammon*, and the gods of the *Philistines*, and forsook the Lord, and served not him (m). By introducing these foreign Deities, they rendered themselves mean and despicable; for no Nation that had any Sense of Honour would change their Gods; and it was the Height of

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Folly

(a) Judges, viii. 27. (b) Deut. xii. 5. (c) Judges, viii. 28. (d) Judges, viii. 33. (e) Phœnician History, p. 15. (f) Jurieu Hist. des Dogmes, &c. p. 619. (g) See the History of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 289, — 292. (h) Judges ix. See Dr. Patrick on Judges ix. (i) Vide Hieronymum de locis Hebraicis ad vocem Thebez. (k) Judges x. 1, 2. (l) Numb. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xiii. 30. (m) Judges x. 6.

Folly, Wickedness and Ungratitude towards the Lord their God, who had given them many miraculous Deliverances. Therefore the Lord renewed his Judgments upon them, for *he sold them into the hands of the Philistines to the South-west of Canaan, and to the hands of the Ammonites, to the North-east, so as between these Millstones the whole Land was miserably crushed.* The Oppression of the *Ammonites* continued eighteen Years, a greater Part of which seems to have been in the Time of *Jair*. Even then was fulfilled, *that they should be slain before their enemies, and have no power to stand before them (a).* Their Ways and Doings had procured this to themselves. In so great Distress *Israel* cried to the Lord, saying, *We have sinned against thee, both because we have forsaken our God, and also served Baalim.* He upbraided them for their Folly; whereon they renewed their Confession, and professed Reformation; for *they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the Lord; and his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel.* As an Evidence of divine Favour, they were directed to the Choice of *Jephthah* to be their Deliverer. He was the Son of *Gilead* by an Harlot (b). His Brethren expelled him from his Father's House, but being a mighty Man of Valour, having Soldiers gathered to him, his Countrymen at this Time thought they could not chuse a fitter Person to be their Captain. He is recorded as one of the Worthies of the Old Testament, who by Faith did great Things (c), even though he had not such an extraordinary Call as the rest there mentioned. Having accepted the Command, he sent Messengers to the King of the Children of *Ammon*, to expostulate for his oppressing *Israel*, being willing to prevent the Effusion of Blood; or if that could not be done, to let all the World see that the War was just and necessary. The King of the *Ammonites*, whose Name is not on Record, answered, *Because Israel took away my land, when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and unto Jordan; now therefore restore these lands peaceably.* To which *Jephthah* replied, *That the Israelites had taken that Land from Sihon King of the Amorites, who had been the Aggressor, not only refusing them Passage through his Country, but also coming out to fight against them, that the Lord their God had given them that Land, and what he had given them so long ago, they would not part with.* *Jephthah* having so clear a Call to the War, went over against the Enemy, gained the Victory, and took from them twenty Cities. In his Return his Daughter came out to meet him, with Timbrels and Dances; and *she was his only child, besides her he had neither son nor daughter.* This greatly afflicted him, for when he was going upon this dangerous Expedition, he had vowed to the Lord, *That whatsoever should come forth of the doors of his house to meet him, should surely be the Lord's; and he would offer it up for a burnt-offering.* The Vow was rash, and too general; and now he thought there was no Remedy; for he said, *I have opened my mouth to the Lord, and I cannot go back.* His Daughter submitted, only seeking *two months to bewail her virginity with her fellows upon the mountains*; lamenting that there should be none left to represent her Father's Honour and Estate. At the End of the *two months she returned to her father, who did with her according to his vow.* Whether he devoted her only to God and to perpetual Virginity, or offered her up for a burnt-offering; I shall not determine. The latter seems more agreeable to the Text. If he did so, it looks very barbarous; and none can be justified in doing the like. The Men of *Ephraim* having insulted and threatened *Jephthah* for not calling them to assist in the War against the Children of *Ammon* (d), the Matter came to a Battle, wherein the *Gileadites* overthrew the *Ephraimites*, and killed of them in the Fight, and as they passed the River *Jordan*, forty two thousand. *Jephthah* having judged *Israel* six Years, died, and was buried in one of the Cities of *Gilead*.

After him *Ibzan* of *Bethlehem* judged *Israel* seven Years. He might have been an old Man, tho' he was Judge but for a short while; for he had thirty Sons and thirty Daughters, all of whom he lived to see married; and these numerous Alliances, with his own personal Merits, might qualify him for the Government, which he exercised near the Center of the Kingdom, at *Bethlehem Judah*.

Elon of *Zebulun*, in the North of *Canaan*, was next raised up to administer Justice and reform Abuses. Ten Years he continued in that Office (e). Dr. *Lightfoot* reckons, that in the Beginning of his Government, the forty Years of the *Philistines* Oppression mentioned in *Judges* xiii. 1. commenced; and about that Time *Samson* was born. 'Tis like that *Elon* residing in the North of *Canaan*, the *Philistines* who bordered upon its Southern Parts, took this opportunity to make Inroads upon them.

Abdon of the Tribe of *Ephraim* succeeded and governed *Israel* eight Years. In him the mighty Tribe of *Ephraim* began to recover its Reputation, having not afforded any Person of Note on sacred Record since *Josua*; for *Abimelech* the *Shechemite* was rather a Scandal to it. This *Abdon* had a numerous Offspring of forty Sons, and thirty Grandsons, who rode on seventy Ass-colts, either as Judges and Officers, or as Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction. It might

(a) Lev. xxvi. 17. 37. (b) Judges xi. (c) Heb. xi. 32. (d) Judges xii. (e) Judges xii. 11, 12.

might give him Pleasure to *see his childrens children*; but 'tis to be feared he did not see peace upon *Israel*; for by his Time the *Philistines* had begun to oppress them.

The History of *Samson*, the last of the Judges before *Eli*, is recorded at greater Length; he made a great Figure, and yet vastly different from that of his Predecessors; for we never find him at the Head either of a Court, or of an Army, in the Throne of Judgment, nor in the Field of Battle, yet in his own Person a great Patriot of his Country, and a terrible Scourge to its Enemies and Oppressors. He was an eminent Believer (a), and a Type of him, who *with his own arm wrought salvation*. The History of the rest of the Judges begins with their Advancement to that Station, but *Samson's*, with his Conception and Birth. While the Children of *Israel* were under Oppression by the *Philistines*, to punish their Sins, the Angel of the Lord appeared to the Wife of *Manoah*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, who was barren, and bare not, assuring her that she should have a Son, who shall be a *Nazarite*, and begin to deliver *Israel* from the Hand of the *Philistines*. The Woman told her Husband, who desired that the same blessed Messenger might give them further Instructions concerning the Management of this Child. God graciously answered his Petition; the Angel again appeared, and repeated the Directions. *She shall not eat of anything that cometh of the vine, neither let her drink wine or strong drink, nor eat any unclean thing (b)*. *Manoah* offered to entertain the Angel with Meat; but he declined it, and appointed it to be turned to a Sacrifice, which he graciously accepted. By the whole Conduct of the Angel, he appears to have been an extraordinary Person, even the Messenger of the Covenant, the Son of God, as a Forerunner of his Incarnation; for he is called *Jehovah (c)*, a Name incommunicable to a Creature. He received and accepted of religious Worship, and his Name is *secret* or wonderful. *Manoah* was struck with Fear; but his Wife, tho' the weaker Vessel, was the stronger Believer. She argued well, saying, *If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering at our hands;—nor would he as at this time have told us such things as these*. He would not have accepted our Sacrifice, by turning it to Ashes, nor given us such Manifestations, nor such gracious Promises, now when Vision is rare, and we are under fore Oppression.

The Promise was soon accomplished, the Woman who had been long barren, did bear a Son, and called his Name *Samson*; which is derived from *Shemesh*, the Sun; and it seems he shined like a little Sun. In his Childhood he grew to more than ordinary Strength; as an Evidence of divine Favour, in his Youth, *the spirit of the Lord began to move him (d)*. He began to exert himself in more than ordinary Actions, against the Incursions of the *Philistines*. The other Parts of his Life are surprizing and uncommon. He courted to Wife a Daughter of the *Philistines* at *Timnath*, which was contrary to the Law of *Moses*. He did well to ask his Father's Advice. His Parents were against it for Fear of Idolatry; but Providence over-ruled the Matter, that *Samson* might have Occasion to quarrel with the *Philistines (e)*. As he was going to court the Maid, he met a Lion and killed it, renting the ravenous Beast in Pieces with his Hands. Passing afterwards the same Way, to marry his Bride, he found a Swarm of Bees in the Throat of the Lion he had killed before, which had made a Honey-comb in it: He took it, and gave it to his Father and Mother, without telling them whence he had it. During the Wedding-feast, *Samson* proposed a Riddle to thirty young Men sent by the *Philistines* to bear him Company, or to watch him. *Out of the eater, said he, came forth meat, and out of the strong sweetness*. He gave them seven Days to expound it, upon Condition, that if they did so, he would give them thirty Sheets, and thirty change of Garments; but if they did not, they should give him the same Number. These young Men not knowing how to expound the Riddle, on the seventh Day of the Week, but fourth Day of the Feast, applied themselves to his Wife, to let them in to the Secret. By her Prayers and Tears *Samson* was prevailed with to let her in to it; and she immediately told it to these young Men, who said to *Samson*, *What is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* He perceived his Wife had discovered the Mystery, and said, *If you had not ploughed with my heifer, you had not expounded my riddle*. Satan with his Temptations could not do us so great Mischief, if he did not plough with the Heifer of our corrupt Nature. The paying of the Wager did not cost him much Money, for going to *Ascalon*, one of their chief Cities, he there slew thirty of the *Philistines*, whose Garments he gave to them that expounded the Riddle: But being incensed at his Wife, he retired to his Father's House, and she was married to one of these young Men who had attended the Wedding.

At Harvest Time *Samson* returned, and was much surprised, when his Father-in-law told him, that his Wife was married to another (f). Looking upon the whole Nation of *Israel* wronged in the Affront done to him as a publick Person, he resolved to be revenged; and in order to it, found Means by himself, or the Help of others, to catch three hundred Foxes, which he tied together two and two by the Tails, with lighted Torches to them, and so turned them in among the standing Corn of the *Philistines (g)*; to which they set Fire in so

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(a) Heb xi. 32. (b) Judges xiii. 14. (c) Judges xiii. 23. (d) Judges xiii. 25. (e) Judges xiv. (f) Judges xv. (g) See the Bishop of Ely's Notes on Judges xv. & Bocharti Hierozoicon Edit. 1682. p. 854.—5.

many Places at once, when it was dry, or in the Night Time, that it could not be quenched. The *Philistines* understanding that it was *Samson*, Son-in-law to the *Timnite*, who had done them this Mischief, they came to *Timnath* and burnt his Father-in-law and his Wife; whereby they punished their own People for their Treachery to *Samson*. Nevertheless he carried on his Revenge; for he smote the *Philistines* with a great Slaughter, and then retired to the Top of the Rock *Etam* in the Tribe of *Judab*. The *Philistines* came down to take him; but fearing to go up against him themselves, they demanded him of the Men of *Judab*, who being afraid to oppose their Enemies, upbraided *Samson* for what he had done, and offered to seize and deliver him to the *Philistines*. He suffered himself to be bound, and the *Philistines* came forward to lay Hands on him: But he broke in Pieces the Cords with which he was tied; and taking up the Jaw-bone of an Ass, with it he killed a thousand *Philistines*. The Heat of the Action made him so excessively thirsty, that he was ready to faint, had not the Lord caused a Stream of Water to flow out of a Rock called *Lehi*; or the Jaw-bone (a); with which he quenched his Thirst, and praised God for the Victory. Then went *Samson* down to *Gaza*, where he saw an Harlot, and went in to her (b). This was his Sin and Folly, for an *Israelite*, a *Nazarite* dedicated to God, to join himself to a heathen Harlot: And it was not without Danger; for the *Philistines* having Notice that their Enemy was there, shut the Gates designing to apprehend him; but he rose at Midnight, being perhaps roused by a Dream, and went away with the Gates of the City, the Posts, Bar and all upon his Shoulders, and carried them to the Top of a Hill, which looks towards *Hebron*. He was again taken in the Snare of unlawful Love, to a woman in the valley of *Sorek*, whose name was *Delilah*. This Adulteress did hunt for his pretious life. The Princes of the *Philistines* made Interest with her, saying, Intice him, and see wherein his great strength lieth, that we may bind him, to afflict him; and we will give thee every one of us eleven hundred pieces of silver. Five Lords having made this Offer, hence would arise 5500 Pieces, amounting to about a thousand Pound Sterling. She used her utmost Art to gain the Reward. *Josephus* insinuates (c), That she gave him intoxicating Liquor. If he willingly took it, this would be a Breach of his Vow as a *Nazarite*. However *Samson*, after deceiving her three several Times, was at last prevailed on by her Importunity, to tell her all that was in his Heart, saying, There hath not come a razor upon mine head from my mothers womb, if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak as another man. *Delilah* then caused shave his Head; as he lay asleep on her Knees. Having lost the Badge of his Consecration as a *Nazarite*, the *Philistines* took him without any Difficulty; and having put out his Eyes, led him to *Gaza*, loaded with Irons, and shut him up in Prison. His Strength and Defence departed from him, when the Covenant of his Separation to God was profaned. Some time after the *Philistines* kept a Day of Rejoicing for the taking of their greatest Enemy, and ascribed the Honour of their Victory over him to *Dagon* their God. After feasting and carousing, they brought out *Samson* to make Sport to them. He had probably repented of his Sin in the Prison; and now his Locks began to grow. Being brought to the House full of Men and Women, with three thousand on the Top of it, he desired to feel the two Pillars on which the House rested. 'Tis not incredible that so large a House might lean on two Pillars; for many antient Arts are now lost, on which a learned Author hath wrote a particular Book (d), and especially that of Architecture, which the *Philistines* might learn from the *Phœnicians* their Neighbours. And we find one *Curio*, in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, built two Theaters (e), which contained more People than this House of *Dagon*, and yet each of them leaned upon one Pillar. *Samson* having laid hold on the Pillars of the House, and prayed to God for his Assistance, that he might be avenged only this once upon the *Philistines* for his two Eyes, the House fell to the Ground. The Weight of the People on the Top would contribute to the Fall; and few of those who were on the Top, or within it, could escape, being either stifled or crushed to Death. Thus they whom he killed at his Death, were more than those whom he slew in his Life. *Samson* himself perished with the rest. He had often as a publick Person exposed himself to Dangers, in opposition to the declared Enemies of the Church of God, and now was willing to die, to obtain a great Victory over them. This then can give no Encouragement to such as wickedly murder themselves; nay, 'tis rather a Type of our Saviour, who by willingly yielding himself to Death, obtained a glorious Victory over Hell, and all the Powers of Darknefs. *Samson* being dead, his Friends buried him in the burying Place of *Manoah* his Father, after he had judged *Israel* twenty Years. He pleaded the Cause of *Israel*, and avenged them on their Enemies in many wonderful Actions; which deserve Credit, since what is impossible with Man, is possible with God: And that *Israel* was not fully delivered under the Conduct of such a valiant Captain, was owing to their own Sin and want of Courage. His Life is not designed to be a Pattern for us; for we are to live by Rules, and not by Examples: But

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2812.
Ant. C.
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(a) *Josep. Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 162.* (b) *Judges xvi.* (c) *Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 162.* (d) *Pancirollus de rebus deperditis.* (e) *Plin. nat. hist. lib. 36. cap. 15.*

it was rather a Type of him, *who was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, that he might destroy and condemn sin in the flesh.*

§ 22. At this Time *Eli* the High-priest judged *Israel* (a). He succeeded *Samson* : And it is remarkable, that in the whole History of the Judges, some of whose Actions are very particularly recorded, there is not so much as once mention of the High-priest, or any other Priest or *Levite* appearing either for Counsel or Action, from *Phinehas* (b) (who was the Son of *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron*) to *Eli*, which may be reckoned two hundred and fifty Years ; only the Names of the High-priests during that time are preserved (c). How can this be ? Surely it intimates that this Institution was chiefly intended to be typical, and the mighty Benefits promised by it were to be chiefly look'd for in the Anti-type, the everlasting Priesthood of our Lord Jesus, in comparison of which the *Levitical* Priesthood had no Glory. The principal Events in the Government of *Eli* are recorded in the first four Chapters of the first Book of *Samuel* ; which Books are so named, not because *Samuel* was the Penman of them, except so much as was within his own Time ; to the twenty fifth Chapter of the first Book ; but because the first Book contains a large Account of him. The rest, concerning the Reigns of *Saul* and *David*, might be writ by *Nathan*, *Gad*, or *David* himself. It is no matter though we know not the Penman, since the Record is indited by the Spirit of God as a Part of the Canon of the Scriptures, as such received by the Church of the *Jews*, and faithfully transmitted to us. The first Book begins with the Conception and Birth of *Samuel*. Some Scripture Worthies are introduced abruptly, the first Mention of them being in their full Growth and Lustre ; others are described from their Conception and Nativity, as *Moses*, *Samson*, *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *John* the Baptist, and our blessed Saviour. *Hannah*, the Wife of *Elkanah*, a *Levite* of Mount *Ephraim*, had been long barren. Her Husband's other Wife, *Peninnah*, reproached her ; which was so afflicting to her Spirit, that when she went up to *Shiloh* to the solemn Feasts, she did not eat. Her Husband, who dearly loved her, comforted her, saying, *Am not I better to thee than ten sons ?* yet her Concern put her to Prayers and Tears. She begged a Child, a Man-child ; that he might be for the Service of the Tabernacle ; and if God would give her such a Child, she vowed she would devote him to God as a *Nazarite* from the Womb. *Eli* the Priest perceiving her Lips move, but her Voice not heard, at first censured her as one drunk ; but being better informed, that she was a Woman of a troubled Spirit, pouring out her Complaint before God, he encouraged her, saying, *The God of Israel grant thee thy petition : go in peace.* Whereupon she went away, and did eat of the Remainder of the Peace-offerings ; none of which was to be left till the Morning : And having good Hopes of the hearing of her Prayers, *her countenance was no more sad.* She and her Husband went home, and soon had a Man-child, named *Samuel* ; whom his Mother nursed, and thereafter presented him to the Lord at the Tabernacle, conform to her Vow, with Burnt-offerings and Meat-offerings : And being sensible of the Greatness of her Mercy, with a Spirit of Prayer and Prophecy she indited a pleasant Song (d). *Elkanah* being dismissed with the High-priest's Blessing, went home to his House ; where his Wife *Hannah* bare him three Sons and two Daughters (e). These pious Parents came up yearly to offer their Sacrifices at *Shiloh* : *Hannah* brought to *Samuel* her Son a little Coat, and rejoiced to see him minister to the Lord under the Direction of the High-priest. But Matters went not so well with the Family of *Eli*. The Wickedness of his Sons was great : They profaned the Offerings of the Lord ; for, to gratify their own Luxury, they took violently from the People a great Share of the Peace-offerings which did not belong to them : And though they had Wives of their own, they debauched those that came to worship at the Door of the Tabernacle. Old *Eli* was grieved with the Report of these Enormities, yet reprov'd his Sons with too great Mildness and Lenity : Wherefore the Lord sent him an alarming Message by a Prophet, threatening the Ruin of his Family for the Wickedness his Sons were guilty of.

Mean time *Samuel* increased in the Favour of God : He not only appeared as a young Priest, girt with a linen Ephod, though by Birth a *Levite* only ; but also as a young Prophet, in whom the Spirit of Prophecy, then rare and uncommon, did revive (f). When *Eli* was a-bed, God manifested himself to *Samuel* in an extraordinary Way, discovering the Judgments he would inflict on the House of *Eli* ; which he related faithfully to the old Man next Morning, when he adjured him to tell the Matter ; and the High-priest patiently submitted to the divine Sentence : Though he knew that it entailed Disgrace and Poverty on his Posterity, yet he said, *It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.* And *Samuel* was established a Prophet, which all *Israel* knew. The Predictions against the Family of *Eli* soon began to be fulfilled. The *Philistines* had been long Oppressors of *Israel*, and by this time had recovered from the Mischiefs that *Samson* had done them. They gained a Victory at *Aphek*, killing about four thousand *Israelites* (g). The Elders of *Israel*, without resolving to fast, to pray,

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(a) 1 Sam. iv. 18. (b) Judges, xx. 28. (c) 1 Chron. vi. 4, — 7. (d) 1 Sam. ii. 1, — 11. (e) 1 Sam. ii. 20, 21. (f) 1 Sam. iii. (g) 1 Sam. iv.

or amend their Lives, quarrelled with God for appearing against them, saying, *Wherefore hath the Lord smitten us?* and concerted Measures for another Engagement. They caused the Ark of the Lord to be carried from *Shiloh* unto the Army, for which they had no Warrant. *Hophni* and *Phinehas* the Sons of *Eli*, who had provoked the Lord with their Wickedness, went along with it. The *Israelites* rejoiced at the Sight thereof, and the *Philistines* were alarmed; yet this only sharpened their Courage, *to be strong, and quit themselves like men.* And in the Day of Battle *Israel* were put to the Flight: The *Philistines* killed thirty thousand of them, the Ark of God was taken, and the two Sons of *Eli* were slain. External Privileges will secure none that abuse them, and live unlike to them. To this sad Event the Psalmist refers: *He gave his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemies hand.* — Their priests fell by the sword (a). A Man of the Tribe of *Benjamin* brought the News to *Eli*; who hearing that the Ark of God was taken, fell from his Seat, broke his Neck, and died. He was an old Man, of ninety eight Years, and heavy; his Eyes dim that he could not see, and had judged *Israel* forty Years. He was also a good Man, more taken up about the Interest of the Church, than any secular Concern of his own: *His heart trembled for the ark of God.* No Wonder; the Ark was a special Symbol of God's Presence; it had remained at *Shiloh* from *Joshua's* Days, three hundred and fifty Years or thereby: But now their Candlestick was removed, and did never return to that Place. The Desolations of *Shiloh* ought to be remembered, that we may not provoke God by our Sins to remove his Ordinances from us as from that City (b). Of the same pious Disposition were others; particularly the Wife of *Phinehas*, *Eli's* Daughter-in-law, being near her Time, her child-bearing Pains came upon her at hearing these doleful News. Though she brought forth a Son, she did not regard it; but, dying, desired to call her Son *Ichabod*, because *the glory was departed from Israel, the ark of God was taken.*

The *Philistines* triumphed, and placed the Ark of God in *Asdod*, (called by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Azotus*) one of their five principal Cities, and set it by *Dagon* in the House of *Dagon* (c). Though Heathenish Idols admitted of Partners, God will admit of none: He alone must be worshipped. The *Israelites* had no Courage to vindicate the Cause of their God, but he asserted his own. The Triumph of the *Philistines* was short: *Dagon* fell twice before the Ark; the Head of *Dagon* and both his Hands were cut off on the Threshold, only the Stump or fish-like Part remained: (For *Dagon* is derived from *Dag*, a Fish; and the *Jews* say, that from the Navel downwards he had the Shape of a Fish, and upwards the Shape of a Man; of which I have writ more fully in another (d) Essay.) Down he comes before the Ark, to signify the Fall of the Kingdom of Satan before the Kingdom of Christ. Error must yield to Truth, and Corruption to Grace. The Downfall of *Dagon* did not make the *Philistines* repent of their Idolatry, and seek the God of *Israel*, as they ought to have done; and therefore many of them were destroyed, and others were smitten with Emrods (e). This made them acknowledge the Power of the God of *Israel*, and send his Ark to *Gath*; where they, and also the *Ekronites*, feeling his avenging Wrath, at last sent the Ark of God home to the Land of *Canaan*, with rich Presents, of five golden Emrods and five golden Mice, after it had been detained in the Land of the *Philistines* seven Months (f). Two milch Cows carried the Ark, on a new Cart, to *Beth-shemesh* in the Tribe of *Judah*. The Men of that Place rejoiced to see it; they offered the Cows in a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving to God, and set down the Ark of the Lord on the great Stone *Abel*. But the People in and about *Beth-shemesh*, to gratify a sinful Curiosity, looked into the Ark, (which was forbidden even to the *Levites* (g) under Pain of Death;) and the Lord smote of the people fifty thousand and three-score and ten men (h). If this be thought an Act of too great Rigour, let it be considered, First, That Men are very incompetent Judges of these Matters, since they understand not the Reasons and Causes of these Judgments, and particularly of his severe Procedures against the People of *Israel* under the *Old Testament* Dispensation, for those Sins that did immediately concern his Worship, as a Warning to others: Yet it is certain, though God's Way be often secret, it is never unrighteous. Secondly, Many learned Men translate and understand this Text otherwise, and make the Number smitten at *Beth-shemesh* much smaller. *Josephus* (i) the *Jew* says only seventy Men were killed. A very learned Author (k) translates it, *He smote of or among the people seventy men out of fifty thousand*; the Particle *mem*, of, or, out of, being understood before the Word *fifty*. The *Romans* used to make a Decimation, by cutting off every tenth Man, in case of the general Guilt of their Army: Here it is the twentieth Man. The *Syriac* and *Arabic* Versions read this Text, *five thousand and seven y men*. Finally, Some think the seventy Men were *Beth-shemites*, slain for looking into the Ark, and the fifty thousand were those who were slain for profaning the Ark in the Land of the *Philistines*.

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(a) Psal. lxxviii. 61, 64. (b) Psal. lxxviii. 60, 67. Jer. vii. 12. (c) 1 Sam. v. (d) See the Hist. of the Propag. of Christianity, Vol. i. p. 295, — 298. Kimchi in 1 Sam. v. 2. (e) Psal. lxxviii. 66. (f) 1 Sam. vi. (g) Numb. iv. 18, — 20. (h) 1 Sam. vi. 19. (i) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. m. 172. (k) Bocharti Hierozoicon, lib. 2. p. 370. See the Hist. of Ely on 1 Sam. vi. 19.

The Men of *Beth-shemesh* were so struck with the Terror of this Judgment, that they sent a Message to the People of *Kirjath-jearim* to fetch away the Ark; who complying with their Desire, brought it to the House of *Abinadab* in the Hill, and sanctified *Eleazar* his Son to keep it (a); and all the house of *Israel* lamented after the Lord. It rested there twenty Years. The People being sensible, that by their Sin they had provoked the Lord to withdraw his Ordinances and Signs of his Presence, and give them up to their Enemies, longed for his Return. This encouraged *Samuel* to begin a general Reformation, exhorting them, *Put away (says he) the strange gods; and Ashtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.* The People obeyed these Orders, and assembled at *Mizpeh*; where they fasted, wept and prayed. The *Philistines* hearing of this general Meeting of *Israel*, marched to attack them. The *Israelites* were afraid of their old Oppressors, and intreated *Samuel* never to cease in praying to God for them; which he cheerfully did, and made Intercession, by offering up a Lamb in a Burnt-sacrifice. The Lord graciously accepted his Oblation, and heard his Prayer; the *Philistines* were intirely defeated, in such a Manner as magnified the Power of God; For the Text says, *The Lord thundred with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them, and they were smitten before Israel.* And the men of *Israel* went out of *Mizpeh*, and pursued the *Philistines*, until they came under *Beth-car*. *Josephus* (b) adds, that the Earth quaked, and in many Places opened and swallowed up the *Philistines*; their Faces and Hands were burnt with Lightning, and they obliged to shift for themselves by Flight. Honour was put on the Hosts of *Israel*, being employed to pursue and complete the Victory. For all which *Samuel* erected a Monument, by setting up a Stone between *Mizpeh*, and *Shen*, which he called *Ebenezer*, saying, *Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.* From this Time the *Philistines* came no more into the Coasts of *Israel*; the Hand of the Lord was against them all the Days of *Samuel*, and the *Israelites* recovered the Towns taken from them, from *Echron* even to *Gath*. *Samuel* judged *Israel* all the Days of his Life, going from Year to Year in Circuit to *Bethel*, *Gilgal* and *Mizpeh*, for the Convenience of his Country, though his ordinary Residence was at *Ramah*, his Father's City. Thither they resorted from all Parts of the Land to have their Complaints heard, and their Causes determined; and there *he built an altar to the Lord*: Which he did not in Contempt of the one Place of Worship (c); but (God having laid *Shiloh* waste, looking on the Law tying them to one Place for the present suspended) as a Prophet under divine Direction, as the Patriarchs of old, he built an Altar near his own Residence, for the Use of his own Family, and the good of those who resorted to it.

When *Samuel* was old, he made his Sons, *Joel* and *Abiath*, Judges over *Israel*. They walked not in his Ways, but took Bribes, and perverted Judgment. This made the People incline to a Change of Government, and desire a King; a poor Prophet in a Mantle, though conversant in the Visions of the Almighty, look'd mean in their Eyes: They would have a King, with his Guards and Officers of State, to appear great as other Nations. The Thing displeased *Samuel*; it cut him to the Heart (d), and surprised him. He went to God in Prayer concerning it, and the Lord said to him, *Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* They are weary of a Theocracy, or divine Government of Judges, having a Call and Commission immediately from God; but let them be beaten with their own Rod: [God gave them a king in his anger (e).] Shew them the Laws and Customs of the Kings in the East: Ask them how they will bear the Pomp and Magnificence, the Charges and arbitrary Power of such a Potentate? He must have a great Retinue of Servants, a magnificent Table, a standing Army, great Favourites, and great Revenues to maintain his Power. These would be their Grievances, and they would have none but God to complain to. Notwithstanding this fair Warning, they were obstinate in their Demand, and it was granted to them.

§ 23. THE Appearance of Providence in the Election of their King was remarkable. *Saul* the Son of *Kish*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, was a handsome Youth, taller by Head and Shoulders than any of the People (f). His Father's Asses being gone astray, he sent his Son *Saul*, with a Servant to seek them. He was careful of his Parents Interest, and obedient to his Commands, yet sought the Asses in vain: But as he was passing through the Land of *Zuph*, his Servant said to him, *Behold there is in this city a man of God, an honourable man, all that he says cometh to pass; peradventure he can shew us which way we should go.* God had the Day before given *Samuel* notice of his coming, and that he was the Person who was to be King: Wherefore when *Saul* asked him, Where is the House of the Seer? *Samuel* answered, *I am the seer: go up before me unto the high-place, and ye shall eat with me to day, and to morrow I will let you go. As for thine asses that were lost three days ago, they are found: and on whom is the desire of Israel? is it not on thee?* He entertained him with respect above all the other Guests

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(a) 1 Sam. vii. (b) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. m. 172. (c) Deut. xii. 11. (d) 1 Sam. 2. (e) Hosea. xiii. 11. (f) 1 Sam. ix.

at Table; and next Day having caused him send away his Servant, he poured a Vial of Oyl upon his Head and kissed him (a), and said, *Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?* As a Sign of the Truth of his Designation to this Office, *Samuel* prophesied, that on his Return he should meet two Men near *Rachel's* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Father's Asses were found; and that in the Plain of *Tabor* he should meet three Men going to *Bethel*, one of them with three Kids, another with three Loaves of Bread, and a third with a Bottle of Wine; and that when he came to the Hill of God, where there was a Garrison of the *Philistines*, he should find a Company of Prophets going into the City, where the Spirit of God should come on him, and he should prophesy among them. These Prophets 'tis like were not divinely inspired to foretell Things to come, but employed themselves in the study of the Law, in instructing their Neighbours, and in Acts of Piety, especially in praising God, in which they were assisted by the holy Spirit. All the Signs happened as foretold; but none of them was so remarkable as *Saul's* associating himself with the Prophets. In a short Time his Nomination to the Throne was made publick, in a general Assembly of the Elders of *Israel*, and Representatives of the Tribes at *Mizpeh*. The People signified their Approbation, Choice and Acceptance of him, saying, *God save the King*, that is, let the King live, let him long reign over us in Health and Prosperity: Only some few Men of *Belial* despised him, which was not noticed. *Saul* went home to *Gibeah*, to his Father's House, with a small Band of Men, whose Heart the Lord had animated for this Service; and the Congregation being dismissed, every Man went to his own House.

In the Beginning of this King's Government *Nabash* King of the *Ammonites* laid Siege to *Jabesh-Gilead*, on the other Side of *Jordan*. The People offered to surrender upon Terms of Safety; but *Nabash* imposing disgraceful Conditions, *to thrust out their right eyes, and lay it as a reproach upon Israel*, they sent to *Gibeah* to demand Aid of *Saul*. When the Messengers came, he had gone out to see his Flocks (b): But upon his Return, hearing a general Lamentation among the People, he was so animated with Zeal for the publick Service, that he sent Messengers thro' all *Israel*, summoning them in his own Name, and in that of *Samuel* to come to the Relief of *Jabesh*, upon Pain of a severe Death, or being cut to Pieces, as he had done with a Yoke of Oxen. The People obeyed, so as there appeared in a very short Time three hundred thousand *Israelites*, and thirty thousand of the Tribe of *Judah*; whereon *Saul* sent welcome Tydings to the Men of *Jabesh* then in Perplexity, promising them Relief next Day. And accordingly dividing his Army into three Companies, he fell upon the Camp of the *Ammonites* in the Morning Watch, about Day-break, and killed them till Noon. These that escaped were so scattered, as two of them were not left together. The People were so ravished with this Victory, that they would have all who despised *Saul* put to Death: But he opposed the Motion; and they made a publick Recognition and Confirmation of his Election to the Government at *Gilgal*, where they sacrificed and gave Thanks to God as the Author of all their Success.

Samuel made a Speech to them (c) before he entirely resigned the Government into the Hands of *Saul*. In his Discourse he clears himself of all wrong Administration, minds them of the great Things God had done for them, and for their Fathers; sets before them the Blessing attending Obedience to the Law of God, and the Curse following upon Disobedience; and by the Lord's sending Thunder and Rain in the Time of Wheat-harvest, which was unusual, convinceth them of their Sin in seeking a King. If it be asked, wherein consists their Sin in this Matter? I answer, not simply in desiring a King, for that was foretold (d); but that they desired a King as being weary of divine Government by Judges. They asked him in an impetuous Manner, at an unseasonable Time, before the Government of *Samuel*, which had been so useful was expired, and without seeking Leave or Advice from God, which in so weighty and difficult a Case, ought not to have been neglected. The People being by these divine Signs made sensible of their Sin, confessed it, were afraid of Judgments, and desired *Samuel* to pray for them, which he promised to do, telling them also, that all should be well, if they would fear and serve the Lord in Truth, and with all their Heart; but if they still did wickedly, God would consume both them and their King.

While *Samuel* was joined in Commission with *Saul*, Matters went prosperously, but so soon as *Saul* began to reign alone, all went wrong; for in the second Year of his Reign (e), he chose him a Band of three thousand Men, of which two thousand remained with the King at *Michmash*, and one thousand with *Jonathan* his Son at *Gibeah*. If he intended these for a Guard to his Person, they were too many, if for a standing Army against the *Philistines*, they were too few. *Jonathan*, 'tis like, by his Father's Order cut off a Garrison of the *Philistines* at *Geba*. If this was done in Violation of the Articles of Peace, as some conceive (f), it was wrong, and had this Effect, that *Israel* was had in Abomination by the *Philistines*, who gathered together a great Army of six thousand Horse, which was rare in those Days, thirty thou-

(a) 1 Sam. x. (b) 1 Sam. xi. (c) 1 Sam. xii. (d) Deut. xvii. 14 15. (e) 1 Sam. xiii. (f) Henry on 1 Sam. xiii.

thousand Chariots, and People as the Sand on the Sea Shore for Multitude, whom *Josephus* (a) calls three hundred thousand Foot, and pitched at *Michmasb*. Mean Time *Saul* had but a small Host. He and his People were faint hearted, so as manly hid themselves in Caves and Rocks, or retired over *Jordan*. *Saul* waited for *Samuel* seven Days at *Gilgal*; but having no Patience to stay till the seventh Day was at an End, tho' that seems to have been the appointed Day of Meeting, the King himself, tho' he was neither Priest nor Prophet, offered Sacrifices. Before the Burnt-offering was well over *Samuel* came and reproved *Saul* for his Presumption; who not repenting, rather pleaded Excuse for what was done; and *Samuel* told him, the Kingdom should not continue in his Family; *The Lord hath sought a man after his own heart to be captain over his people*. Then the Prophet retired from the Camp, where *Saul* had only six hundred Men with him, and these without Sword or Spear, the *Philistines* having suffered no Smiths to live in the Land of *Israel*. In this bad Posture of Affairs, the *Philistines* in three Companies spoiled and pillaged all the Country. God having Compassion on his People, that they might not be ruined by the Uncircumcised, filled *Jonathan* with a Divine impulse to make a bold Adventure upon the Enemies: He and his Armour-bearer trusting in the Conduct of Providence, scrambled up over the Rocks, killed about twenty Men of the *Philistines*. A trembling Fear, or as in the original Phrase (b) *a trembling of God*, being supernatural, coming immediately from the Hand of God, seized upon the whole Camp. The Earth quaked, and all was in such a Confusion, as the Army melted away, and fled when none pursued; and went on killing one another: Being, 'tis like, made up of mercenary Soldiers from neighbouring Nations, they understood not what others spake, and in this Consternation destroyed one another. The Watchmen of *Saul* observing how the Matter went, informed the King, who quickly gathering as many as he could, with many who had before deserted, pursued the Enemy; and, in this Confusion, killed them from *Michmasb* to *Ajalon*. But the Pursuers became faint, for *Saul* had adjured them, saying, *Cursed be the man that eateth any food until the evening, that I may be avenged on mine enemies*. This rash Interdict had bad Effects, for the People at Even run upon the Spoil, took Sheep, Oxen and Calves, which they killed on the Ground, and eat with the Blood, till a Remedy was provided for the Enormity. The Lord being consulted, if *Israel* should pursue the *Philistines* next Day, it was answered, *Not that day*. The Cause of this being enquired into, *Jonathan* was taken by Lot, who not hearing his Father's Prohibition, had tasted a little Honey, for which his Father sentenced him to die; but the People rescued him, as the Instrument of their Deliverance.

After this Victory *Saul* fought against his Enemies on every Side, against *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the Kings of *Zobab*, and the *Philistines*; and whithersoever he turned he vexed them. He had a flourishing Family, *Abinoam* the Daughter of *Abimaaz* his Wife, *Jonathan*, *Ishui*, and *Melchishua* his Sons, *Michal* and *Merab* his Daughters, and *Abner* his Cousin-German, General of his Host. *Samuel* commanded him to make War on the *Amalekites*, and utterly destroy them, because they had laid wait for *Israel*, when they came out of *Egypt*, as is recorded in *Exodus* xvii. 8,—16. and *Deut.* xxv. 17,—19. In Obedience to this Charge, *Saul* mustered a great Army of two hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Men of *Judah*; and having given Warning to the *Kenites*, the Posterity of *Jethro*, *Moses's* Father-in-law, to depart from the *Amalekites*, which they did, he smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* unto *Shur*; that is, to the Borders of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* (c). Yet he did his Work but by Halves; for he spared King *Agag* and the best of the Cattle (d). Upon his Return *Samuel* came to *Gilgal*, where he smartly reproved the King for sparing the Cattle of the *Amalekites*. Tho' *Saul* had done this from a covetous Inclination, to keep the Cattle for his own Gain, yet he pleaded for Excuse, that they were reserved to sacrifice to the Lord. But the Prophet told him, *That obedience was better than sacrifice*. Conformity to the moral Precepts recommends us more to God than all ceremonial Performances; and since he had rejected the Word of the Lord, God had rejected him from being King. Whereon *Samuel* would have left *Saul*; but he detained him, to gain the Respect of the People: For if the Prophet left him at this Juncture, he feared his Subjects would all revolt. *Samuel* caused *Agag* to be cut in Pieces, and then returned to *Ramah*; and *Saul* went to *Gibeab* his own City. From that Time he came no more to see the King, yet he mourned for him; and for the bad State of the Country.

§ 24. *SAMUEL* was once more called out from his Retirement, where he instructed young Prophets, to do a piece of publick Service, namely, to anoint a Man after God's own Heart to be Captain over his People. The Prophet being ordered to go to *Beth-lehem* (d); the Elders of that Town trembled at his coming; but he told them he came peaceably, to sacrifice to the Lord; and called *Jesse* and his Sons to sanctify themselves and come to the Sacrifice. When *Jesse* and his seven Sons appeared before *Samuel*, the Lord let him know that none of these was the Person whom he designed: But *Jesse* having yet another Son keeping Sheep; the

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(a) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 180. (b) 1 Sam. xiv, 15. (c) Gen. xxv. 18. (d) 1 Sam. xv. (e) 1 Sam. xvi.

the Prophet ordered him to be called. *He was ruddy, of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to. And the Lord said, Rise, anoint him; this is he. Then Samuel took the horn of oyl, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.* Though his outward Circumstances were not changed in the mean time, for he continued keeping his Father's Flock; yet the Anointing was not an empty Ceremony: A divine Power went along with the instituted Sign, and he found himself inwardly advanced in Wisdom, Courage, Concern for the Publick, and all Qualifications proper for a Prince; to satisfy him that his Election was of God. *Samuel* having done this Service, retired again to *Ramah*: And we never read of him but once (a), till we hear of his Death. He thought he might die in Peace, having *seen the salvation of God*, even the Sceptre brought into the Tribe of *Judah*. *The spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him.* He having forsaken God and his Duty, the Lord in his righteous Judgment withdrew from him those Assistances of the good Spirit which formerly fitted him for the Government; and he became fretful, peevish, discontented and timorous, even a Terror to himself. *Josephus* (b) says, that *he sometimes became like a Demoniac, like one choked or strangled.* And thus he was rash in his Counsels, a Contempt of his Enemies, and a Burden to all about him. In these Circumstances one of the King's Servants recommended *David*, whose Anointing was a Secret, as a proper Person to be sent for to Court, to cure the King of this Melancholy. So soon as the Messengers came, *David's* Father sent him, with a small Present of Bread and Wine, usual in those plain Times: And he proved an useful Physician to the King. *Josephus* (c) adds, that he sung Hymns, whereby *Saul's* Thoughts were stayed from entertaining evil Suggestions. The King loved *David*, and chose him for his Armour-bearer. And thus, without any Contrivance either of *David* or his Friends, he had Access to Court, to see the World; and was further fitted for the Service to which God had designed him.

David was also qualified for the Camp, by a remarkable Appearance of Providence in his favour: For though the *Philistines* had been lately routed, yet, probably hearing of *Saul's* Distemper, and that *Samuel* no longer assisted nor advised him, they gathered an Army, and encamped between *Shoboh* and *Azekah*, in the Tribe of *Judah* (d). *Saul* mustered his Forces, and faced them in the Valley of *Elah*. A mighty Man, named *Goliath*, who was six Cubits and a Span high, (which some (e) compute ten Foot; others (f), reckoning twenty one Inches to a Cubit, make him eleven Foot four Inches) well armed from Head to Foot, came out between the two Armies forty Days successively, challenging any of the *Israelites* to a single Combat. *Saul* and *Israel* were afraid at this Bravado, because the Spirit of the Lord was departed from them. At length *David* coming to the Camp with Provisions to his Brethren, offered to engage this *Philistine*. *Saul* told him he would not be able to withstand such an Adversary, who was elder, stronger, and a Man of War from his Youth. But *David* gave a Reason for his Courage from Faith and Experience: For by divine Assistance he had formerly killed a Lion and a Bear which robbed him of his Lambs; and the Lord *Jehovah*, who had delivered him from the Mouth of the Lion and the Paw of the Bear, would deliver him from this *Philistine*. *Saul* then encouraged him, saying, Go, and the Lord be with thee. Yet he would not use the Armour given him, because he had not proved it; but advanced against the provoking *Philistine* with a Staff, a Sling, and five smooth Stones chosen out of the Rivulet that run by: And putting his Confidence in *Jehovah Sebaoth*, the God of the Armies of *Israel*, to whom he would give the Praise, he threw a Stone from the Sling, so exactly and with such Force, that the Stone sunk in the Forehead of *Goliath*; and he fell upon his Face to the Earth. Then *David* ran in upon him, and cut off his Head with his own Sword. The Event of this Combat striking a Terror into the Army of the *Philistines*, they fled: The *Israelites* pursuing them to the Gates of *Ekron*, in their Return plundered their Camp. *David* being now a Conqueror, brought the Head of the *Philistine* to *Jerusalem*, perhaps to be a Terror to the *Jebusites*, who then held the strong Hold of *Zion*. Great notice was taken of this Action, yet *Saul* being melancholy, seems to have forgotten *David*; and therefore asked, as if he had never seen him, *Whose son is this youth?* *Abner* could not tell, having taken little notice of the King's Musician; yet he introduced him to the Court, where he appeared with greater Advantage than before. *Jonathan* the King's eldest Son made a Covenant, and contracted extraordinary Friendship with him, giving him his own Robe and Garments, even to his Sword, his Bow and his Girdle; whereby he equipp'd him both as a Courtier and as a Soldier (g). *Saul* gave him the Command of a Part of the Army; and he was acceptable to the King's Servants at Court, and to all the People. But *David's* Troubles trode upon the Heels of his Triumphs. In a Progress that *Saul* seems to have made over the Country, Women in many parts sung a Song, whereof the Burden was, *Saul hath slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands*; and from that Time he never look'd on *David* with a good Eye. In his

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(a) 1 Sam. xix. 18. (b) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 9. p. m. 187. (c) Ibid. (d) 1 Sam. xvii. (e) Du-pin's Abridgement of the Church-history, Vol. 1. p. 142. (f) Henry on 1 Sam. xvii. Bp. Cumberland. (g) 1 Sam. xviii.

Fury he threw a Javelin to nail him to the Wall, as he was playing on the Harp : But he avoided the Blow, and retired out of his Presence. He removed him from Court, and gave him the Command of a thousand Men in the Army ; where he behaved with such Wildom and Courage, as to increafe his Reputation. Then *Saul* propos'd to marry him to *Merab* his eldest Daughter, but gave her to another, in order to provoke him ; yet offer'd to give him his youngest Daughter *Michal*, who had a secret Kindness to him : And he had merited such a Match when he killed *Goliath* (a) ; but the Offer was made on condition that he should kill a hundred *Philistines*, to endanger his Life. *David* was so far from declining the Terms, that he killed two hundred *Philistines*, and brought their Foreskins in full Tale to the King. Thus at last he obtained his Bride, and behaved himself more wisely than all the Servants of *Saul*.

Notwithstanding all this, *Saul's* Enmity increased against *David*, so as he spoke to his Son *Jonathan*, and to his Officers at Court, to put him to Death ; which was so far contrary to *Jonathan's* Inclinations, that he patch'd up an Agreement between *David* and his Father (b) : And *David* behaved so valiantly in a new War with the *Philistines*, that *they fled from him, and he slew them with a great slaughter*. This added to *Saul's* Envy, so as when *David* play'd on the Harp, he sought to smite him to the Wall with his Javelin or Spear : But he fled, and escaped. Next Morning *Saul* order'd him to be secured ; but *Michal*, his Wife, got him out at a Window, and put a Sham on the Instruments of Cruelty sent to catch him, by placing a Teraphim, or a wooden Image, with a Pillow of Goats Hair, in the Bed, as if it had been her Husband, sick and fast asleep. *David* finding that he was persecuted by bloody men, (as he speaks in the fifty ninth Psalm, penn'd upon this Occasion) retired to *Samuel*, at *Najoth*, near *Ramah*, where the Prophets dwelt. Thither *Saul* sent Messengers twice to apprehend him, who all fell a prophesying ; and coming himself, he was seized with the same Spirit. In the mean time *David* taking it to serious Consideration, if it might be necessary for him to retire into the Country, and take up Arms for his own Defence, did judge it in the first Place proper to consult *Jonathan* his faithful Friend ; who promised to do all that in him lay to appease his Father, and to give him notice if he could not prevail. These two entred into a strict Covenant of Friendship, ratified with a solemn Oath (c). At the Feast of the New-moon, which *Saul* observed, though he was rejected of God, finding *David* absent, the King asked his Son, *Why comest not the son of Jesse, neither yesterday nor to day ?* *Jonathan*, conform to his Promise, made *David's* Excuse, That he had asked leave to go to *Beth-lehem*, to keep a Sacrifice with his Father's Family ; which was true. At hearing this, *Saul* became implacable, telling *Jonathan*, that *as long as the son of Jesse lived, he would never be established in the kingdom. Fetch him to me : for he shall surely die.* At which Words *Jonathan* rose from the Table, and in the Morning went to the Field ; where he acquainted *David*, as they had agreed, and they parted with Tears, and Tokens of sincere Friendship.

David having now taken leave of *Saul's* Court and Camp, was treated as an Outlaw and Traitor, being oblig'd to shift from Place to Place for his own Safety. His Troubles are very particularly related, not only to be a Key to the Psalms, but also that he, as other Prophets, might be an Example to Saints in all Ages, of Sufferings and Patience ; and especially that he might be a Type of Christ, who being anointed to the Kingdom, humbled himself, and was therefore highly exalted. Only the Sufferings of *Jesus* are a Copy without a Blot ; those of *David* are not so. For *David* came to *Nob* (d), where the Tabernacle then was ; being willing to see it, before, to his Grief, he should be banished from publick Ordinances, which he so highly valued, as appears from the forty second, sixty third and eighty fourth Psalms. There *Abimelech* the Priest said, *Why art thou alone, and no man with thee ?* And *David* said, *The king hath commanded me a business, and hath said unto me, Let no man know any thing of it.* What he told, was false, and occasioned the Death of the Priests of the Lord. Though he was a Man of Faith and Courage, yet here he betrayed Fear and Cowardice. Had he trusted God aright, he would not have us'd such a sorry Shift for his Preservation. *David* asked of *Abimelech* Bread. Travelling was then troublesome, when there were no publick Houses to lodge in ; and Men were oblig'd to carry Provisions with them. The Priest said he had none but hallowed Bread, even the Shew-bread, that had been a Week on the golden Table of the Sanctuary, and was taken thence for the Priests and their Family, when new Bread was substitute in the room thereof. *David* considering his present Necessity, and that his Followers were under no ceremonial Uncleaness, took it. Next he wanted a Sword, and there was none to be had, save that of *Goliath* the *Philistine*, wrapt in a Cloth, behind the Ephod ; and he said, *Give it me ; there is none like it.* He had before done Execution with it ; and being now well grown in Strength and Stature, he was able to manage it. *David* thinking himself not safe at *Nob*, where he saw *Doeg*, the chief of *Saul's* Herdsmen, who he feared would betray him, fled to *Achish* King of *Gath*. That Prince's Servants suspected him, and said to their Master, *Is not this the king of the land ? Did they not sing of him, Saul hath slain his*

(a) 1 Sam. xviii. 25. (b) 1 Sam. xix. (c) 1 Sam. xx. (d) 1 Sam. xxi.

thousands, and David his ten thousands? Startled at these Words, the good Man counterfeited himself mad. Which can scarce be justified, as not becoming his Honour and Sincerity; yet it may be excused, being like a Stratagem in War, to impose upon his Enemies, in order to escape from Danger. And it had the desired Effect; for the Heathen King *drove him away; and he departed*. But though he changed his Behaviour, he did not change his Spirit: His Heart was fixed trusting in the Lord, as appears by the thirty fourth and fifty sixth Psalms, penn'd upon this Occasion, as their Titles bear.

David being driven from the Land of the *Philistines*, retired to the Cave of *Adullam*; which is in the Tribe of *Judah* (a); Thither his Brethren, with all his Father's House, with many who were oppressed with Debts, or discontented, resorted to him, making in all a Band of four hundred Men. *Joab*, *Abishai*, and other Worthies, were of the Number of his Relations who here ventured with him (b), in Hopes of being afterwards advanced by him. He took care to settle his aged Parents in a Place of Safety in the Land of *Moab*, till, says he, *I know what God will do for me*; expecting a good Issue of his Troubles; not from his own Art or Arms, but from the Wisdom, Power and Goodness of God. By the Advice of the Prophet *Gad*, who attended him, he went from the strong Hold to the Forest of *Hareth*, in the Land of *Judah* (c). Mean time *Saul* sat under a Tree or Grove in the high Place at *Gibeah*, fretful and anxious, upbraiding his Officers, complaining that his own Son had made a League with the Son of *Jesse*, and that none of them would pursue, nor give Intelligence concerning him. Then *Doeg* the *Edomite*, chief of the King's Herdsmen, said, he had seen the Son of *Jesse* at *Nob*, with *Abimelech*, who consulted the Lord for him, and gave him Bread and *Goliath's* Sword. Whereupon the High-priest *Abimelech*, with all the Priests of his Family, were sent for. *Saul* unjustly condemned them; and his Footmen or Trained-bands refusing to slay them, *Doeg*, who was their Accuser, became their Executioner, killing eighty five Persons who had worn a Linen Ephod: Of which *David* bitterly complains (d). The *Septuagint* (e) makes the Number of the Priests killed by *Doeg* the *Syrian* three hundred and five; and *Josephus* (f) three hundred and eighty five: Which is a strange Mistake or Contradiction to the *Hebrew* Text. *Nob* the City of the Priests was destroyed and plundered; and thus were fulfilled the Threatnings against the House of *Eli*, of whom *Abimelech* was descended; only *Abitub*, called also *Abiathar*, one of the Sons of *Abimelech*, escaped the Slaughter, and fled to *David*, with whom he was in Safety.

Though *David* was so unjustly pursued, yet he ceased not to do good to *Israel*; for hearing that the *Philistines* fought against *Keilah*, a City belonging to the Tribe of *Judah* (g), after consulting the Mind of God; which he might know by *Gad* the Prophet, and *Abiathar* the High-priest, who were with him, he went up, routed the *Philistines*, and entered the City (h). *Saul* being informed that *David* was in a City with Gates and Bars, resolved to besiege him; but *David* being aware of his Danger, prayed to God for Counsel, and caused *Abiathar*, who had the High-priest's Ephod, with the Urim and Thummim, which it seems he brought out of the Tabernacle, when he fled from the Slaughter made by *Doeg*, consult the Case; and the Lord told him, that if he stayed there, *Saul* would come, and the Men of that City would deliver him up. Wherefore he retired to the Wilderness of *Ziph*, where he had in a Wood an Interview with *Jonathan* his Friend, who gave him great Encouragement. The *Ziphites* discovered his lurking Places to the King; upon which Occasion *David* penned the fifty fourth Psalm. *Saul* closely pursued him, but Providence gave a Diversion; for the *Philistines* were invading the Land, and perhaps that Part of it where *Saul's* Estate lay; which obliged him to return and defend his own. No sooner was the War with the *Philistines* over, but *Saul* returned with three thousand chosen Men, to pursue *David* in the Wilderness of *Engedi* (i), upon the Rocks of the wild Goats. By the Way he went in to cover his feet; that is, to sleep in a Cave: For this Sense doth agree to the History, 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 3. and *Judges*, iii. 24. where the Expression is only used. *Saul* being old, and weary with incessant Pursuit of the *Philistines* and *David*, wanted Rest, and God disposed him thereto, that *David* might have Occasion to shew his Integrity; and the Season being probably hot, he might chuse to sleep in a Cave, for the Benefit of a cool Shade. *David* and his Men remained in the Sides of the Cave, when *Saul* came into it. Nor is it incredible that the Cave could hold so many Persons; for *Strabo* (k), that accurate antient Geographer, writes of one in *Judaea*, that would contain four thousand Men: And *Josephus* (l) tells us of several Caves in that Country, where the *Trachonite* Thieves, with their whole Families, lodged, in the Reign of *Herod* the great. *David's* Men observing *Saul* fast asleep, perswaded their Master to kill him; which he refused, and only cut off the Skirt of his Robe; for which his Heart smote him: Perhaps because he had some secret Thought to do more, but he overcame it. *Saul* being gone out of the Cave, *David* followed him with a warm and pathetical Speech; where-

(a) Josh. xv. 21, 35. (b) 1 Chron. xi. 15. (c) 1 Sam. xxii. (d) Psal. lii. (e) Ad α. βασιλεῶν, xxii. 18. (f) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 14. p. m. 196. (g) Josh. xv. 44. (h) 1 Sam. xxiii. (i) 1 Sam. xxiv. (k) Lib. 16. p. 756. (l) Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. p. 502.

in he remonstrated to the King, his Father-in-law, that he was in the wrong to suffer himself to be imposed upon by evil Counsellors, to persecute his own Son, who was so far from wishing him Hurt, that just now, when it was in his Power to kill him, had only cut off the Skirt of his Robe. *Saul* made an affectionate and penitent Reply, owning that it was unjust to pursue *David* as an Enemy, who had shewn such an Act of Generosity; that he knew the Kingdom of *Israel* would be established in his Hand, and desired him to swear not to extirpate his Race: Which he having sworn, they at that Time parted in Peace; yet *David* did not think fit to trust him, but retired to the Hold for Safety.

About this Time the Prophet *Samuel* died, near two Years before *Saul* (a), and all *Israel* lamented him, and buried him in his House at *Ramah* (b). When they saw the Disorders of *Saul's* Reign, they had great Reason to lament their Loss of *Samuel*, and their Sin in rejecting so great a Prophet, and so good a Magistrate, and to do him Honour at his Burial. *David* retired to the Wilderness of *Paran*, and sent some of his Retinue to ask Provisions of a rich Man, called *Nabal*, who was then shearing his Sheep; of which he had three thousand in *Carmel*. *Nabal* gave them a surly Answer, and refused their Demand: Whereupon *David* marched with four hundred Men armed, on a rash Design, to cut off all the Males of this Man's House; but was happily prevented, by the good Address and valuable Presents of *Abigail*, *Nabal's* Wife. In the mean time *Nabal* was rioting at home in Luxury and Drunkenness; but being informed of the Danger he had escaped, his Heart sunk within him, and he died in ten Days. Dr. *Lightfoot* (c) is of Opinion, that the fifty eighth Psalm hath a Relation to him. When he was dead, *David* married his Widow; he also took to Wife *Abinoam*, the Daughter of *Jezreel*: (But *Saul* had given *Michal*, *David's* first Wife, to *Phalti*, or *Phaltiel*, the Son of *Laiish*.) By the corrupt Custom of those Times he ventured on Polygamy, though from the beginning it was not so; nor must it be so now, when our Lord has reduced this Law to the primitive Institution (d). The Troubles of *David* from *Saul* being intermitted a little, returned again, like the Clouds after the Rain. The *Ziphites* were so officious, as to inform *Saul* at *Gibeah* of *David's* Motions (e): Whereupon he marched with three thousand Men, to take or destroy his supposed Adversary. *David*, who was then in the Desert, observed *Saul's* Camp, and went into it with his Friend *Abishai*, the Son of *Zerviah*. By Providence they found *Saul* and all his Men fast asleep; whereupon *Abishai* desired Permission to nail him dead with one Stroke. But *David* would neither lift up his own Hand against the Lord's Anointed, nor suffer another to do it; chusing rather to wait God's Time to bring him to the Crown in a more honourable Way. Only he took away the Spear and the Cruse of Water from the King's Bed-head. Then *David* got up on a Hill on the other Side, and thence called to *Abner*, the Captain of *Saul's* Guards, bantering him and his Men for taking so little Care of their Sovereign, as to suffer his supposed Enemy to take away his Spear and Cruse that was at his Bolster. *Saul* being overcome by *David's* Generosity, made a Confession of his Folly, in persecuting so kind a Man, and went home. Nevertheless, *David* fearing that *Saul's* Mind would change, and that one Day or other he would perish by his Hand, withdrew with his whole Family, and his six hundred Men, under the Protection of *Achish* the King of *Gath* (f). This was Weakness in so great a Man, to leave the Land of *Israel* and the Tribe of *Judah*, where he had hitherto been safe, without consulting God, and to put himself under a Heathen King, where he had formerly been in great Danger. While *David* was in the Land of the *Philistines*, he sought some Town in the Country to dwell in, and *Achish* gave him *Ziklag*, where he staid the most Part of sixteen Months. This was a City given to the Tribe of *Judah* at the first Partition (g); afterwards it was yielded to the *Simeonites* (h), but was either never subdued, or had been taken from them by the *Philistines*; but *David* having got Possession of it, annexed it to the Crown of *Judah*. From thence he went up and invaded the *Geshurites*, the *Gezrites*, with the *Amalekites*, and utterly destroyed them, bringing away all their Spoil, and leaving none to tell Tidings of their Overthrow. The Action itself cannot justly be condemned, because those Nations were among the Enemies of *Israel*, doomed to Ruin; yet *David's* Dissimulation with *Achish*, in telling that he had taken the Booty from the South of *Judah*, cannot be altogether justified.

Preparations were making for a War between *Saul* and the *Philistines* (i): The latter pitched in *Shunem*, a Town far from their own Country, being as far North as the Tribe of *Issachar* (k). *Saul* mustered his Men in *Gilboa*, an adjacent Mountain. When he observed the Army of his Enemies more numerous, better armed, and in better Heart than his own, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. Having provoked God to forsake him, his Interest failed among the Military, and a guilty Conscience made him tremble, as a Leaf shaken with the Wind. In this Distress, he enquired of the Lord, who answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. Wherefore finding no Comfort, either from Heaven

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or

(a) Lightfooti Chronica, p. 28. (b) 1 Sam. xxv. (c) Chronica temporum, p. m. 58. (d) Matth. xix. 4. 5. (e) 1 Sam. xxvi. (f) 1 Sam. xxvii. (g) Josh. xv. 31. (h) Josh. xix. 5. (i) 1 Sam. xxviii. (k) Josh. xix. 18.

or Earth, he resolved to knock at the Gates of Hell; for he said to *his servants*, *seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go and enquire of her*. His Servants were so officious, as to recommend such a one at *Endor*, a City in the Neighbourhood; and the King himself went to her in Disguise in the Night-time, with only two Men waiting on him, desiring her to divine, by calling up the Ghost of such a one as he should name, what Events would befall him, promising by an Oath that no Punishment should happen to her for so doing. This was a grievous Sin in *Saul*, even Necromancy, seeking for the living to the dead; forbidden by the Law (a), and afterwards declared against by the Prophets (b). It was a Contempt of the God of *Israel*, as if any wicked Creature could do him good, when God had left him. It was acting contrary to his own Statutes, whereby he had put away those that had familiar spirits, and wizards out of the land. And it was a Sin which God punished in him by Death (c). The wicked Woman being stirred up by the Importunity and Promises made to her, called up her Familiar, who appeared as an old Man covered with a Mantle; which *Saul* took to be the Ghost of *Samuel* now dead. But in this the King was deceived, for it was not a good, but an evil Spirit, since the Apparition received Worship from *Saul* (d); which a good Spirit would never allow of (e). It did not reprove *Saul* for neglecting God, and consulting Familiars; and it is absurd to imagine that the blessed Saints, who are entered into Peace in *Abraham's* Bosom, should be disquieted by Magick Art. Nevertheless, by divine Permission, as sometimes happened in the Heathen ambiguous Oracles, this Spirit told him, that because he had not obeyed the Voice of the Lord, God would deliver *Israel* with him into the Hand of the *Philistines*; and to morrow, or in a short Time, he and his Sons would be in the State of the dead. At hearing this Voice, *Saul* having eaten nothing all that Day, fainted away with Weakness and Fear; but the Woman made ready a fatted Calf she had in the House, and with the Help of his Servants over-perswaded him to eat: Whereupon he recovered Strength, and returned to the Camp.

When the *Philistines* went to the Battle *Achish* King of *Gath* would have *David* and his Men to march with them (f); for he having resided a Year and four Months in that Country, and been many Days at Court, he had a good Opinion of him. But the Lords of the *Philistines*, lest *David* and his Men should turn against them, perswaded their King to dismiss them. Where the wise and gracious Providence of God appeared in extricating *David* out of these Difficulties into which his own Weakness had thrown him, by fleeing into the Land of the *Philistines*; for if he had gone to the Battle, he must have been, or been thought to be a Traitor to the one or other Side. But being delivered from this Snare, he had a happy Opportunity to recover his own and his All from the *Amalekites*. In going or coming, some of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, who were Men of Renown, and had no Mind to go with *Saul* against the *Philistines*, joined *David* (g), and were very useful to him. He being thus dismissed, found the City *Ziklag* burnt with Fire, his Wives, his Mens Wives, and their Children carried Captives by the *Amalekites* (h). In this Distress the Peoples Minds were so fretted with their Loss, as they spake of stoning *David*. But he encouraged himself in the Lord his God. The believing Consideration of the Power and Providence of God, who reduces his People low, and then raises them up; and the special Promises of bringing him safe to the Throne, supported him, and made him hope that his Trouble would end well: Therefore he caused *Abiathar* the High-priest consult God upon this Question, *Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them?* And the Lord gave him an immediate gracious Answer, *Pursue, for thou shalt overtake them, and without fail recover all*. Upon this Encouragement he marched with his Men in quest of the Enemy, leaving two hundred behind by the Brook *Besor*. He went on with four hundred; and by an *Egyptian* Slave whom his Master had left sick on the Road, he found the *Amalekites* feasting and rejoicing on the Spoil, and smote them from the Twilight to the Evening of the next Day, so as there escaped not one of them but four hundred young Men who rode upon Camels and fled. He rescued his two Wives, with all the Spoil, and all that the *Amalekites* had carried away. Returning to *Ziklag*, he shewed Justice and Generosity in dividing the Spoil, both to his Soldiers who had been in the Engagement, and to those who, being faint, had staid behind; and sent Presents to the Cities and People among whom he had resided during *Saul's* Persecution.

In the mean Time the *Philistines* fought against the Children of *Israel*, and routed them (i). *Jonathan*, *Abinadab*, and *Malchishua*, *Saul's* Sons were killed: Himself being fore wounded by the Archers, bid his Armour-bearer kill him; which he declining, the King fell upon his own Sword and died. His Armour-bearer followed his Example. Thus they became guilty of Self-murder, contrary to the sound Reason of a Man, and to the Religion of an *Israelite*. The Country was put to such Confusion, that the People of the neighbouring Cities fled to the other Side of *Jordan*, and the *Philistines* dwelt in their Room. The Conquerors stripping the

(a) Deut. xviii. 10, 11. (b) Isaiah, viii. 19. (c) 1 Chron. x. 13. (d) 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. (e) Revel. xix. 19. xii. 8, 9. (f) 1 Sam. xxix. (g) 1 Chron. xii. 19, 22. (h) 1 Sam. xxx. (i) 1 Sam. xxxi.

the Dead, found the Bodies of *Saul* and his three Sons. They cut off *Saul's* Head, hung up his Armour in the Temple of *Ashtaroth*, and fastned his Body to the Wall of *Bethshan*. The Men of *Jabesh-Gilead*, either out of Regard to his Memory, who had seasonably delivered them from the *Ammonites* (a), or from a Zeal to the Honour of *Israel*, passing the Fords of *Jordan*, took the Bodies of *Saul* and his Sons from the Wall of *Bethshan*, carried them to *Jabesh*, where they burnt them, or made a burning of Perfumes for them, and gave them a decent Burial; and fasted seven Days to lament the present distracted State of *Israel*, and to pray for its speedy Settlement. Thus died King *Saul*, after he and *Samuel* had governed *Israel* forty Years (b).

§ 25. THE second Book of *Samuel* is entirely taken up with the History of King *David's* ^{A. M. 1892.} Reign, his Troubles and Triumphs, and is called by the seventy Interpreters the *second Book* ^{A. M. 1058.} of the *Kings*. In the first Chapter 'tis narrated, That *David* being returned from the Slaughter of the *Amalekites* to *Ziklag*, on the third Day thereafter a Man came and told him that he had escaped out of the Camp; that *Israel* were overcome, *Saul* and *Jonathan* dead; which he knew full well; for as he passed Mount *Gilboa*, *Saul*, leaning on his Spear, called him, desiring to be killed by his Hand, because his Life was yet whole, or his embroidered Coat, as in the Margin, had hindered the mortal Thrust; accordingly he stood upon him and slew him, because he was sure he could not live; and took his Crown and Bracelets, which he brought to *David*. No doubt this Bearer thought to get a Reward for his News, these being gone who only could obstruct *David's* Access to the Throne. Most Interpreters think the Story of his killing the King false. Dr. *Lightfoot* is of Opinion (c) that it might be true: However *David* gave not this Man the Reward that he expected; but finding him to be an *Amalekite*, destined to Destruction, and guilty of killing the King of *Israel* by his own Confession, which is a sufficient Mean of Probation among all Nations, he ordered him to be put to Death, which was immediately done; and mourned, fasted and wept till the Evening for *Saul*, for *Jonathan* his Son, for the People of the Lord, and for the House of *Israel*, because they were fallen by the Sword; and penned an elegant Poem or Elegy suitable to the Occasion. *David's* Grief did not hinder him from the necessary Care of publick Affairs: He ordered the Men of *Judah*, his own Tribe, to learn the Art of War; and particularly the Use of the Bow, as was more fully recorded in the Book of *Jasher*: Which being a Collection of State Poems, or civil History, not canonical, is now lost, without any Prejudice to the sacred Scriptures. And after receiving Direction from the Lord, he went up to the City *Hebron* with his Family, where the Men of *Judah* anointed him King over their Tribe (d). Being informed of the good Offices the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead* had done to the Body of *Saul* and his Sons, he sent them a kind Message, thanking them for the Honour they had done to the Memory of his Predecessor; thereby to shew that he was far from aiming at the Throne from a Principle of Ambition or Enmity to *Saul*, but purely because called of God to it; and since the House of *Judah* had anointed him their King, it would be Wisdom in the rest of the Tribes to concur in the Choice.

In the mean Time *Abner* the Son of *Ner*, General and Uncle to the preceeding King, took *Ishboseth*, who in 1 *Chron.* viii. 33. is called *Esh-baal* the Son of *Saul*, and made him Sovereign over the other Tribes of *Israel*, in Opposition to *David*. He seems to have been but an indolent Man, not fit to go with his Father to the War, and only set up as a Tool, that *Abner* might the better maintain his Post of Honour in the Army, and his Interest in the Country, yet he reigned two Years at *Mahanaim* before the Beginning of the War with *David*, and five Years after the War broke out; which removes the seeming Difficulty in 2 *Sam.* ii. 10, 11. *Abner* excited a War between *David's* Party, and that of *Ishboseth*, wherein twelve of each Side engaged; and running desperately against one another, were all slain. This resolved into a Battle, wherein *Ishboseth's* Party were all put to the Rout. *Asabel*, the Brother of *Joab* pursued *Abner*, General of the other Side, till *Abner* gave him his Death's Wound by a back Stroke of his Spear. At length *Joab*, on *Abner's* Desire, founded a Retreat; and, upon a Computation of the Loss, it was found, that on *David's* Side there were nineteen Men and *Asabel* wanting; but on *Abner's* Side there were three hundred and sixty killed. Hence ensued a civil War, wherein the House of *David* waxed stronger, and the House of *Saul* weaker (e); tho' whosoever gain in a civil Contest, the Community is sure to lose. During the seven Years *David* reigned at *Hebron*, he had by several Wives six Sons born to him, which strengthened his Interest. At length *Ishboseth* quarrelled *Abner* for debauching one of his Father's Concubines, which the General took in so ill part, that he resolved to bring all *Israel* into Subjection to *David*, and entred into a Treaty with him upon this important Affair. *David* entertained the Proposals very kindly, demanding only that *Michal* the Daughter of *Saul* his first Wife should be restored to him, which was granted, *Phaltiel* her former Husband being obliged to part with her. But *Joab* being informed that *David* had allowed

P p 2

Abner

(a) See above p. 144. (b) Acts xiii. 21. (c) Chronica p. m. 59. (d) 2 Sam. ii. (e) 2 Sam. iii.

Abner to go in Peace, called him back, and under Pretence of a Conference, villainously smote him under the fifth Rib, that he died, in Revenge for the Blood of *Asabel*. *David* publicly declared he had no Hand in that Murder, but abhorred it, and shewed his deep Concern at *Abner's* Death and Burial. Indeed he was at a Loss for a Friend to perfect the Reduction of the Tribes, which yet adhered to *Ishbosheth*: But Providence did bring this about in a Way the King had not in View; for *Rechab* and *Baanah*, two *Benjamites*, Servants to *Ishbosheth*, murdered their Master as he lay asleep on his Bed at Noon, and cut off his Head, which after travelling all Night, they presented to *David* (a); who, instead of rewarding them as they hoped, caused them both to be put to Death for their barbarous Treason.

Ishbosheth being dead, all *Israel* owned *David* for their King, anointed him the third Time, and entred into a Covenant with him, after he had reigned seven Years and six Months at *Hebron* (b). The several Tribes offered him Armies for his Support, and valiant Officers to command them (c). *Jerusalem* had fallen to the Lot of *Benjamin* (d), but joined close to that of *Judah* (e). The Children of *Benjamin* suffered the *Jebusites* to dwell there; and they increased, so as it became a City of the *Jebusites* (f). The very first Action then that *David* did, after he was anointed King over all *Israel*, was to gain *Jerusalem* out of the Hands of the *Jebusites*. They mocked the Assailants, saying, *The blind and the lame*; that is, their Gods, who had Eyes but see not, and Legs but walked not, would defend their city. Wherefore *David* offered Preferment to those who should mount the Top of the Fort, and overthrow these *blind and lame which he abhorred*. This being done the City was taken, which he enlarged, and fixed his Royal Seat there. *Hiram* King of *Tyre* sent Messengers to congratulate *David's* Accession to the Throne, and to offer him Materials and Workmen to build him a fine House, which he accepted of. His Family multiplied; yet it might have been as well with *David* by taking only one Wife at a Time, as so many. By one Wife *Adam* peopled the World after the Creation, and by one *Noah* replenished it after the Flood. The *Philistines* envied his Prosperity, and came and spread themselves in the Valley of *Rephaim* near *Jerusalem*. *David* after consulting the Lord marched out against them, and the Lord delivered them into his hand. He smote them, and gave God the Glory, saying, *The Lord had broke in upon his enemies like a breach of waters*; wherefore he called the Place, *Baal-perazim*. There they left their Images, which *David* and his Men burnt. He had another Engagment with the same Enemies near the same Place; where the Lord gave him sensible Signs of his Presence, directing him to come behind them, when he heard a Sound on the Top of the Mulberry Trees. This being done, he smote the *Philistines* from *Geba* unto *Gazar*, which is near to their own Border.

David being fixed on his Throne, thought it his Duty to bring up the Ark from the House of *Abinadab* to *Jerusalem*; to that End he gathered thirty thousand Men (g), the Nobility, Elders and Officers, with many of the People, came (h) to give this sacred Symbol of the divine Presence an honourable Attendance, at one of the three great Festivals, as some conceive (i). This might possess young *Israelites*, who had perhaps little heard of the Ark of God, with a mighty Veneration for it, when they saw the King, and so many of the best of the Nation waiting on it. They expressed their Joy with Instruments proper for the Occasion: And Dr. *Lightfoot* (k) is of Opinion, that then *David* penned the sixty eighth Psalm, because it begins with the Prayer of *Moses*, when the Ark set forward (l); and in the Psalm it self (m), there is mention of Singers and Players on Instruments, with the Princes of the several Tribes who attended: And 'tis probable that these Words in the last Verse, *O God thou art terrible out of thy holy places*, were added upon the Occasion of the Death of *Uzzah*. Notwithstanding the great Joy among the People, they were guilty of an Error in putting the Ark into a Cart, after the manner of the *Philistines*; whereas according to the Law of *Moses* (n), the Sons of *Kobath*, who were doubtless there, should have born it upon their Shoulders. The first Error occasioned a second, *Uzzah* put forth his hand to the ark of God; and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against *Uzzah*, and God smote him there for his error, and there he died (o). If any think the Punishment severe for such a Crime, let it be considered, that *Uzzah* was but a *Levite*, who are expressly forbidden to touch any holy thing lest they die (p). God who saw *Uzzah's* Heart, with the Presumption and Irreverence of that Action, is best Judge of Offences of that Nature. He did think fit hereby to strike an Aw upon the thousands of *Israel*, to convince them that the Ark was not the less venerable for being long in mean Circumstances; and to teach all to approach God with Reverence and holy Fear; for no good Intention will justify a bad Action. *David* perhaps repented this Stroke too highly, when on this Account he would not carry the Ark to *Jerusalem*, but left it in the House of *Obed-edom* the *Gittite*, who gave it a kind Reception, to learn us to welcome God's Ordinances. They should not be the less precious in our Eyes, because to some they are

(a) 2 Sam. iv. (b) 2 Sam. v. (c) 1 Chron. xxii. 25, — 40. (d) 1 Chron. xvi. 21. 28 (e) Josh. xv. 8. (f) Judges i. 21. xix. 11. (g) 2 Sam. vi. (h) 1 Chron. xiii. 5. (i) Lightfooti Chronica temporum & ordo textuum. p. m. 62. (k) Ibidem. (l) Numb. x. 35. (m) Psal. lxxviii. 25. 27. (n) Numb. vii. 9. (o) 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. (p) Numb. iv. 15. xviii. 3;

are a stone of stumbling. There the Ark staid three Months ; and the Lord blessed the House of *Obed-edom*, and all that he had. Piety is the best Friend to Prosperity. *Josephus* (a) tells, that *Obed-edom* grew rich, and his worldly Goods mightily increased, after this kind Entertainment he gave the Ark. The King being informed of the Prosperity of this *Levite*, took Care to bring the Ark home to his own City with great Pomp, rectifying the former Mistakes. He caused the *Levites* to be sanctified, to bear the Ark upon their Shoulders (b), conform to the Law of *Moses* ; himself danced before the Ark in a Linen Ephod, brought it to a convenient Place prepared for it, offered abundance of Sacrifices, and all the People feasted and rejoiced. *David* having blessed the Congregation, returned to bless his own House, to offer up his Family Thanksgiving for this national Mercy ; only *Michal* his Wife, the Daughter of *Saul*, upbraided him for undervaluing himself by dancing before the Ark. He vindicated himself ; shewing he had done so to glorify God ; who would never suffer this to be his Dishonour : But the Lord gave her a sharper Rebuke, for she had no Child to the Day of her Death. The publick Entry of the Ark into the Tent prepared for it, was such a remarkable Piece of Reformation, as *David* dismissed the People with a solemn Blessing in the Name of the Lord, celebrated a Feast, appointed *Levites* to attend and minister before it, and delivered to the Hands of *Asaph* several Psalms to be sung on this Occasion (c), where the *Psalms* xcvi. with a Part of the cv, cvi. and cxxxvi. are inserted as the Matter of this Thanksgiving.

This King's pious Intention did further appear, that while he sat in his house, and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his enemies (d), he designed to build a fine House for the Ark, and the decent Administration of publick divine Worship. This Resolution he communicated to *Nathan* the Prophet, who at first approved it ; but next Night *Nathan* received a gracious Message from God ; signifying, that he approved the Purpose, but countermanded the Performance. *David* was a Man of War ; he must enlarge the Borders of *Israel* by carrying on their Conquests : He was a sweet Psalmist, to prepare Hymns for the Use of the Temple when built, and settle the Courses of the *Levites* ; but for building the House, the Genius of his Son shall lie more that Way, and he shall have a richer Treasure to do it. The Lord also promised the Entail of the rich Blessings of the Covenant upon *David's* Family, some of which were more eminently accomplished in the promised Messiah the Son of *David*, as may appear by comparing 2 *Sam.* vii. 13, 14. *Psal.* lxxxix. 26, — 29. with *Luke*, i. 32, 33. *Heb.* i. 5. This Message being intimated to *David*, he in a humble Prayer thankfully accepted the divine Promises, and earnestly looked for their Performance.

David having first taken care to promote the Reformation of Religion as far as capable, his other Affairs prospered the better : For we are told (e) how he subdued the *Philistines*, taking *Metheg-ammah* out of their Hands. They had kept a constant Garrison upon the Hill *Ammah*, and used it as *Metheg*, a Bridle upon *Israel* : Now *David* took it, and made it a Curb against themselves. They had been for a long time Oppressors of *Israel* : *Samson* had begun a Deliverance ; *Saul* gained no Ground ; but *David* completely subdued them. He also smote the *Moabites*, and made them Tributaries : Two thirds he destroyed, casting down their strong Holds, and putting the People to the Sword ; the other third he spared, to till the Ground. Thus he mete out the valley of *Succoth* (f), and made the *Moabites* for a long time incapable to be dangerous Enemies to the Church of God. *David* also smote the *Syrians*, or *Aramites*. Of them there were two Kingdoms, as in the Title of the sixtieth Psalm ; *Aram Nabarajim*, or *Syria* of the Rivers, whose chief City was *Damascus* ; and *Aram Zobah*, which reached to *Euphrates*. The King of *Zobah* going to enlarge his Borders towards *Canaan*, *David* took from him a thousand chariots, seven hundred horsemen, and twenty thousand foot, 2 *Sam.* viii. 4. but in 1 *Chron.* xviii. 4. they are called seven thousand horsemen. If the *Syrians* divided their Horse by ten in a Troop, as is probable, then the Officers were seven hundred, but the Horsemen seven thousand ; which reconciles these two Texts. *David* houghed the Horses, to make them unserviceable in War, and reserved for himself only a hundred Chariots. The *Syrians* of *Damascus* coming to succour the King of *Zobah*, fell with him, two and twenty thousand of them being slain in the Field. *David* having overcome their Armies, put Garrisons in the chief Towns, and made the Country tributary to *Israel* all the way to *Euphrates* ; for so far did the Land extend that was conveyed to *Abraham* and his Seed by divine Grant (g). He took the Shields of Gold which the *Syrians* had, and exceeding much Brass out of the conquered Countries, and brought all to *Jerusalem*, to be employed afterwards in building the Temple. The King of *Hamath* hearing of this Success, sent his own Son to King *David*, to return him Thanks for breaking the Power of his formidable Enemies, and to present him with Vessels of Gold, Silver and Brass : All which he dedicated to the Lord, and were also employed for building the Temple ; as a Token that the Gentiles should in the Fulness of Time

Q q

bring

(a) Antiq. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. m. 220. (b) 1 *Chron.* xv. (c) 1 *Chron.* xvi. 1, — 36. (d) 2 *Sam.* vii. 1 *Chron.* xvii. (e) 2 *Sam.* viii. (f) *Psal.* lx. 5. (g) *Genes.* xv. 18.

bring their Gifts to the new *Jerusalem*. These Victories got *David* a great Name ; which increased, when either under his own Conduct, or that of *Abishai* one of his Generals, he killed of the *Edomites* eighteen thousand Men in the Valley of Salt (a). And in another Engagement, *Joab* killed of the same People, near the same Place, twelve thousand ; as the Title of the sixtieth Psalm bears. He put Garrisons over all *Edom*, and made the whole Country his Servants and Tributaries. So universal was the Destruction, that *Joab* killed every Male in *Edom*, and was obliged by his own Army to bury the Slain : Only *Hadad*, a young Child of the Seed Royal, was carried into *Egypt* by those who fled ; where he was educated, and married to the King's Daughter, till many Years after this he returned, and became an Enemy to *Solomon* (b). But we are not to suppose, that the Conquest of the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Syrians* and *Edomites*, were all made in one Year, though recorded in one Chapter. Dr. *Lightfoot* (c) assigns ten Years thereto, from the tenth to the twentieth Year of *David's* Reign ; during which time many Battles might be fought : Yet I do not see we are obliged to fix a precise Number of Years, since the sacred History doth not digest these Events by way of Annals. But it is certain the Success was very great : And *David*, in the sixtieth and hundred and eighth Psalms, gives all the Glory to God, to whom it is due.

About this time, *David* having rest from War, enquired, *Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may shew him kindness for Jonathan's sake* (d) ? Whereupon *Ziba*, a Servant of *Saul*, told him, *There is yet a son of Jonathan, named Mephibosheth*, [in 1 Chron. viii. 34. he is called *Merib-baal*, and his Posterity are there recorded] *lame of both his legs, who liveth at the house of Machir, the son of Ammiel, of Lo-debar*, (who seems to have been a rich Man in *Gilead*, on the East Side of *Jordan*, so generous that he afterwards entertained the King himself (e), flying from his Son *Absalom*.) On this Information, *David* sent for *Mephibosheth*, took him under his Protection, restored to him the paternal Estate that once belonged to *Saul* his Grandfather, ordered that he should dine at the King's Table, and appointed *Ziba* his Steward, who knew the Estate, and how to make the most of it. At this time *Mephibosheth* had a young Son, whose Name was *Micha* ; whereby it seems to have been about the twentieth Year of *David's* Reign when this Kindness was shewn to *Mephibosheth*, for he was but five Years old when his Father and Grandfather were killed (f).

Nabash the King of the Children of *Ammon* being dead, probably the same whose Army *Saul* destroyed (g), and who out of Hatred to *Saul* had shewn Kindness to *David* in the Day of his Distress ; in requital of these Favours, *David* sent Messengers to *Hannun* the Son of *Nabash*, to condole his Father's Death, and to comfort him. But *Hannun* being persuaded by his Ministers that *David* had only sent them as Spies, to look out some Advantage whereby they might overthrow their City, caused one Side of the Beards of the Ambassadors to be shaved, and one half of their Cloaths to be cut off down to their Thighs, and sent them back to their Master in this Condition (h). This way of mourning was contrary to the Jewish Law (i), and made the Messengers contemptible (k), the *Israelites* wearing no Breeches : Wherefore the Men were ashamed ; and their Sovereign sent to tell them, that he would concern himself in their Quarrel, and soon revenge it. The *Ammonites* being sensible of their Danger, occasioned by their Insolence, made Preparations for War, by hiring twenty thousand *Syrians*, one thousand from the King of *Maacha*, and twelve thousand of *Ishtob* ; in all thirty three thousand Auxiliaries. *David* sent all his Army against them, under the Command of *Joab* and *Abishai* : The former routed the *Syrians*, and the latter the *Ammonites*. *Hadarezer* the *Syrian* hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his Forces, and sent them out of *Mesopotamia* under the Command of *Shobach*, passed the *Euphrates*, and encamped at *Helam*, on the South Side of the River. *David* being informed, assembled the ablest Men of *Israel*, marched towards the *Syrian* Army ; which he might do with greater Assurance, being by his former Wars Master of *Damascus*, and also of *Tadmor* or *Palmira*, which was but one Day's Journey from *Helam* and the River *Euphrates* (l). Having reached the *Syrians*, he routed them in Battle, slew seven thousand Men who belonged to seven hundred Chariots, and forty thousand other Soldiers, Horse and Foot ; as appears by comparing 2 Sam. x. 18. with 1 Chron. xix. 18. *Shobach* the *Syrian* General was killed ; and *David* came off victorious. Several petty Princes who had served *Hadarezer*, became Tributaries to *David* ; and the *Syrians* made Peace with him. Thus the Promise made to *Abraham* Gen. xv. 18. and repeated to *Joshua* Josh. i. 4. That the Borders of *Israel* should extend to the River *Euphrates*, was at length accomplished. Though the *Syrians* were subdued, the War with the *Ammonites* was not ended. *David* having routed their Armies in the Field, so soon as the Season of the Year permitted sent *Joab* with fresh Forces, who laid their Country waste, and besieged *Rabbah* their chief City. He gave notice of the Particulars of the Siege to the King, then at *Jerusalem* ; who having given necessary Orders, and marched in Person against it, the Town was

taken

(a) Compare 2 Sam. viii. 13. with 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13. (b) 1 Kings xi. 15, — 23. (c) *Chronica temporum*, p. m. 63. (d) 2 Sam. ix. (e) 2 Sam. xvii. 27, — 29. (f) 2 Sam. iv. 4. (g) 1 Sam. xi. (h) 2 Sam. x. 1 Chron. xix. (i) Levit. xix. 27. Deut. xiv. 1. (k) Isaiah, xx. 4. (l) *Rawleigh's History of the World*, Part 1. p. 410.

taken and destroyed ; their King's Crown (weighing, or in Price a Talent of Gold, including the precious Stones) was taken, and set on *David's* Head : Very much Spoil was carried out of the City, and the People ruined, perhaps with too great Rigour, when put under Saws, and Harrows of Iron (a) : Which seems to have been done, while the King's Heart was hardened by his Sin in the Matter of *Uriah* ; of which by and by. This Siege Dr. *Lightfoot* (b) places in the twenty sixth Year of *David's* Reign.

In the rest of *David's* Life there are many Blots, which are recorded to shew that the Scripture is not writ to serve any Party, but for our Learning ; that *he who thinks he stands, may take heed lest he fall*. He being at Ease, though in Time of War, saw from the Roof of his House a beautiful Woman, named *Bathsheba*, the Daughter of *Eliam* (c), or of *Ammiel* (d), the Wife of *Uriah* the *Hittite*, a Profelyte to the *Jewish* Religion, and one of the King's Worthies. Upon Sight he fell in Love with her, sent for her, and got her with Child ; which she acquainted him of. Much may be said to aggravate this Sin, little to extenuate it ; only it was not his ordinary Practice, being guilty of it but once. None then ought to encourage themselves in Iniquity by this Example, but rather should be excited to a holy Jealousy and Watchfulness, lest they offend. *David* being not yet Penitent for this Trespass, sent for *Uriah* to father the spurious Brood upon him ; but this Project failing, by *Uriah's* firm Resolution not to go to Bed with his Wife, the King in a Day or two sent him to the Camp, with a Letter to *Joab* ; wherein he ordered *Uriah* to be set at the Head of a Party of the Besiegers, where the Service was hottest, so that he might be forsaken and killed. The General exactly executed the King's Command with the designed Success, and signified the same by an express Courier. *Bathsheba* bewailed the Death of her Husband ; and so soon as the Mourning was over, the King brought her into his own House, and married her. She bare him a Son ; but the Thing *David* had done displeased the Lord, who suffered him not to go impenitent, but sent *Nathan* the Prophet to him ; who by a Parable well suited to the Occasion, made *David* to pass Sentence against himself, and then plainly told him, *Thou art the man*. — *Wherefore hast thou despised the commandment of the Lord, to do evil in his sight ? thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon* (e). For those Sins the Prophet denounced Judgments : *The sword shall never depart from thy house*, pointing at the Slaughters that should be among his Children, *Amnon*, *Abshalom* and *Adonijah* ; his Posterity for most Part engaged in War ; his Children should be his Grief, and his Wives his Shame, when by an unparalleled Villany they should be publicly debauched before all *Israel*. Then *David* made a penitent Confession : It was indeed long delayed, for the Child sinfully begot was then born (f) ; and during that Time his Comforts and Exercise of Grace had been suspended : But his Repentance was sincere, as recorded in the fifty first Psalm, and his Pardon was declared : *The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die*. Thou shalt not come into Condemnation, thy Iniquity shall not be thy everlasting Ruin ; yet God shewed his Displeasure, for the Infant sickned ; and though *David* fasted and prayed for sparing him, the Child died on the seventh Day : And *David* submitted to the divine Disposal, and had another Child by *Bathsheba*, named *Solomon*.

The Evils denounced by *Nathan* against *David* for his Sin soon began to be accomplished : Mischief arose out of his own House ; for *Amnon* the King's Son having decoyed *Tamar*, his beautiful Sister by the same Father, into his House, committed a villanous Rape upon her. 'Tis like he had been accustomed to lewd Practices before, and therefore at this Time gave a full Licence to his brutal Passion. *Abshalom*, another of the King's Sons, Brother to *Tamar* by the same Father and Mother, being informed, resolved to revenge the Injury done to his Sister. With this View, after asking the King's Leave, he invited all his Brethren to an Entertainment, and ordered his Servants to kill *Amnon*, while he was merry with Wine ; which they did (g). It seems to have been *David's* Fault that he was too indulgent to *Amnon*, and did not punish him according to Justice immediately for his Crime. But *Abshalom* was also highly culpable, in causing kill his Brother, when neither tried nor condemned by his Judges ; especially if the Circumstances be weighed, that he did it when his Brother was his Guest ; when merry with Wine, without any Warning or previous Exhortations to Repentance : And perhaps he thus removed his elder Brother, to pave his own Way to the Throne. *David* was mightily afflicted with the News, that all his Sons were killed by *Abshalom* ; but this Mistake was rectified by the Suggestions of *Jonadab* the King's Nephew, and by the sudden Arrival of his Sons in Safety, who gave the true Account of their Brother *Amnon's* Death : Which treacherous and barbarous Murder put the King and all the Court into real Mourning. *Abshalom* knowing the Law would strike against him, fled to his Mother's Relations, and was entertained by his Grandfather *Talmai* King of *Geshur* for three Years.

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In

(a) See 2 Sam. xi. 1. with xii. 26, — 31. and 1 Chron. xx. 1, — 3. (b) *Chronica Temporum*, p. 64. (c) 2 Sam. ii. 3. (d) 1 Chron. iii. 5. (e) 2 Sam. xii. 7, — 11. (f) 2 Sam. xii. 14. (g) 2 Sam. xiii.

In the mean time the Heat of *David's* Displeasure being over, his Heart began to warm towards *Abfalom*, and only wanted a Friend to court him to be reconciled, and point out the Way how he might do it, without Impeachment to the Honour of his Justice. *Joab* knowing this, and desiring to gain the Affection of the Heir-apparent to the Crown, sent for a wife Woman from *Tekoa* (a); who by a cunning Speech endeavoured to convince the King, that in some Cases the Life of a Murderer might be spared; and that he ought to bring home his Banished, to whom all the Kingdom had so great Affection. Whereupon *David* gave Orders to *Joab*, to bring *Abfalom* home to live at his own House, but not to see the King's Face. His Return is placed by Dr. *Lightfoot* (b) in the thirty second Year of *David's* Reign. *Abfalom* having staid two Years at *Jerusalem*, without Access to the King's Presence, though he had the Applauses of the People for his great Beauty, and was better dealt with than he deserved, could not be satisfied without he were fully restored to Favour, and to all his Places at Court. *Joab* declining Converse on this Subject, he caused his Servants set the General's Field of Barley on Fire; who being surpris'd with such a bold Adventure, conversed with him, and went on his Errand to the King, who was easily perswaded to a Reconciliation; and to allow his Son, after all the Evil he had done, Access to his Presence.

Abfalom was no sooner restored to Favour at Court, but he aimed to be in the Throne: He look'd great, by preparing Chariots and Horses; and fifty Men to run before him (c), and endeavoured to instill into the Peoples Minds a bad Opinion of the present Administration; as if the Affairs of the Kingdom were neglected: But if he were admitted to rule, he would be diligent and just in his Management. And thus by a humble complaisant Carriage, he stole away the Affections of Great and Small. In a little Time he broke out into open Rebellion; for having asked and obtained Leave of King *David* to go and pay a Vow at *Hebron*, he there caused proclaim himself King, and signified it to all the People: Whereupon many resorted to him. There is some Difficulty about the Date of these Commotions: It came to pass after forty years (d). I humbly conceive those forty Years do commence from the Time *David* was at first anointed King (e), in the Reign of *Saul*, full six Years before he was crowned King in *Hebron*. Thus the Rebellion began in the thirty fourth Year of *David's* Reign, as commencing after *Saul's* Death, in the sixty fourth Year of the King's Life, full six Years before his Death. During which Time there is Room enough to place the following Events in his History. Though this Epocha, of *David's* being anointed by *Samuel*, be less used now, yet it might be well known then, and therefore spoke of in the Text last named as a Thing notour. *David* being informed that the great Part of *Israel* had owned *Abfalom* as King, departed from *Jerusalem* with a Number of valiant Men attending him; the *Gherethites* and *Pelethtites*, commanded by *Benajah*, with a Regiment of *Gittites*, or *Philistine* Profelytes, stuck close to him; and the common People expressed their Sympathy for him; *Zadok* and *Abiathar* offered also to go along with him; with the *Levites* carrying the Ark of God; but the good King being more solicitous for the Safety of the Ark, than for himself, sent them back, saying, Carry back the ark of God into the city: if I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me both it, and his habitation. But if he thus say, I have no delight in thee: behold, here I am, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him. He expected also the Priests would serve his Interest during his Absence; particularly by sending him Intelligence of his Enemies Motions and Resolutions, by their Sons, *Jonathan* and *Abimeaz*, of whose Prudence and Fidelity he had good Experience. *David* went up by the Ascent of Mount *Olivet*, and wept as he went, being grieved for his Son's unnatural Rebellion, sent as a Punishment for his Sin in the Matter of *Uriah*. All his Company were deeply affected; and upon this Occasion he seems to have penned and prayed over the third Psalm. Being told that *Ahitophel* had joined *Abfalom's* Party, whom he knew to be a cunning Politician, *David* prayed, O Lord turn the counsel into foolishness, and sent his Friend *Hushai* the *Archite* back to *Jerusalem*, to offer his Service to *Abfalom*; but in the mean time to use his best Offices to countermine the Counsels of *Ahitophel*, and to give notice of them.

David being a little past Mount *Olivet*, *Ziba*, Steward to *Mephibosheth*, came with a Present of Wine and Provisions, and accused his Master, that he staid at *Jerusalem* in Hopes of being himself made King. Though the Story was not very likely, that *Mephibosheth's* lame Legs should climb to Preferment; yet *David* hearkned so far to the Flatteries of *Ziba*, as to make a rash Grant in his Favours; *Thine are all that pertained to Mephibosheth* (f). Being come to *Baburim*, a Town of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, one *Shimei*, of the Family of *Saul*, came out, heaped Curses, and threw Stones at the King. *Abishai* would have killed him, but *David* would not allow: He reflected on his own Sins, bore his Tribulation with Patience; and Dr. *Lightfoot* (g) thinks, that on this Occasion he penned the seventh Psalm. At length *David* entred *Baburim*, and there refreshed himself, and the People that were with him. In the

(a) 2 Sam. xiv. (b) *Chronica temporum*, p. 66. (c) 2 Sam. xv. (d) 2 Sam. xviii. 7. (e) 1 Sam. xvi. (f) 2 Sam. xvi. (g) *Chronica temporum*, p. 66.

the mean time *Absalom* and his Party marched to *Jerusalem*; where *Hushai* the *Archite* saluted and complimented him, and was admitted among his Counsellors. *Ahitophel* advised *Absalom* to go in unto his Father's Concubines, left to keep the House, that the People might cleave closer to him, perceiving there was no Hope of Reconciliation, after dishonouring his Father in such a Manner. This suited the young Man's lewd Inclinations, and he delayed not publicly to do it on the Top of the House. But it was abominable, and (whoever advised it) it was to his Ruin. It was the Sin by which *Reuben* lost his Birth-right; which the Law of God declares a capital Crime (a): And the Apostle speaks of it as a Villany not to be named among the Gentiles (b). *Ahitophel* next proposed to take twelve thousand Men to pursue *David* that very Night, and that *he would come upon him while weary and weak handed, make all his people flee, smite the king only, and the whole country would submit to the young prince.* *Absalom* pleased the Advice well (c); for it seems he was so bad, as to design no less than his Father's Death: But he would first consult *Hushai* the *Archite*, who dissuaded him from it, saying, it was to be feared that those who were with *David*, being valiant and desperate Men, might defeat those sent against them; which might be of dangerous Consequence to break the whole Party: Wherefore he offered to gather all *Israel* from *Dan* to *Beer-sheba*, and then to fall on *David* wheresoever he was, and ruin him. *Absalom* was so far infatuated, as to follow the last Opinion: Of which *Hushai* gave notice to *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, bidding them hast away and advise *David* to pass *Jordan* with all Dispatch. They sent *Jonathan* and *Abimaaz* with the Message; who having escaped the Pursuers, by hiding themselves in a Well, came and told *David*, who decamped by Break of Day, passed *Jordan*, and came to *Mahanaim*, a City of *Gilead*, where he was kindly entertained. About this Time *David* seems to have penned the forty second and forty third Psalms: Where he encouraged himself, that notwithstanding he was then banished from publick Ordinances, and under many Discouragements, yet his Hope is in God, *that he should yet praise him, as the health of his countenance, and his God.* And in the fifty-fifth Psalm he complains of his Enemies; particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth Verses he seems to point out the Perfidy of *Ahitophel* his Counsellor; to whom he wishes many evil Things, as an Enemy to the publick Welfare. These Desires were soon accomplished; for *Ahitophel* finding his Counsel rejected, and his Party going to Ruin, went to his own City, where he had made his Will, and then hanged himself.

David having increased his Army, especially in the Tribes beyond *Jordan*, which were not so soon debauched to *Absalom's* Interest: And since his unnatural Son advanced with a great Host of rebellious Subjects, he marshalled his own Men under the Command of *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai* the *Gittite* (d). He offered to go in Person to the Battle, but was overpersuaded by his Officers to stay in the City *Mahanaim*, as more for their Interest and his own. Not doubting of Success, which he had prayed for and expected from his gracious God, he yet intreated his Men to *deal gently with the young man, even with Absalom.* Where he rendred Good for Evil. To deal gently with an unthankful Traitor, who hunted after his Father's Life and Crown, was amazing Pity; nothing can be found parallel to it, but our Redeemer's Compassion, in praying for his Murderers. The decisive Action was in the Wood of *Ephraim*, so called from some memorable Deed of the *Ephraimites* there, though it lay in the Tribe of *Gad*. The Rebels were entirely routed, and twenty thousand of them slain: The Wood devoured more than the Sword; the Pits, Bogs, Thickets, Stumps and wild Beasts, entangled and ruined the flying Parties. *Absalom* was caught by the thick Boughs of a great Oak; his Mule, on which he rode, run away, and he could not disintangle himself. In this Posture, one of the Servants of *David* saw him, and told *Joab*; who blamed the Man, saying, *Why didst thou not smite him there to the ground, and I would have given thee ten shekels of silver, and a girdle?* By which it is like he meant ten Half-crowns in Value, and a Captain's Commission, whereof the Girdle was a Badge. The Man replied he would have done it for no Reward. It might have cost him his Head, since the King in his Hearing had charged the general Officers; *Beware that none touch the young man Absalom.* However *Joab* broke through the Orders of too indulgent a Father, smote *Absalom* dead, buried his Body in a great Pit in the Wood, on which they cast a great Heap of Stones; and there founded a Retreat, to spare the Blood of *Israel*. *Absalom's* Sons being dead before himself, his Memory was preserved by a great Pillar he had erected near *Jerusalem* bearing his Name. The War being over, *Joab* sent News of the Event to the King by *Cushi* (who might be an *Ethiopian* by Birth, as his Name bears, but an *Israelite* by Profession) and by *Abimaaz*, a Priest: Yet the King was more grieved at *Absalom's* Death, than delighted in the Victory. Though his Weeping may be excused in some Measure, as being afflicted for his Son's dying in his Iniquity, without the least Sign of Repentance; and that his own Sin, in the Matter of *Uriah* and *Bathsheba*, had brought on the Calamity of a civil War upon his Kingdom: Yet his Sorrow seems to have gone into Excess, when he indulged it long, and declined to con-

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gratulate

(a) Levit. xx. 11. (b) 1 Corin. v. 1. (c) 2 Sam. xvii. (d) 2 Sam. xviii.

gratulate his Soldeirs returning victorious, from a Battle where they had ventured their Lives for his Sake : For which *Joab* expostulated with him (a), perhaps in Terms too rough to be used by a Subject to a Sovereign. Yet they had this Effect, that the King threw off his Grief, and appeared in publick, where his People came to him, and rejoiced in his and their own Safety.

Israel being sensible of the Folly of the Rebellion, contended who should have the Honour to bring the King home to *Jerusalem*. The Men of *Judah*, by the Management of *Zadok* and *Abiathar* the chief Priests, appeared first for the Restauration. The Interest of *Amasa*, *David*'s Nephew, who had been *Absalom*'s General, but was pardoned, and had the King's Promise to command in the Room of *Joab*, contributed to make them unanimous in their Resolution. *Shimei* who had cursed the King (b), came with a thousand *Benjamites* to wait on him, and to ask Pardon for his Transgression, which *David* was so generous as to grant, tho' no doubt the Criminal was bound to his good Behaviour, and liable to be prosecuted, if he afterwards miscarried. *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan* went with the Crowd to meet the King. He had been a sincere mourner during the Rebellion, having never trimmed, nor put on clean Linen, and was not a little grieved that *Ziba* his Steward had misrepresented him as one aiming at the Kingdom, and thereby had got a Grant of his Estate. *David* hearing a true State of the Case, ordered *Ziba* and *Mephibosheth* to divide the Land, that the Property should be in the latter as first ordered, but the former shall till the Land and pay his Master a Rent. *Ziba* seems indeed to have deserved Punishment for slandering his Master (c); but *David* being now in the Humour of forgiving, resolved to make every Body easy; and the Matter might be more fully considered afterwards. Old *Barzillai* waited on the King to the West Side of *Jordan*: He had a fine Seat at *Rogelim* in *Gilead*, where being rich and liberal, he had provided *David* Sustenance while he lay at *Mahanaim*. Wherefore the King in Gratitude kindly invited him to go to *Jerusalem*; but *Barzillai* excused himself, that being now Eighty Years of Age, he was not fit for the Diversions of a Court; it was more requisite that he should go home and prepare for Eternity; only the King might take his Son *Chimham* with him, and give him what Preferment he pleased (d). This being agreed to, *David* and *Barzillai* parted with kind Salutations and Blessings. The Men of *Israel* came to pay their Respects to the King; and objected to the Men of *Judah*, that they had brought him home, without calling them to do him Honour at his Restauration, about which there passed some hot Words, that occasioned a new Insurrection.

For *Sheba* the Son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, but dwelling in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, blew a trumpet, and said, *We have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse* (e). So every man of *Israel* went up after the son of *Bichri*; but the men of *Judah* clave to the King. No sooner was one of *David*'s Troubles over, but another arose out of the Ashes of the former, to fulfil the Threatning, *The sword shall never depart from thy house*. *David* being come to *Jerusalem*, purified his Family; and on this Occasion seems to have penned the thirtieth Psalm. He had multiplied Wives contrary to Law: Ten of his Concubines, left to keep the House, proved a Shame to him, when *Absalom* his Son publicly debauched them; and therefore he now shut them up in Prison during Life. In the Time of *Sheba*'s Rebellion, *David* prayed Psalm lxxiv. as Dr. *Lightfoot* (f) thinks: And to crush this Insurrection in the Bud, he ordered *Amasa*, now his General, to raise Forces, and directed *Abishai* to pursue *Sheba* with the Guards. *Joab*, without Orders, went with his Brother; at *Gibeon* he met with *Amasa*, whom he treacherously killed; resumed his Post as Commander in chief, led on the Army, and ordered the Forces coming up to follow him. *Sheba*, the Rebel, having rambled over all the Tribes of *Israel*, found very few, upon second Thoughts willing to go into his Measures; wherefore he was obliged, with a Handful that joined him, to shut himself up in *Abel-beth-maacah*, a City in the Tribe of *Naphtali* (g). There *Joab* besieged him, battered the Walls, and made ready for a general Assault, till a prudent Woman, by her good Address, both with the Besiegers and besieged, so managed the Matter, as the Rebel's Head was thrown over the Wall: Whereupon *Joab* sounded a Retreat, and spared the City.

About this Time there was a Famine in *Israel* three Years successively, which made it the sorer; tho' perhaps it was not extreme, only a great Drought occasioned great Scarcity of Provisions, which is placed by the learned Dr. *Lightfoot* (h), in the thirty sixth, thirty seventh, and thirty eighth Years of *David*'s Reign. He enquired of the Lord concerning the Grounds of the Controversy: To which the Lord answered, *It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites* (i). These People had by Subtilty made a Covenant with *Israel* (k), whereby their Lives were spared, but their Liberties taken away; yet *Saul* cut off many of them; for what Reason we are not told; perhaps to atone for his Clemency to the *Amalekites*. *David*, 'tis like, by divine Direction, referred to the *Gibeonites* themselves what Satisfaction

(a) 2 Sam. xix. (b) 2 Sam. xvi. 5. (c) 2 Sam. xvi. 3. (d) See Jerem. xli. 17. Dr. Patrick on 2 Sam. xix. 38. (e) 2 Sam. xx. (f) *Chronica temporum & ordo textuum*, p. m. 67. (g) 2 Kings xv. 29. (h) *Chronica temporum*, p. m. 68. (i) 2 Sam. xxi. (k) Josh. ix.

atisfaction should be made to them for the Wrong; and they desired seven of *Saul's* Posterity might be put to Death; which was granted. Blood is expiated by Blood (a). The Nomination of the Persons being left to *David*, he spared *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan*; for the Friendship and Oath between him and his Father, but gave up *Armoni* and *Mephibosheth*, the Sons of *Rizpah* one of *Saul's* Concubines, with five of his Grandsons born by *Merab*; and brought up by *Michal* for *Adriel* the *Mebolathite*, whom the *Gibeonites* hanged in the Beginning of the Barley-harvest. *Rizpah* staid by the Bodies, to hinder the Fowls of the Air, and the Beasts of the Field from tearing them; and *David* caused their Bones, with those of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, that were at *Jabesh-Gilead*, to be brought thence, and buried in the Tomb of *Kish*, the Father of *Saul*, at *Zelab* in *Benjamin*; And God was intreated for the Land. When Justice is done upon Earth, Vengeance from Heaven ceaseth. Near the same Time *David* had War with the *Philistines*; four Battles are mentioned in 2 Sam. xxi. 15,—22. The Book of *Chronicles*, which takes no Notice of *David's* Sin in the Matter of *Uriah*, nor of the Troubles that followed upon it, nor of *Abshalom*, nor of *Sheba's* Rebellion, speaks of three of these Battles (b). *David* had subdued the *Philistines* in the Beginning of his Reign, so as they could not bring any great Numbers into the Field; yet as long as they had any Giants to be their Champions, they never ceased by their Incursions to disturb the Peace of *Israel*. In one Encounter *David* himself was in great Danger by *Ishbi-benob* a great Giant, till *Abishai* succoured his Prince, and slew the *Philistine*. The King seems now to have been in the sixty eighth Year of his Life, and thirty eighth of his Reign; and considering the Fatigues he had undergone, 'tis no Wonder he waxed faint, tho' he did not flee. But the Hazard he had escaped, made his Men to enter into a Resolve, confirmed by an Oath, that he should go no more to Battle, that the light of *Israel*, its Guide and Glory, might never be so near blown out. In the other Engagements we have nothing memorable, but that three *Philistines* of gigantick Stature, were slain by *David's* Servants. The most powerful Enemies, even Death it self, shall be subdued at last by our blessed Redeemer, through whom we are more than conquerors.

David having overcome all his Enemies, triumphed with a Song of Praise, recorded in 2 Sam. xxii. and with some little Variation in the eighteenth Psalm. In the former we have it composed for his own Closet; in the latter, as it was afterwards given to the chief Musician for the Service of the Church, which may serve as a Pattern of Thanksgiving to the People of God in all Ages; and might have been useful to this Prince, both when God delivered him from the Troubles raised by *Saul* in his Youth; and also when God freed him from all his Enemies, in his old Age. For here he gives God the Glory of his infinite Perfections, triumphs in his Interest in him, gives Account of the great Things God had done for him, makes sweet Reflections upon his own Integrity, and enlarges upon the pleasant Prospects of Kindness God had in Store for all his Saints, for himself, and for his Seed for evermore; that is, our Redeemer, whose Throne and Kingdom shall only continue for ever.

David being old, finding his latter End approaching, indited his last Will (c), which we may suppose he oft repeted for his own Comfort, even to his last Breath; and therefore is called his last Words, saying, *The spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue: the God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God, &c.* intimating, that not only these Words, but also many other Psalms and Hymns uttered by him, are not to be looked upon as human Inventions, but as Words penned by the Spirit of God, the great Teacher of the Church; Words wherein the ever blessed Trinity concur, God the Father, the God of *Israel*; his Son our Redeemer, the Rock of *Israel*; and the Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, who spake by the holy prophets, *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.* Rulers among Men, whether of *David's* Posterity or others, must be just, to allow their People their Rights and Properties, to defend the Innocent, to do Right to those who are injured; to act as those possessed with the holy Fear of God, teaching them to govern rational Men with good Laws: In so doing they shall prosper, and be a publick Blessing. The Messias, the Son of *David*, shall be such a Ruler among Men, who shall order the Affairs of Salvation, and publick Worship according to his Father's Will; and shall be acceptable as the light of the Morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by clear shining after rain. Of this *David* makes comfortable Application, saying, *Although my house be not so with God, yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure. This is all my salvation, and all my desire, tho' he make it not to grow: but the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, &c.* Where he tells, that tho' neither he nor his Children had ruled and lived as they ought, and therefore have not enjoyed that uninterrupted Prosperity; yet he comforts himself in this, that God had graciously been pleased to give him a sure Covenant, to continue the Kingdom to him and to his Seed for ever (d), till the coming

(a) Gen. ix. 6. (b) 1 Chron. xx. 4,—8. (c) 2 Sam. xxiii. (d) 2 Sam. vii. 16.

coming of the Messias, his Son and Successor, whose Kingdom shall have no End. And in and through the Messias, his Saviour, God had in his everlasting Counsel contrived a Covenant of Grace, which he had acquiesced in, which is so well ordered for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of his People, with all the Means leading thereto; and shall be so firmly kept, that the very Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. This was all his Salvation, and all that he could desire, amidst all Confusions and Shakings that can happen. But the Sons of *Belial*, who wickedly rebel against the Covenant of God, as his Successors should thrust them away as one would do pricking Thorns, so God shall thrust them away, and cast them into the Fire of his Wrath.

As to the Catalogue of *David's* mighty Men, there are some Differences between that in *2 Sam.* xxiii. 8, — 39. and that in *1 Chron.* xi. 10, — 47. which may be easily removed, if we consider, that nothing is more common than for one Man to have divers Names, and that as some of the Worthies died, so others came in their room; which must make some Alteration. Many of the Actions ascribed to those eminent Men, were done in *David's* younger Years, yet are here inserted towards the End of his Life; for the Honour of the King, who trained up his Servants in the Art of War, setting them an Example of Conduct and Courage in his own Person; for the Credit of those brave Men who were instrumental to bring their Master to the Crown, and protect him in his Government; to excite after Ages to a generous Emulation, and to shew that Religion doth inspire Men with true Courage. All the Saints of God have their Names written in Heaven, and there shall have their Reward.

Near the End of *David's* Life, or two Years before his Death, he gave *Joab* Orders to go through all the Tribes from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, to number the People, and bring a Report (a). *Joab* made a humble Remonstrance against it; but the King's Orders were positive, and must be obeyed. Therefore *Joab* with his Assistants began on the East Side of *Jordan*, came about by the Northern Parts of *Canaan*, and returned to *Jerusalem* in nine Months and twenty Days, with an Account, that there were in *Israel* eight hundred thousand valiant Men that drew the Sword, and in *Judah* five hundred thousand, *Levi* and *Benjamin* not being counted. *David* was soon convinced, and made a penitent Confession of his Iniquity; which seems to have consisted in this, that he went about this Design without consulting God, out of a proud Conceit of his own Greatness, in commanding so many Subjects; and from a vain Confidence in his own Strength, that being able to raise so many fighting Men, he would be formidable among the Nations. God who knows best the Demerits of *Sindone* against himself, and discerns the Principles from which Men act, was very much displeased, and sent the Prophet *Gad* to offer to the King's Choice, seven Years of Famine, three Months to flee before his Enemies, or three Days Pestilence in the Land, as a Punishment for his Iniquity: *David* said, *I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, (for his mercies are great) and let me not fall into the hand of man.* He could not think to have all his former Triumphs stained, nor see the Enemies of *Israel* behave themselves so proudly. According to his Choice, the Pestilence was sent; which from the Morning to the Time appointed, consumed seventy thousand Men. The King seeing the Angel threaten to smite *Jerusalem*, renewed his Confession, prayed for Mercy to his People, and by the Direction of the Prophet, bought the Threshing-floor of *Araunab*, or *Ornan*, a Profelyte descended from the *Jebusites*, where he sacrificed Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings. So the Lord was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed.

There are some seeming Differences between the History of this Affair in the last Chapter of *Samuel*, and that in the twenty first Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*; which may be reconciled: For in the former it is said, *The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and he moved David against them, to say, Go number Israel and Judah.* There was too much Cause for divine Displeasure: *Israel* had been unthankful for their Prosperity, and the Blessings of *David's* Government, and easily drawn to join in the Rebellions of *Abalom* and *Sheba*: Wherefore, though God tempts no Man to sin; yet, as a righteous Judge, he took occasion from this Sin of *David* to punish the other Iniquities of *Israel*. In the latter it is said, *Satan provoked David to number Israel.* The Adversary of our Salvation suggested this Sin, and solicited to it, even as he put into the Heart of *Judas* to betray Christ. There is another Difficulty, by comparing *2 Sam.* xxiv. 9. where the Number of *Israel* given up by *Joab* is eight hundred thousand Men, with *1 Chron.* xxi. 5. where they are eleven hundred thousand. The Reason of the Difference seems to be, that in the former, the ordinary settled Militia waiting on the King are omitted; which being twenty four thousand for each Month (b), these in the whole Year make two hundred eighty eight thousand; who, with twelve thousand Officers and Garrison-soldiers, make three hundred thousand. The *Chronicles* being writ to gather up Fragments omitted in former Books, the Militia and the whole fencible Men are there put together, which makes up eleven hundred thousand; and in the Book of *Samuel* only

(a) *2 Sam.* xxiv. (b) *1 Chron.* xxvii.

only the fencible Men are numbered. There is another Branch of this Difficulty ; for in the forecited Text in *Samuel* the Men of *Judab* are called five hundred thousand, but in the *Chronicles* four hundred and seventy thousand. The Reason of this Difference may be, either that the Garrison-soldiers, with those who attended the King, are in the former included, but in the latter excluded ; or that though there were five hundred thousand when *Joab* gave up the Sum to the King, yet thirty thousand of these died in the Plague ; which being deduced, the Sum will remain as mentioned in the *Chronicles*. Besides, *Joab* was sick of the Order for numbring the People, and the Work was never perfected ; which may make a Diversity in the Account. Another Doubt is moved : Why in 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 13. is it said, *Shall seven years of famine come ?* and in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 12. only *three years famine ?* But there is here no Inconsistency : For there were three Years Famine inflicted already, for the Sin of *Saul* in killing the *Gibeonites* ; which being, as before observed, in the thirty sixth, thirty seventh and thirty eighth Years of *David's* Reign, and this now threatned being in the thirty ninth Year of the same Reign, while the Effects of the former were not over, three more Years Famine would make in all seven : Whereas in the Book of *Chronicles* only the three Years threatned for *David's* numbring the People are reckoned. The last Difference that appears in this Narrative, is, that in 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 24. it is said, *David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen, for fifty shekels of silver* ; but in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 25. he is said to give for the place *six hundred shekels of gold by weight*. The Difficulty may be removed thus : In the first he speaks of the Price paid for the Threshing-floor, the Oxen and Instruments ; but in the latter, of what he advanced in his Royal Generosity for the whole Place adjoining, on which the Temple and its Courts were afterwards built, in the room where *Arjunah*, if not others, had their Houses, Barns and other Apartments : The same Place, as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, where God stopt *Abraham* from sacrificing *Isaac*, by presenting a more proper Sacrifice. There the Lord would have his Temple built ; and there Sacrifices and Oblations for many Ages were made with Acceptance on his Altar.

The first Book of the Kings begins with the last Year of *David's* Life and Reign. These Books were written by Prophets, or holy Men of God, living in or near the Times wherein the Things there recorded were done, and by some one of them digested into Order. Whoever was the Penman, they are a Part of the holy Scriptures divinely inspired, being as such delivered to us by the *Jewish* Church, to whom were committed the oracles of God (a) ; owned in the *New Testament*, for the Apostle (b) ; quoting a Passage out of them, calls it *Scripture*, by way of Eminence ; and they have been received by the Christian Church in all Ages. It hath been a piece of Honour often paid to crown'd Heads, to have their Actions on Record ; but the History of these Books hath this Excellency, that it contains not only the Affairs of *Judab* and *Israel*, but is indited by the holy Spirit with a Regard to the Kingdom of God in those Times, and will be useful, instructive and edifying to the Church of God while the World remains.

To go on with the History of the last Year of *David's* Life : The Lord being pleased with the Atonement he had made for his Sin in numbring the People, gave intimation of the Place where the Temple should be erected : Wherefore the King was excited with Vigour to set Masons to work, and to make Preparations for that great Fabrick (c). Mean time the King's Health began to decline : Though his Servants covered him with Cloaths, he got no Heat ; whereupon his Physicians advised him to one *Abishag* the *Shunamite*, a beautiful young Woman, (whom he might take to be his Concubine, according to the corrupt Custom of those Times.) *Adonijah* the Son of *Haggith*, seeing his Father in this Condition, prepared to succeed in the Throne. *Joab* the General, and *Abiathar* the High-priest joined with him ; and he invited the King's Sons with the King's Servants to a great Feast at *Enrogel* ; but *Nathan* the Prophet, *Benaiah*, the mighty Men, or the King's Guard, and his Brother *Solomon* he called not. *Nathan*, who knew God's Designation, *David's* Choice, and *Israel's* Interest in the Matter, alarmed *Bathsheba*, and advised her to go to the King, to acquaint him of *Adonijah's* Usurpation of his Throne, promised to her Son *Solomon* : Which she did ; and the Prophet came in the time of the Conversation, and confirmed what she said. Whereupon *David* affirmed with a solemn Oath that *Solomon* should succeed him, and ordered *Zadok* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, *Benaiah*, with the King's Life-guard and Ministers of State, to mount *Solomon* on the Mule the King used to ride on, to conduct him to *Gibon*, the Ark and anointing Oyl being there lodged ; where *Zadok* and *Nathan* should anoint him, then sound the Trumpet, and cry, *God save King Solomon*. The Orders being immediately executed, the People of *Jerusalem* approved the Choice by their Acclamations and Shouts of Joy. *Adonijah* being informed of the whole by *Jonathar* the Son of *Abiathar*, while he and his Guests had not risen from their Entertainment. Each of them were afraid : *Adonijah* himself fled to the Horns of the Altar, (perhaps that one which his Father had lately set up in the Threshing-floor of *Arjunah*) where he begged his

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Life

(a) Rom. iii. 2. (b) Rom. xi. 2, — 4. (c) 1 Chron. xxii. 1 ; — 4.

Life of his Brother *Solomon* ; who promised no Harm should be done him, if he behaved himself well for the future.

The Cloud that threatned a Storm by *Adonijah's* Usurpation being scattered, *David* recovered some Vigour, so as to instruct *Solomon*, and to give him a Charge concerning building the Temple (a) ; to which he encouraged him by the Call of God, and by the vast Preparations he had made for that Work. Notwithstanding the Troubles in his Reign, he had provided *one hundred thousand talents of gold, a thousand thousand talents of silver ; brass and iron without weight, timber, and stone, and work-men in abundance.* The Sum of the Gold and Silver is immense, and not easily to be reckoned ; only I find Interpreters on *Exod.* xxv. 39. and xxxviii. 24, 25. estimate each Talent at three thousand Shekels, or one hundred twenty five Pound-weight. Now, supposing a Pound of Gold to be thirty six Pounds *Sterling* in Value, and a Pound of Silver four Pounds, one hundred thousand Talents of Gold will amount to four hundred and fifty Millions, and a thousand thousand Talents of Silver will be five hundred Millions, and the whole Gold and Silver will come to nine hundred and fifty Millions *Sterling* : A prodigious Sum ! Yet I do not think it incredible, or that a Talent signifies no more than a Plate or an Ingot, as some (b) have supposed : For *David* had many ways of enriching himself, and making a vast Treasury, by the Spoils taken from the *Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Canaanites, Philistines* and *Edomites* ; which he consecrated to these pious Uses (c). He seems also to have had a Trade with *Urphe* or *Ophir*. So says *Eusebius*, cited by *Eusebius* (d) : Which is very probable ; for having conquered *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Ports of the *Red Sea, Elath* and *Ezion-geber* (e), from which he might begin the Business : And the three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir* which he gave to the House of God (f) seem to have been gained that way. He had also a great deal of Lands bordering upon *Canaan*, which he laboured by many Captives taken in the Wars (g), who were not able to redeem themselves ; for we find (h) that he had Stewards and Managers over his Store-houses, Tillage, Vineyards, Wine-cellars, Olive-trees, Herds and Flocks ; this being a mean whereby Princes in antient Times gained Treasures. Besides, the Riches of the Sanctuary it self, which could not be bestowed to a better Use than building the Temple, were exceeding great : For the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, or wherever it was, never having been plundered from the Days of *Moses* to those of *David*, for above four hundred Years, nor any Use made of it ; the same having no Loss, but a daily Increase, by the Spoils taken in the War (i), by the dedicated Things, and by the Capitation-tax, called the *Ransom of the soul* (k), at half a Shekel each Head : This in so many Years, among so numerous a People, who in *David's* Time were reckoned fifteen hundred thousand fighting Men (l), would amount to an immense Sum. *David*, in his Court or in his Wars, did not expend so much Money as Princes do in our Time : Gold and Money was then in greater Plenty in the East, particularly at *Jerusalem* ; nor was there such a Demand for it as is now. So upon the whole, it is not incredible that he left such a vast Sum to his Son *Solomon*, to defray the Expence of Workmen, and all other Necessaries for erecting and adorning the Temple, which was to be so magnificent. Finally, we are not to think that *Solomon* bestowed all the Riches that his Father left, upon building the Temple ; for we find that *after the house of the Lord was finished, Solomon brought in the things which David his father had dedicated ; even the silver, and the gold, and the vessels put he among the treasures of the house of the Lord* (m). There they seem to have remained for most part, till the House was profaned by wicked Kings (n), or taken and ruined by the *Chaldeans*.

David having given Orders for erecting the Temple, he (from 1 *Chron* xxiii. to xxvi.) settled the Method of the Service, and put into Order the Offices and Officers thereof ; which he might do by divine Inspiration, being a Prophet as well as a Prince. He distributed the Priests and the *Levites* into twenty four Courses, which were of great Use to direct the *Jews* in the regular Management of their Affairs, after their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity : And he appointed the Manner in which the Singers and Musicians were to attend and do their Work. The excellent Book of *Psalms*, wherein the sweet Intercourse and Communion between God and his People is described, their Exercises, Trials, Experiences, Duties, Graces and Attainments are explained, may here come in order of Time, according to Dr. *Lightfoot* (o) to be read. For beside the *Psalms* which bear *David's* Name in the Title, some of which have been before noticed, there are others justly ascribed to him in the New Testament, as *Psalms* ii. and xcv. in *Acts* iv. 25, 26. and *Heb.* iv. 7. And there are others of them which have not his Name prefixed, as the lxxii. and cxxvii. which seem also to have been penned by him. And when we read that *David*, in the last Acts of his Life, appointed *Asaph, Heman* and *Jeduthun*, with their Sons under their Direction, to be chief Masters of Musick in the

(a) 1 *Chron.* xxii. (b) Henry on 1 *Chron.* xxii. 14. (c) 2 *Sam.* viii. 1 *Chron.* xviii. (d) De Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. ult. (e) 1 *Kings.* ix. 26. (f) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 3. 4. (g) Rawleigh's History, Part 1. p. 418, 419. (h) 1 *Chron.* xxvii. 25, — 32. (i) *Numb.* iii. 28. (k) *Exod.* xxx. 12. (l) 1 *Chron.* xxi. (m) 1 *Kings.* vii. 51. and 2 *Chron.* v. 1. (n) Vide Villalpandum de templo, apud Walton in Prolegomenis, p. 165. (o) *Chronica temporum & ordo textuum*, p. m. 71. &c.

the Temple, we may think of these Psalms given them to sing, or composed by them for that End. There are twelve Psalms that bear *Asaph's* Name, viz. *Psal.* i. lxxiii.—lxxxiii. There is only one, viz. the lxxxviii. that hath the Name of *Heman* prefixed; who seems not to be the *Heman* who flourished in *David's* Reign, but the Son of *Zerab*, Great-grandchild of the Patriarch *Judab*, who lived while the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt* (a): But the Psalms inscribed to the Sons of *Korab*, namely, *Psal.* xlii. xlii.—xlix. lxxxiv, lxxxv. lxxxvii. 'tis like were directed to the Sons of *Heman* in *David's* Time; for *Heman* himself was of the Posterity of *Korab* (b). The Name of *Jeduthun* is prefixed to the xxxix. lxii. and lxxvii. *Psalms*. And there are others which have no Title (for we are not to depend on these given to them by the *Septuagint*) which cannot with Certainty be affixed to any Time, but may as congruously be referred to this Season as any other.

This good King not only appointed the Singers in the Temple, but also the *Levites*, who were to be Porters, Treasurers, Store-keepers, Officers and Judges in the Country; and in *1 Chron.* xxvii we find how prudently he ordered the Militia of his Kingdom. He was a Man of War from his Youth, yet did not keep up a great standing Army in Time of Peace; neither did he disband them all, to leave his Country naked, and to suffer his Subjects to forget the Art of War; but maintained twenty four thousand constantly in Arms, who being changed every Month under their proper Officers, made the whole Militia to be 288000, perhaps about the fifth Part of the able Men in the Country, ready to go out to War upon any Occasion. He also took care that every Tribe should have its own Prince or Chief, according to the ancient order instituted by *Moses* in the Wilderness; and he appointed Stewards over his Substance, and Attendants upon his Person. He had not many Counsellors; but these he employed were Men of great Abilities; and he preferred the Word of God to them all. *Thy testimonies are my delight, and my counsellors* (c).

He retained his Sense of and Concern for Religion to his last Breath; and being a little recovered of his Illness, he summoned all his great Men together, to make his last Speech to them, as *Moses*, *Joshua* and others had done before him. At this Occasion he stood on his Feet, and addressed himself to them, with great Tenderness and Discretion (d), declaring the Entail of the Crown, and the Honour of building the Temple upon *Solomon*, charging them, to keep all the commands of the Lord.—*And thou Solomon, my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind:—If thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. Take heed now, for the Lord hath chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary: be strong and do it.* He gave him a Model of the Temple. *Moses* had a Pattern of the Tabernacle, and *David* of the Temple, by the immediate Hand of God; for it was to be a Type of Christ the true Temple of the Gospel Church, and of Heaven the everlasting Temple. He encouraged him; *Fear not, nor be dismayed, for the Lord God, even my God, will be with thee, until thou hast finished all the work. The priests and the Levites shall be with thee, for all the service of the house.—Also the princes and all the people will be wholly at thy commandment.* Then *David* exhorted all the great Men of *Israel* to contribute liberally for the building of the Temple. He set them a good Example, by advancing out of his own Stores three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir* (e), and seven thousand Talents of Silver to overlay the Walls of the House, besides what he had laid up before. This he did, not as *Papists* build Churches, to make Attonement for Sin, nor in Commutation of Penance; nor as *Pharisees* give Alms, to be seen of men; but because he loved the habitation of God's house. The Princes, the Officers of the Court, and of the Army, followed his Copy in giving generously. *All the people rejoiced, because with a perfect heart they offered willingly to the Lord. And David the king also rejoiced with great joy; and concluded the Meeting with solemn Prayers and Praises to God.* Next Day they sacrificed Burnt-offerings, and Peace-offerings; and did eat and drink with great Gladness, and made *Solomon* King the second Time; and anointed him to the Lord to be chief Governour, and *Zadock* to be Priest. The first anointing had been more private during *Adonijah's* Usurpation; this was more publick, before a great Assembly of *Israel*. Having thus taken care of the Affairs of Religion, and of his own House, and directed *Solomon* to keep the charge of the Lord his God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes and his judgments, and testimonies, that he might prosper in all that he did (f). He also ordered him to punish *Joab* the Son of *Zeruiah*, for murdering treacherously these two great Generals, *Abner* and *Amasa*; and not ashamed nor afraid of Punishment, daringly wore the Girdle and Shoes stained with innocent Blood, in Defiance of the Justice of God and the King. He had been too long reprieved, but he shall be reckoned with at last. He desired him not to forget Kindness to the House of *Barzillai*, in Gratitude for what Favours they had shewn to the Royal Family during *Abshalom's* Rebellion; and to remember *Shimei's* Crime in cursing the King. He had been allowed to

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live;

(a) *1 Chron.* ii. 6. (b) *1 Chron.* vi. 33. 37. (c) *Psal.* cxix. 24. (d) *1 Chron.* xxviii. (e) *1 Chron.* xxix. (f) *1 Kings* ii. i.—ii.

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live ; but *David* knew that this wicked Man's turbulent Spirit would soon give Occasion to his prudent Son and Successor to punish such a Criminal capitally. *David* having then served his Generation, by the Will of God fell asleep, and was honourably buried, after he had reigned forty Years.

§. 26. *SOLOMON* having taken peaceable Possession of the Throne, soon established himself, by cutting off his Enemies. *Adonijah* the Son of *Haggith* had made bold Pretensions, but was obliged to let them fall, and throw himself upon the King his Brother's Mercy, who dismissed him, upon his Promise to carry as became a good Subject. But the restless Spirit of *Adonijah* put him upon a new Project, which 'tis like *Joab* and *Abiathar* advised him to, even to seek *Abishag*, the late King's Concubine, in Marriage, so as upon that Foot he might have some After-game for the Kingdom ; and prevailed with *Bathsheba* to sollicit the King her Son for him. *Solomon* received his Mother's Address with all Respect, according to the Law of the fifth Command, and promised to grant her Petition, tho' it may be still understood, providing it be just and reasonable : But when he heard her solliciting for *Abishag* to be given to *Adonijah*, he demonstrated to her that this was a Plot against the Government : *Ask for him the kingdom also, (says he) for he is my elder brother, even for him and for Abiathar the priest ; and for Joab the son of Zeruiah.* He seems to have been informed that these three were confederated in a Plot ; wherefore he caused *Adonijah* to be put to Death, banished *Abiathar* to *Anathoth*, a City of the Priests (a) ; but spared his Life, because he had been Partner with his Father *David* in all his Afflictions. Thus the Threatning against the House of *Eli*, more than eighty Years before this (b), was fulfilled ; for *Abiathar* was the last High-priest of that Family, and *Zadok*, of the Race of *Phinehas*, was put in his Room. Being informed that *Joab* was fled to the Tabernacle of the Lord, and was by the Altar, the King ordered *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehoiada* to go thither, and kill him, not only for his Conspiracy with *Adonijah*, but for the barbarous Murders he was guilty of ; and the King knew well enough, that by the Law (c), a wilful Murderer might be taken from the Altar to die ; no Sanctuary could protect him. *Joab* being dead and buried, the King placed *Benaiah* over the Army in his Room. As to *Shimei*, *Solomon* sent for him, and confined him to *Jerusalem*, where all his Actions might be viewed, prohibiting him ever to go out of the City, as far as the Brook *Kidron*, under the Pain of Death. He took his Life upon these Terms, submitted to the Sentence, and swore to obey it (d) ; but two of his Servants or Slaves having run away to *Gath*, three Years after the Prohibition, he goes after them, and brings them back, tho' seeking them he lost himself ; for *Solomon*, hearing of it, charged *Shimei* that he had broken his Oath, and disobeyed the Command of his Sovereign : For which, and for all the Wickedness he was notoriously known to be guilty of against the late King *David*, he caused him to be put to Death. This was not done before the third Year of *Solomon's* Reign ; but the whole Story is put together in 1 Kings ii. that the Reader may have a distinct View of *Shimei's* Case all at once.

Having secured the Government at home, by cutting off those who seemed designing to disturb it, *Solomon* took care to strengthen himself by Alliances abroad, marrying the Daughter of *Pharaoh* King of Egypt (e) : By which Means he hoped to defeat the Designs of his Enemies, particularly of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, who seems about this Time to have returned to his own Country (f). The particular Year of *Solomon's* Reign when this Marriage was concluded, is not determined in Scripture ; only that it was before the Temple was built : For the Sons of God to match with the Daughters of Men, hath been often of bad Consequence ; yet this Bride is thought to have been a Profelyte to the Jewish Religion, and that her Nuptials were typical of the Espousals of the Gentile Church to Christ. *Solomon* loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of *David* his father ; only he sacrificed, and burnt incense in high places : and he made a thousand burnt-offerings at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle and the brazen Altar made by *Moses* were. *David* his Father ever adhered to the Ark, as the Centre of Unity for every *Israelite* : In this his Son came short of him, when he sacrificed in the high Places : Yet while he and the People worshipped God, only before the Temple was built, and in other Things acted conform to the Rule, the Lord graciously accepted their Services, and overlooked their Infirmities. At *Gibeon* the Lord appeared to him in a Dream by Night, desiring him to ask what he thought most necessary ; whereupon *Solomon* prayed for Wisdom to govern so great a People. The Lord granted it, and promised also to give him Riches and Honour. The Dream came by the Inspiration of God, actuating Grace in the King's Soul, to make him desire this divine Wisdom which his Heart was so much set upon ; and the Lord gave it to him, so as none before nor after him was adorned with such a Measure of Knowledge in natural and political Things, besides his other Endowments. And he was so sensible of this Favour, that he returned to *Jerusalem*, where the Ark then was, and there offered Sacrifices in Abundance. An Instance of his Wisdom we have, in his determining a Case between

(a) Josh. xxi. 18. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 30. (c) Exod. xxi. 14. (d) 1 Kings ii. 42. (e) 1 Kings, iii. 22. (f) 1 Kings, xi. 21, 22. See above, p. 154.

between two Women that are called Harlots : It is like they kept a publick House, and that their Children were begot in Fornication, for there is no Mention of their Husbands appearing in their Cause. Their Case might have been heard before inferior Judges, who not being able to determine, it was brought to the King, that all might admire his Decision. One of those Women had overlaid her own Child ; which she observing, stole away the living Child from her Neighbour, and laid the dead one in its Room. Whereupon the Question comes, To which of those Women did the living Child belong, for each of them laid claim to it ? To find out the Truth, *Solomon* commanded the living Child to be cut in two, and one Half to be given to each of the contending Parties. The Woman to whom the Child really belonged, cried, *My lord, give her the living child, in no wise slay it : but the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it.* Whereupon the King ordered the living Child to be given to the former, whose Bowels of Compassion discovered her to be the true Mother. This wise Judgment gained him the Reputation of all his People. Wisdom made his Face to shine, and was better to him than Weapons of War.

Solomon not only excelled in Wisdom, but also in Wealth and Prosperity. In *1 Kings*, iv. we have an Account of the Names of his Ministers of State, many of whom had served his Father *David*. He kept a magnificent Table, his Provisions for each Day being very large, thirty Measures of fine Flour, sixty Measures of Meal, ten fat Oxen, twenty Oxen out of the Pastures, a hundred Sheep, besides Venison, with fatted Fowl or fatted Things, sufficient to entertain three thousand Men at least. The Purveyors for his Household were many, his Dominions were large, all the Princes from the Borders of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates* paying Tribute to him. *Judah* and *Israel* dwelt safely, in Peace and Plenty, every Man under his Vine and under his Fig-tree, all his Reign. Never did the Crown of *Israel* shine so bright as when *Solomon* wore it ; for it was a glorious Type of the Kingdom of the Messiah, answering the Predictions of the seventy second Psalm. Why ? *the Lord did build the house, and the builders did not labour in vain (a).* He had forty thousand Stalls of Horses, and twelve thousand Horsemen, *1 Kings*, vi. 26. but in *2 Chron.* ix. 25. it is *four thousand stalls for horses.* The Difficulty is removed, by observing, that in the last Text the Word *Stalls* in our Version, signifies Stables ; each of which contained ten Stalls, or Divisions for ten Horses ; which makes up the forty thousand in the former. If all these were for State, and not for carrying on the Service of his Buildings, he seems to have transgressed the Law (b) forbidding the King to multiply Horses. He excelled all the Men of the East, in *Egypt*, or in his Time, for Wisdom and Understanding. Being a great Moralist, he spake *three thousand proverbs* ; though I do not take the Book of *Proverbs* (of which afterwards) to be a Part of them. He was a good Poet : *His songs were a thousand and five* ; of which there is only one extant, called, *The song of songs*, being divinely inspired. And he was an excellent Natural Philosopher, who discoursed of the Nature of all Trees, of Beasts, Fowls, creeping Things, and Fishes, discovering his great Knowledge in the Mysteries of Nature. His Court was the general Rendezvous of Philosophers, or Lovers of Wisdom, who came thither to light their Candle at his Lamp. This Account may run through several Years of his Reign ; but I humbly conceive *Josephus* is to be blamed for charging this great Prince with the Art of Divination, or teaching to cure Diseases and expell Devils by Charms (c). *Josephus* wrote about the Time of the Destruction of *Judea* by the *Romans*, when the degenerate *Jews* were in love with that wicked Art ; and therefore he thought *Solomon* could not be so wise and so learned a Prince without the Knowledge thereof.

The great Work that *Solomon* was raised for, was to build the Temple. Wealth and Wisdom were given to him for that end. His Father had extended the Dominions of *Israel*, by his Wars with the *Syrians*, *Edomites* and others, as far as promised to the Seed of *Abraham* : Over which his Son reigning in Peace and Prosperity, had Time, Leisure, Riches, Skill, and other Advantages for this and the like expensive Structures. Still Timber, Stones and Workmen were wanting : About which we have him treating with *Hiram* King of *Tyre* (d). *Josephus* (e) says the original Letters that pass between those Princes were to be seen in the *Tyrian Annals* in his Time. Though these Records be now lost, the Sum of the Transaction is more infallibly preserved in the sacred Scriptures, as a Type of the Gentiles building up a Church to God in Gospel-days. *Hiram* sent an Embassy to *Solomon*, to condole his Father's Death, and to congratulate his Accession to the Throne. Whereupon *Solomon*, by another Embassy, signified his Design to build the Temple ; desiring the *Tyrian* to furnish him with Timber and Workmen. *Hiram* consented to the Demand, promising to cause cut as much Cedar and Fir as was necessary, in *Lebanon*, and send it by the *Mediterranean* Sea from *Tyre*, in Floats, to the Port that lay most convenient for *Jerusalem*. The Bargain being concluded, *Solomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand Measures of Wheat, and twenty Measures of pure Oyl, Year by Year, *1 Kings*, v. 11. but in *2 Chron.* ii. 10. it is twenty thousand Measures of beaten Wheat, twenty thousand

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Measures

(a) Psal. cxxvii. (b) Deut. xvii. 16. (c) Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. m. 257. (d) *1 Kings*, v. *2 Chron.* ii. (e) Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. m. 258.

Measures of Barley, twenty thousand Baths of Wine, and twenty thousand Baths of Oyl. The whole may be made up from both, the Books of *Chronicles* being writ to supply and complete the History in the Books of *Samuel* and *Kings*; or, in the first we have what *Solomon* at first offered, in the second what *Hiram* demanded, and *Solomon* at last granted. The Price being agreed to, *Solomon* employed thirty thousand *Israelites* in the Work, ten thousand of them being in the Business at once; and one hundred fifty three thousand six hundred, who seem most of them to have been Strangers (a), to be Burden-bearers, Workers in Wood and Stone, and Overseers, in the Mountains. The Bargain was managed by prudent Men and wise Merchants on both Sides. *Tyre* and *Zidon* had a great Number of Inhabitants, living by Trade: Their Country being narrow and barren, they were obliged for Necessaries to the Land of *Canaan* (b). *Lebanon* being then, and to this Day overspread with Timber, which might otherwise yield Silks, *Hiram* could spare enough of Wood: And he could not want the Friendship of *Solomon*, who by his Father's Conquests having a great part of *Edom*, *Syria* and *Arabia*, to the *Red Sea* and River *Euphrates*, his Tributaries and Subjects, could easily have stopt the Caravans of the *Tyrians* from carrying on their Trade (c) through those Parts, if they had opposed them. On the other hand, *Solomon* furnished them with nothing but what his Country could spare; and when the Work was done, gave them only such Villages as he pleased. The Preparations for building of the Temple being so far carried on, the Work it self was begun, four hundred and eighty Years after *Israel's* coming out of *Egypt*, in the tenth Year of *Solomon's* Reign; which comes in under the next Period.

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§ 27. THE greater Part of the chronological Questions that learned Men have moved up on this Period, have already been prevented and answered, in what hath been offered to explain the sacred History. These that remain shall not long detain us. The whole Time, from *Israel's* coming out of *Egypt*, to the Beginning of the building of the Temple, in the fourth Year of *Solomon's* Reign, is pin'd down to 480 Years, as before (d) observed. The Particulars, with the Proofs from Scripture, are as follows. *Moses*, after the Departure from *Egypt*, governed *Israel* 40 Years (e), *Joshua* 17, as before proved, *Othniel* 40 (f), *Ehud* and *Shamgar* 80 (g), *Deborah* 40 (h), *Gideon* 40 (i), *Abimelech* 3 (j), *Tolab* 23 (k), *Jair* 22 (l), *Jephthab* 6 (m), *Ibzar* 7 (n), *Elon* 10 (o), *Abdon* 8 (p), *Samson* 20 (q), *Eli* 40 (r), *Samuel* and *Saul* 40 (s), *David* 40 (t), and *Solomon*, before the building of the Temple, 4 Years (u). These being put together, make up the whole Period of 480 Years (u); the Time wherein *Israel* was oppressed being included, and suck'd up in the Years of the Judges who delivered them from that Bondage, according to the common Opinion both of Interpreters and Chronologers. Nor can it be otherwise: For before *Othniel*, *Israel* was oppressed 8 Years (v), before *Ehud* 18 (w), before *Deborah* 20 (x), before *Gideon* 7 (y), before *Jephthab* 18 (z), and before *Samson* 40 Years (aa). These Years being added together, make 111 of Oppression; which, if joined to the Years of the Judges, would make the particular Years of the Period far exceed the general: But being included in the Time assign'd to the Government of the Judges, (as hath been before observed, in explaining the sacred History) the particular Years and the general sweetly agree; and other things shall be observed by and by that confirm this Opinion.

The most important Difficulty in the Chronology of this Period, is, to reconcile the general Sum, 1 *Kings*, vi. 1. with the Words of the Apostle, *Acts*, xiii. 19, 20. *He divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet.* For if there be 450 Years from the Division of the Land of *Canaan* by Lot, in the 7th Year of *Joshua's* Government, of which the Apostle seems to speak, to the Government, or even to the Death of *Samuel*; there must be many more than 480 in the whole Interval, from the Departure out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple. To remove this, several Answers have been offered by learned Men. *Grotius*, Bishop *Usher* and others, number these 450 Years from the Birth of *Isaac* unto the Judges, joining the Words *μετὰ ταῦτα*, or, *after that*, in the twentieth Verse, to the Beginning of the seventeenth; so as the Sense might be, *From the chusing of our fathers, to the time of the judges, are four hundred and fifty years: For (say they) from Isaac's Birth, to the Departure of Israel out of Egypt, are 405 Years; they wandered in the Wilderness 40 Years; 7 Years thence their Land was divided by Lot: These Years put together, make 452; which the Apostle by a round Sum names 450.* But the Words of the Apostle seem not to bear this Sense: For he goes on orderly: *God chose our fathers; he brought them out of Egypt; he led them in the wilderness forty years; he divided the land; and then, he gave them judges.* Dr. *Whitby* (bb), and several before him, make the Computation in another Way: *The Years of the Judges till Samuel are 339; the*

(a) 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. (b) See *Acts*, xii. 20. *Ezra*, iii. 7. *Ezek.* xxvii. 17. (c) Rawleigh's History, Part 1. p. 309. (d) Above, p. 86. (e) *Numb.* xiv. 33. (f) *Judges*, iii. 10, 11. (g) *Judges*, iii. 30. (h) *Judges*, v. 31. (i) *Judges*, viii. 28. (j) *Judges*, ix. 22. (k) *Judges*, x. 2. (l) *Judges*, x. 3. (m) *Judges*, xii. 7. (n) *Judges*, xii. 9. (o) *Judges*, xii. 11. (p) *Judges*, xii. 14. (q) *Judges*, xv. 20. (r) 1 Sam. iv. 18. (s) *Acts*, xiii. 21. (t) 2 Sam. v. 4. (u) 1 Kings, vi. 1. (v) 1 Kings, vi. 1. (w) *Judges*, iii. 8. (x) *Judges*, iii. 14. (y) *Judges*, iv. 3. (z) *Judges*, vi. 1. (aa) *Judges*, xiii. 1. (bb) On the N. Testament, Vol. 1. p. 701, 702.

the Time of the Tyrants or Oppressors are 111; which put together makes 450. This is the Computation of the Septuagint; of Josephus and the Jews; which (says the Doctor) St. Luke follows both in the Gospel and in the Acts. But neither doth this Solution please; for the Time of the Oppression is included in the Years of the Judges, and cannot enter as a separate Article within this Period of 480 Years, as hath been before observed. I rather then incline to another Way of removing the Doubt, suggested by the Dutch Notes and Mr. Pool's Continuations on Acts, xiii. 20. That the Words μετὰ ταῦτα, after that, are to be connected with the End of the seventeenth Verse, and the Time to be reckoned from the Departure out of Egypt to the Death of Samuel the Prophet; which will be 434 Years; which the Apostle, by a round Number, calls about 450; as it is usual in all Languages, when it is but a little less or more: And the Apostle does not intend to shew precisely how long the Judges ruled, but, when or about what Time their Government happened, and also to declare what a long Time it took to gain to Israel a quiet Possession of the promised Inheritance, their Sins withholding good things from them. After all, if we are not able to satisfy our selves or others in any such chronological Question, which doth not touch any Article of Faith, 'tis better to confess our own Weakness, than to say that the original Text is corrupted, and so derogate from the Authority of the unerring Rule of Faith; as Lewis Capel, Isaac Vossius and some others have done; who have been more fully answered by the great Buxtorf (a), and our learned Countryman Mr. Baillie (b): And Dr. Whitby (c) owns, that all the Copies, Versions and Readings he could find, countenance the present Reading.

Another Question is moved, How can there be 480 Years from the Deliverance out of Egypt to the fourth Year of Solomon's Reign, when four Generations succeeding one another fill that whole Space of Time? For in the first Year after Joshua entered Canaan, Salmon married Rahab, saved from the Destruction of Jericho; of her he begat Boaz, who by Ruth the Moabitess, had Obed, who was the Father of Jesse, who was the Father of King David. To untie this Knot, 'tis to be considered, that Joshua entered Canaan and took Jericho forty one Years after Israel's coming out of Egypt: If these, with seventy Years of David's Life, and four of Solomon's Reign, (which in all make 115 Years) be deduced from 480, there will remain 365 Years to be divided between Rahab, Boaz, Obed and Jesse, or the Time in which they could be supposed to beget Children. Now Rahab being capable to entertain Strangers in her House, might be seventeen Years of Age when Jericho was taken, one Year more is fit to be allowed for her Instruction in the Jewish Religion, before she could be married to Salmon a Prince of the Tribe of Judah. To him she might have several Children; but we suppose she brought forth Boaz in the fifty sixth Year of her Age; which is not extraordinary especially in these antient Times (d). The Nativity of Boaz would be in the twenty second of Othniel's Government, 39 Years after the Israelites entered Canaan; which 39 Years are to be deduced from the former Sum of 365; and there remains 326 Years to be divided between the Nativities of Obed, Jesse and David. Thus, if Boaz begat Obed of Ruth, when aged 106, in the eighth Year of Deborah's Government, Obed when aged 110 begat Jesse in the first Year of Jephthah; Jesse, when aged 110, begat David, in the 10th Year of Saul's Reign; then the Difficulty is removed. If it be objected, that it cannot be thought that Men even then should be so vigorous as to beget Children in the 106th or 110th Year of their Age, I answer, That this will recur with greater Force on those who maintain that the Years of the Oppression are to be added to the Years of the Judges; for they will have 111 Years more to account for, which will make the Knot harder to loose. But 'tis not so incredible as pretended, that Men at that Age should have Children, tho' in Moses's Time, as appears by Psalm xc. the Lives of Men for most part were confined within the Years of Seventy or Eighty; many of them who came out of Egypt being cut off about that Age for their Sins, yet Moses, Aaron, Joshua and Caleb were all vigorous Men when above a hundred. Long after that Time Jehojada the High-priest was 130 Years when he died (e): And there may not a few Instances be given of Men in latter Times, who kept their Vigour to as great an Age as is here alledged, if not beyond it; some of whom I have before named (f), and many more may be named in Pliny (g), and others (h). Our Country Man Mr. Baillie mentions (i) one Mr. Collin Rhind he was acquainted with at Perth, in the Year 1650, who at that Time was a vigorous Man, of one hundred and ten Years of Age; and could give a valuable Account of all that happened any way remarkable in our Country from his Infancy. The like Examples might be given in our own Days. But by what is said, it is credible that these Men, who were of the Number of our Saviour's Progenitors according to the Flesh, might have Children at the Age alledged: And therefore these Generations in the Question might take up such a Space of Time.

The last Question I notice in the sacred Chronology of this Period, is, How can Jephthah

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(a) De punctorum antiquitate. (b) In opere hist. & chronol. p. 47, — 52. (c) On the N. Testament. ubi supra. (d) See above, p. 135. (e) 2 Chron. xxiv. 15. (f) See above, p. 21. (g) Hist. naturalis, lib. 7. cap 49. (h) Turner's Wonders of Nature, p. 30. Heideggeri hist. Patriarch. p. m. 354. & seqq. Vol. 1: (i) Chronologia, p. 53.

affirm that *Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns three hundred years (a)*, since from the Time *Moses* overcame *Sibon*, and possessed *Israel* of *Heshbon (b)*, there were not so many? Answer, 'Tis very usual both in sacred and profane Authors to set down a round Number, leaving out a few odd Years, whether more or less: Now from the Departure out of *Egypt*, to the Beginning of *Jephthah's* Government (of which only the *Ammonites* Demand, and *Jephthah's* Answer can be understood) we'll find exactly 305 Years, according to the Particulars of this Period above-mentioned (c); the five Years being omitted, it may very well be said that *Israel* dwelt in *Heshbon* and her Towns three hundred Years: And this Calculation also confirms our Opinion that the Years of the Oppression are contained within these of the Government of the Judges; for if all the Years of the Oppression before *Jephthah* were to be counted separately from the Years of the Government, and added to them, the Years wherein *Israel* dwelt in *Heshbon* would be 376, which far exceeds the Number in the Text (d).

§ 28. I go now to consider some remains of Profane History during this Period. These are still very obscure, the Chronology uncertain; and the Facts for most part fabulous and doubtful. As to the Affairs of *Egypt*, I have before noticed (e) the Series of their Kings writ by *Eratosthenes*, and preserved by *Synceus* (f), as the best Guide to conduct us into that History, and drawn down that List from the Year of the World 1849, which is 193 Years after the Flood, to the Reign of *Apaxus Maximus*; which begun in the Year of the World 2423, and continued a hundred Years, till *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. To proceed with that Catalogue: In the Year of the World 2523, reigned in *Egypt* *Echepius Caras* one Year. In the Year 2524, began *Nitocris*, and reigned six Years; in the Year 2530, began *Myrtæus*, and reigned twenty two Years. In the Year 2552 began *Thyosimares*, and reigned twelve Years. He seems to be the same whom *Herodotus* calls *Myris* or *Myrios (g)*, from whom the Lake *Myris* and its Pyramids are named; for *Herodote* says he died 900 Years before the Priests told him these Things in *Egypt*; and if we add to 2564 (which we suppose to be the Year of *Myris's* Death) 900; this will fall in the Year 3464, which according to *Helvicius's* Tables, is the 36th Year of *Darius Hystaspis*, in whose Time *Herodote* began to flourish. In the Year 2564 began *Thyrillus*, and reigned eight Years. In the Year 2572 began *Semiphucares*, and reigned eighteen Years; in the Year 2590 began *Chuter Taurus*, and reigned seven Years; in the Year 2597 began *Cheres Philosophus*, and reigned twelve Years; in the Year 2609 began *Choma Ephtha*, and reigned eleven Years; in the Year 2620 began *Anchurius Ochus*, and reigned sixty Years; in the Year 2680 began *Penteathyris*, and reigned sixteen Years; in the Year 2696 began *Stamenes*, and reigned twenty three Years; in the Year 2719 began *Sistofichemes*, and reigned fifty five Years; in the Year 2774 began *Maris*, and reigned forty three Years; in the Year 2817 began *Siphoas Hermes*, — in the Year 2836 began *Phruron* or *Nilus*, — in the Year 2843 began *Amurrahæus*, and reigned sixty three Years, or to the Year of the World 2906.

As to the Affairs of *Greece*, they have no Chronology to be depended on before the *Olympiads*, which are computed to have begun in the Year from the Creation 3174, being the 37th Year of the Reign of *Uzziab* King of *Judah*, according to *Helvicius's* Tables: But since many of the fabulous Stories which the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets enlarge upon, seem to have had some Foundation during this Period, from the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, to the building of the Temple by *Solomon*, I shall here take some Notice of them. In the Time of *Deucalion* King of *Thessaly*, Son of *Prometheus*, there happened such a Deluge in *Thessaly*, as the Poets (h) took Occasion to say all Mankind perished, and that *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his Wife, to repopulate the World, by the Advice of the Oracle of *Themis*, threw Stones behind them, that were changed into Men and Women. This according to *Clemens Alexandrinus's* (i) Computation, was four Generations after the Government of *Moses*, that is, 133 Years or thereby, about the Year 2589 from the Creation, in the thirty ninth Year of *Ehud's* Government over *Israel*. About the same Time happened the burning of *Phaethon*. He was a Prince of the *Ligurians*, and a great Astrologer, who principally applied himself to study the Course of the Sun. In his Time *Italy*, near the River *Po*, was so much incommoded with extraordinary Heats, that the Earth became dry and barren for several Years: From which Event *Ovid* drew the Fable (k) of burning the Earth, which he hath beautifully adorned. From the burning of *Phaethon*, to the burning of *Ida*, and the *Idæi Dactyli*, according to *Clemens* (l), are 73 Years, which leads to the Year of the World 2662, being the 32d of *Deborah's* Government in *Israel*. *Ida* was a Mountain in *Crete*; and there was also one of the same Name more famous in *Phrygia* near *Troy*, which the Poets imagine did once burn; that there Iron was found; and there the *Idæi Dactyli*, or Priests of *Cybele*, dwelt, who were reckoned the

(a) Judges. xi. 26 (b) Numb. xxi. (c) See above, p. 166. (d) Judges xi. 26. (e) Above p. 83. (f) Inter Scriptores Byzantinos, p. 91. (g) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 13. p. m. 94. (h) Vide Ovidii Metamorph. lib. 1. fab. 7. (i) Clemens Alexand. Stromatum, lib. 1. p. 335, 336. in editione Colonizæ 1628. (k) Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. fab. 1. (l) Clemens Alex. loco citato.

the Children of *Sol* and *Minerva*, or of *Saturn* and *Alciope*. Five of them were Males, and five of them Females; and were called *Dactyli*, because equal in Number to the Fingers of a Man's Hand. Hence did also spring the *Corybantes*, Priests of *Cybele*, Mother of the Gods (a); who being moved with a Fury they called divine, celebrated their Feasts, by beating Drums, dancing and leaping like mad People. From the burning of *Ida*, to the Rape of *Ganymede* according to *Clemens* (b) are 65 Years; which carry us down to the Year of the World 2727, the 14th Year of *Tolab's* judging *Israel*. *Ganymede* the Son of *Tros* King of *Phrygia* was, as the Poets tell (c), beloved, and carried up into the Heavens by *Jupiter*, in the Shape of an Eagle, where, against *Juno's* Mind he was made Cup-bearer to the Gods. By which some understand the Soul mounting up to Heaven on the Wings of Contemplation; tho' I doubt if these profane heathenish Fables admit so good a Moral. From the Rape of *Ganymede*, to the Time of *Perseus*, are fifteen Years; which will fall in the sixth Year of *Jair*. The Poets and fabulous Writers tell many strange Stories of this *Perseus* (d), as; That he was begot by *Jupiter* on *Danae* in a golden Shower; that when he came to be of Age, he overcame the *Gorgons* with their Queen *Medusa*, whose Hair was full of Serpents, subdued the Inhabitants of Mount *Atlas*, delivered *Andromeda*, by killing a Sea-monster set to devour her, and then married her: That afterwards he fought against the King of *Mauritania* and *Æthiopia*; that returning to *Greece* he overcame his Uncle *Prætus*, and *Polydectes*, King of the Island *Seriphus*, and all this in a very short Time. From the Expedition of *Perseus* to the first taking of *Troy*, thirty four Years; thence to the sailing the Ship *Argo*, sixty four. This Calculation will lead us to the Year of the Word 2840, the thirty second Year of *Eli's* Government over *Israel*, as the Time of the *Argonauts*.

There are few Things more famous by the Songs of the Poets, than this Expedition (e) of these valiant *Greeks*, who accompanied *Jason* to *Colchos* for the golden Fleece. The Number of the Adventurers were about fifty two, of whom *Hercules*, *Hylas*, *Theseus*, *Perithous*, *Orpheus*, *Peleus*, *Jason* and *Telamon* were chief. The Foundation of the Story is conceived to be, that the *Argonauts* sailed to some Part of *Scythia*, to carry off a Share of the Riches of that Country, where the Inhabitants gained a great deal of Gold out of the Rivers that ran from Mount *Caucasus*, by using Sheep Skins with the Wool on, to take up the Powder of this Metal; and hence it was called the Golden-fleece. But the Poets in their fruitful Fancy have tacked many Fables to the Story, as of *Jason's* Love to *Hypsipile* at *Lemnos*, of his Marriage with the Daughter of the King of *Colchos*, a famous Witch named *Medea*, who taught him to conquer Bulls that vomited Fire, to kill the Dragon that kept the rich Fleece, to sow the Serpents Teeth, out of which rose an Army of Men; how she came away with *Jason*; but fearing her Father would bring her back, she killed her young Brother *Abysrtus*, and strowed the Way with his dissected Members, to retard her Parent in the Pursuit; that arriving in *Thessaly*, she restored the Age of *Æson*, *Jason's* Father, making him young again, with other idle Fashions of that Kind.

About this Time *Sethosis* King of *Egypt*, as *Josephus* (f) calls him, from *Manetho*, (but these ancient Authors give different Names to the Sovereigns of that Country) Having many Troops by Land, and Ships at Sea, left his Brother *Armais*, Administrator of his Kingdom, with a regal Power, only commanding him not to wear the Crown, nor to meddle with the Queen-Mother, nor with any of the Royal Concubines. The King himself marched to *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, where he overcame the *Medes* and *Assyrians*, either by his Arms, or by making them submit to the Terror of his Name; and being elevated with his Success, over-run the Eastern Cities and Provinces. In the mean Time *Armais* did all Things against his Brother's Orders, sparing neither the Queen nor the Royal Concubines; yea, by ill Advice, he assumed the Crown, and rebelled against his Brother. The High-priest of *Egypt* informed *Sethosis* of the whole Matter, who made haste to *Pelusium*, and got Possession of his own Kingdom, which was called by his Name; for *Sethosis* was called *Ægyptus*. *Armais* had a Brother called *Danaus*. So far *Manetho*. Of this *Danaus* the *Greeks* tell us (g), That he had fifty Daughters, who married their fifty Cousin-Germans, Sons to *Ægyptus* their Father's Brother, who by Order of their Father, murdered their Husbands the first Night, because he was told by an Oracle, that he should be dispossessed of *Argos* by a Son-in-law; but *Hypermnestra*, one of the Daughters, saved her Husband *Lynceus*, who succeeded her Father. I know some Authors have placed this Story far higher; but the Reason why I set it here, is because *Josephus* (h), who owns it to be the ancientest Thing among the *Argives*, says it happened 393 Years after the *Israelites* departure from *Egypt*, which will carry it down to the Year of the World 2849, the last of *Eli's* Government over *Israel*.

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(a) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 472. (b) Clemens Alex. loc. cit. (c) Ovid Metamorph. lib. 10. fab. 4. (d) Ovidius in Metamorph. lib. 4. & 5. & alii. (e) See Apollonius Rhodius. Valerii Flacci Argonautica, in eight Books. Ovidii Metam. lib. 7. fab. 1. & seqq. (f) Contra Appionem, lib. 1. pag. m. 1041. (g) Hygini fabula 168. Appollodori Bibliotheca, lib. 2. fol. m. 268, — 9. (h) Loco citato.

I shall have Occasion in another part of this Work to write the Origin of the *Latins* (a), and of the History of *Thesens* (b), which was not before the Time of *Samuel* and *Saul's* Government; and therefore shall not now stay upon these uncertain or fabulous Things; nor upon the Story of *Hercules*, whom the *Greeks* have made a Deity, and his twelve Labours, who can be no older, being a Companion and Contemporary to *Thesens*.

I shall also afterwards take notice of the *Trojan Wars* (c), where I offer Reasons why I conceive these were contemporary with King *Solomon's* Reign in *Israel*. The learned Sir *Isaac Newton* (d) sets them still later, in the Year before Christ 904, or 76 Years after the Death of *Solomon*, which will be about the 15th Year of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*. But I dip no further in this Debate. The Poets have heaped together so many Fables, that 'tis difficult to find out what is Truth in the Story. That which seems to come nearest it is, That the *Argonauts* having killed *Laomedon* the Father of *Priamus* King of *Troy*: When *Priamus* came to be of Age fit to make Enquiry after this Mischief, he sent *Antenor* with a Fleet into *Greece* to complain of the Wrong had been done by murdering his Father: But he receiving no Satisfaction to the Demand (e), *Priamus* ordered his Son *Paris*, or *Alexander* (for he is called by both Names) to do an Injury to the *Greeks* on Way or other. Whereon *Paris* ensnared, bebauched, and carried away the fair *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus* (f), whom the *Greeks* required to be restored. Which Suit being denied, they resolved to revenge themselves by War: And having chosen *Agamemnon*, Brother of *Menelaus* for their Captain, they sailed to *Phrygia*, with about twelve hundred Ships, aboard of which was a considerable Land Army. They arrived at their designed Port without Opposition, plundered and wasted the Country; and after ten Years spent in the War, took the City *Troy*, which they burnt to Ashes, putting *Priamus* and all the *Trojans* to the Sword, and then returned to *Greece*.

The chief Captains on the *Grecian* Side were, *Agamemnon*, *Achilles*, *Ajax*, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; and on the Part of the *Trojans*, *Hector*, *Memnon*, *Paris* and others. To raise the Reputation of these Heroes, *Homer*, and after him the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets and Mythologists, have invented a multitude of Fables, too long to be here inserted; yet I shall select a few. They tell concerning *Achilles*, That he was the Son of *Peleus* and *Thetis*: That his Mother dipt him, when an Infant, all over in the River *Styx*, to make him invulnerable; except the Heel, which she held him by. Afterward he was put to the Centaur *Chiron*, to be taught Physick, Musick, and the Art of War; who fed him with Lions Marrow, to render him courageous. But the Mother being informed by an Oracle, that he would be slain at the Siege of *Troy*, hid him in Womens Apparel among the Daughters of *Lycomedes*; where he deflowered *Deianira*. Yet being discovered by *Ulysses*, by chusing Arms rather than Jewels, he was forced to go with the *Greeks*; his Mother having first got him impenetrable Armour from *Vulcan*. Disgusted at *Agamemnon*, for taking *Briseis* from him, he withdrew himself from before *Troy*; till hearing of the Death of his Friend *Patroclus*, he returned, and slew *Hector*, and then dragged his Body after his Chariot three times round the Walls of the City, and sold it to *Priamus*. At last *Paris* shot him treacherously with an Arrow, in that Part of the Heel which his Mother held in her Hand when she dipt him in the River *Styx*. Of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* the Poets say, That he was the stoutest of all the *Greeks*; so much admired by *Hector*, that after they had fought a whole Day, *Hector* presented him with a Sword, and he complimented his Antagonist with a Belt: That the Sword was that whereby *Ajax* afterwards killed himself, and the Belt that by which *Achilles* dragged *Hector* round *Troy*. Upon the Death of *Achilles*, when *Ajax* claimed his Arms, as bequeathed to him, but finding the Judges had given them to *Ulysses*, whose Eloquence made his Claim better (g), *Ajax* run mad, slew a great many Sheep, and a Ram conspicuous for its Beauty: But recovering his Senses a little, he retired to a solitary Place; where he killed himself with *Hector's* Sword; and his Blood was turned into the Hyacinth Flower. Concerning *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, who were among the *Greeks* that returned to their own Country, strange Stories are told, by *Homer* (h), *Ovid* (i), and others. As to *Ulysses*, King of *Ithaca*; 'tis said he wandred ten Years by Sea. Uncouth Disasters and strange Adventures happened him; at last he came to his own home: Yet being assured by an Oracle, that he would be killed by one of his Children, he resolved to withdraw: But before he could do it, *Telegonus*, his Son by *Circe*, arrived at *Ithaca*; where being denied Entrance, he killed his Father without knowing him. Of *Paris* the *Trojan*, Son to *Priamus* and *Hecuba*, there is a Legend of Adventures to be had: As, That his Mother being with child of him, dream'd that she was brought to bed of a Firebrand; which the Southsayers explained, that her Child should occasion the Ruin of *Troy*: Wherefore his Father ordered him to be destroyed as soon as born; but his Mother being delighted with his Beauty, took care to have him brought up with the Shepherds on Mount *Ida*. Being grown up, he fell in love with the Nymph *Oenone* (k); by whom he had two Sons. Having acquired Fame by

(a) Below, chap. 4. History of the Roman Annals. (b) Digression concerning the Affairs of Greece. (c) Ibidem (d) Chronology, p. 24.—63. (e) Dictys Cretensis & Dares Phrygius (f) Herodot. in lib. 1. cap. 3, 4. (g) Ovid. Met. lib. 13. fab. 1. (h) Odysses. (i) Met. lib. 14. fab. 5, 6, 10. (k) Ovid. Epist.

by his equal deciding Controversies, he was chosen by *Juno*, *Pallas* and *Venus*, to determine which of them was most beautiful, and had best Right to the golden Apple, with the Inscription, *Detur pulchriori*, Let it be given to the fairest. He decided for *Venus*; who promised him the most beautiful Woman in the World. He won the Prize at the Wrestling Games from *Hector* himself; who therefore would have killed him, but he discovered that he was his Brother. How he debauched and carried off the Wife of *Menelaus*, we have before heard. In the *Trojan War* he fought with *Menelaus* hand to hand, till being almost overcome, he was carried off by *Venus*. Afterwards he killed *Achilles*, by an Arrow in the Heel; for which he was put to Death by *Pyrrhus*. Of *Memnon* 'tis told, That he being the Son of *Aurora* and *Titonus* the Son of *Laomedon*, and Brother of *Priamus*, came with an Army of People from the East, to help the *Trojans*; but was killed by *Achilles*. When his Body was burnt in a funeral Pile, at his Mother *Aurora*'s Desire, her Son's Ashes were turned into Birds, named *Memnoniæ*, and her Tears into Dew (a). But I humbly conceive we have enough of these Fables, which are sung by the Poets in charming Verse, to make Vice reign with Impunity, and debauch the Age.

The Origin of Kingdoms through the World, and other civil Affairs in this Period, are also very uncertain, and mixed with many Falshoods and Fables; yet, that I may not omit them altogether, I shall offer a few Remarks on this Subject. *Troy* was one of these antient Kingdoms, where six Descents are reckoned in the Royal Family, viz. *Dardanus*, *Erichonius*, *Tros*, *Ilus*, *Laomedon*, *Priamus*. But the Heathen Nations, at least on this Side of *Syria*, had no Chronology before the *Persian Empire*; and whatever chronological Account we have of these antient Times, hath been since framed by Reasoning and Conjecture (b), computing three Generations at a hundred or a hundred and twenty Years; which is too long for these turbulent Kingdoms, where Murders and Usurpations did so much abound. Let the Calculation then be reduced nearer the Course of Nature: Let the Death of *Priamus*, and the taking of *Troy*, be stated about the tenth Year of *Solomon*, and these six Kings be allowed to have reigned fifteen Years apiece, that is ninety Years to them all; the first of them, at this rate counted backwards from the tenth of *Solomon*, will be about the Beginning of *Samuel*'s, or the End of *Eli*'s Government over *Israel*. The Knowledge of Geography was still later among the Heathens: There is nothing of that kind extant among them till after the *Persian Empire*, unless we take the Catalogue of Ships and Forces in the *Trojan War* that is in *Homer*'s second *Iliad* for a Performance of that Nature. To go on with the History:

Tyre was an antient City, yet it appears (c), that it was the daughter of *Zidon*, replenished by the merchants thereof; and *Solomon*, in the Beginning of his Reign, calls the People of *Tyre*, *Zidonians* (d). *Strabo* (e) says that *Tyrus* and *Aradus* were Colonies of the *Phœnicians*. *Justin* (f) owns the same, and adds, That the *Zidonians* being overcome by the King of *Ascalon*, retired in Ships, and built *Tyre* some Years before the Destruction of *Troy*. The Time of this Event the learned *Sir Isaac Newton* (g) places about the fifteenth or sixteenth Year of *David* King of *Israel* and *Judab*. For *David* having conquered *Edom*, bordering upon the *Red Sea*, about the twelfth Year of his Reign made some of the *Edomites*, chiefly the Merchants and Seamen, to fly to the *Philistines*, on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*; where they fortified *Azoth* or *Ashdod*. Being grown strong by the Help of the *Edomites* and Shepherds, they invaded and took *Zidon*; which made the *Zidonians* flee by Sea to *Tyre* and *Aradus*, and to other Havens in *Asia minor*, *Greece* and *Libya*; where they by their Trade had been before acquainted. They went not to seek *Europa*, as was pretended, but to enquire for new Seats, under *Cadmus* their Leader (h), who first brought Letters into *Greece*; and by this his Age may be known. They sent Colonies into *Carthage*, and thence into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfu* and *Spain*; and *Strabo* (i) says that the *Phœnicians* themselves traded for Tin and Lead to the *Isles Cassiterides*, by which some understand those Parts of *England* where such Commodities may be had. Other Events concerning the *Tyrians* may be found in the Sequel of this History.

About the same time when *Tyre* was founded, the *Edomites* who fled from *David* with their young King *Hadad* into *Egypt*, probably carried thither also the Use of Letters: For Letters were then known among the Posterity of *Abraham*, in *Arabia Petræa* and upon the Borders of the *Red Sea*; the Law being writ there by *Moses*, in a Book, and in Tables of Stone, long before: And *Job* (k) mentions the writing of Words as in use in his Days: And there is no Instance of Letters for writing down Sounds, before the Days of *David* (l), in any other Nation besides the Posterity of *Abraham*. The *Egyptians* ascribed this Invention to *Thoth*, the Secretary of *Osiris*, which was a little after the Flight of the *Edomites* from *David*, or about the Time that *Cadmus* brought them into *Europe*.

Lydia in the Lesser *Asia* was an antient Kingdom, where the *Heraclidæ* reigned about the

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End

(a) Ovid. Met. lib. 13. fab. 3. (b) Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of the Greeks, p. 45. & passim. (c) Isaiah, xxiii. 2, 12. (d) 1 Kings, v. 6. (e) Lib. 16. p. 766. (f) Lib. 18. cap. 3. (g) Chronology of the Greeks, p. 104. (h) Herodotus, lib. 5. cap. 59. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 3. cap. 67. See Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 160, 161. (i) Lib. 3. p. 175. (k) xix. 23, 24. (l) Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 209.

End of this Period ; but there are only nine Kings of *Lydia* noticed in History, viz. *Ardisius*, *Haliates*, *Melos*, *Candaules*, *Gyges*, *Ardis*, *Sardiates*, *Haliates II.* and *Cræsus*. As to *Cræsus*, we know that he was taken Prisoner in *Sardis*, by *Cyrus* the Founder of the *Persian* Empire, as shall be afterwards observed, in the Year of the World 3399, before Christ's Birth 551 Years. Allow him and each of his eight Predecessors fifteen Years to reign, the whole will amount to 135 Years. Count these back, and the first of them will fall in the Year of the World 3264, before Christ 686 ; which was about the 14th Year of *Manasseh* King of *Judah*. There is little on Record about these Kings, except that *Candaules*, shewing his Wife naked to *Gyges*, was by her Contrivance slain ; and *Gyges* married his Wife, and succeeded him in the Kingdom (a). He is said to have been a wise Prince, and to have had a Ring wherewith he made himself invisible ; which hath the Air of a Fable. The Life of *Cræsus* shall be noticed in its proper Place.

The true History of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Scythia*, *Sweden*, *Britain*, and *Ireland*, are all of a later Date than this Period. For *Scythia* beyond the *Danube* had no Letters till *Upbilas* their Bishop formed them, about 600 Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great : *Germany* had none till it received them from the Western Empire of the *Latines*, about 100 Years after *Scythia* : The *Huns* had none in the Days of *Procopius*, who flourished in the sixth Century of the Christian *Æra* : *Sweden* and *Norway* received them still later. Things said to be done above one or two hundred Years before the Use of Letters, are of little Credit. And as Sir *Isaac Newton* (b) observes, even the Origin of Agriculture, Navigation, Musick, Arts and Sciences, Metals, Smiths, Carpenters, Towns and Buildings, was not much older in *Europe* than the Days of *Eli*, *Samuel*, and *David* : Before those Times this Part of the World was but thinly peopled, and much overgrown with Woods.

Some Travellers report strange Things of the Antiquities of *China* ; but the *Chinese* (c) themselves confess their Antiquities are in great part fabulous ; that their most antient Books were in Hieroglyphicks, and their Numbers in Computation were mistaken, or Months put for Years. Of what Antiquity soever their first Writers were, there is little Credit to be given to those now remaining, since that general Destruction of all their antient Books by the Emperor *Xi-Hoan-ti*, about 200 Years (d) before Christ.



P E R I O D V.

From the Building of Solomon's Temple, to the first Year of the Babylonish Captivity.

Containing the Space of 408 Years.

[I design here and afterwards to carry a View of the Affairs of the World (which may be more full than under the former Periods) along in explaining the sacred History, and at the same time to obviate most of the Questions in Chronology.]

KING *Solomon* began to build the Temple in the fourth Year of his Reign, which 'tis like was a Sabbatic Year, that the People being discharged from their Husbandry, might more easily lend a helping Hand to begin this great Work ; and the Time when it was finished, seven Years thereafter, being also a Sabbatic Year, they would have Leisure to attend the Solemnity of its Dedication. The Temple was sixty Cubits (that is one hundred and five Foot) long, twenty Cubits (or thirty five Foot) broad, and thirty Cubits (or fifty two Foot) high, twice as large as the Tabernacle reared by *Moses* in the Wilderness. It had a *Porch*, running out before the Front of the House, twenty Cubits in length, and ten in breadth. On the Out-side were three Stories of Rooms, with Stairs to go up to them. The timber Work was for most part of Cedar, furnished by *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, conform to his Contract with *Solomon*. The Walls were of fine square Stones, in the inner Side wainscotted with Cedar from Top to Bottom. The Sanctuary was separated from the rest of the Temple by a Cedar Partition, adorned with fine Carving, and stood twenty Cubits from the End of the Structure. The Inside of it was covered with Plates of fine Gold. The Ark stood in the midst of the Oracle, or speaking Place, as the Word signifies, in the Holy of Holies. This Ark, with its Mercy-seat and Cherubims, was the same that *Moses* made : For God's Presence is the

(a) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 7, — 12. (b) Chronology of the Greeks, p. 190. (c) Martini Hist. Sinica, lib. 1, 2. Præfatio P. Couplet in Confucium. (d) See History of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 168, 169. Vol. 2. p. 397, — 399.

the same with his People; whether they meet in Tent or Temple. From thence God spake to *Moses*, and perhaps also to the High-priest, when he consulted with the Breastplate of Judgment. Besides, *Solomon* made two Cherubims of Olive Wood, covered with Gold, ten Cubits high, and their Wings five Cubits long. They stood upright, stretching out their Wings; so as one Wing of each Cherubim touched the Wall; one on each Side, and the other two met in the middle of the Sanctuary; over the Ark. The Porch of the Temple was adorned with a Brass Pillar on each Side, eighteen Cubits high. The one Pillar was named *Jachin*, that is, *He will establish*; and the other *Boaz*, *In him is Strength*: To teach all, not to look for Sufficiency of their own, but to depend on God alone for Strength and Establishment in all religious Exercises. When the People forsook God, this Temple and these Pillars were demolished (a): But the Gospel-Church leans on the Power and Providence of God, the Merits and Mediation of Christ; against which the Gates of Hell can never prevail. In the Court *Solomon* made a large, round Brass-bason, five Cubits high, ten Cubits in diameter, standing on twelve Oxen of Brass, resting on ten Bases, each of which had four Wheels. This Bason was called the *molten Sea*, which might contain above five hundred Barrels of Water. Besides; there were ten Lavers of Brass, four Cubits high, standing on their proper Bases, for the Use of the Priests, to wash themselves, to cleanse the Sacrifices, and to keep the Courts neat. In the Tabernacle there was but one Laver of Brass to wash in; but in the Court of the Temple a Sea of Brass; to intimate, that by the Gospel of Christ there is fuller Preparation for our cleansing, than by the Law of *Moses*: For the Gospel presents us with a *fountain opened* (b); the Blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all Sin. The same things were in the Temple as had been in the Tabernacle before, only finer and larger: For the Altar for Sacrifice was twenty Cubits long, twenty in height, and ten in breadth; the Altar for Incense was still one, for Christ and his Intercession are so. In the Temple there were ten golden Tables (c), with a hundred Basons of Gold belonging to them. In 1 Kings, vii. 48. there is mention only of the Table of Gold; which we may suppose larger than the rest, to which the others were as side-boards. In the Tabernacle there was only one large Candlestick, but in the Temple there were ten Candlesticks of Gold, five on the right Side, and five on the left of the Oracle, with their Flowers, Lamps and Tongs; all of the same Metal (d); intimating the much greater Plenty of spiritual Food and heavenly Light the Gospel blesteth us with, than the Law of *Moses* could afford. The Censers, all the Vessels and Instruments within were of Gold; the very Hinges of the Doors were of the same, all being splendid and magnificent. The Pots, the Shovels, the Basons, and all the Utensils for the Sacrifices, were of bright Brass. The Brasier whom *Solomon* employed to manage the Work, was *Hiram* or *Huram* (e), who by the Mother's Side was an *Israelite*, of the Tribe of *Naphtali*, but by his Father's Side a Man of *Tyre*; that the good Affection of an *Israelite* to the House of God, joined to the Skill of a *Tyrian*, might qualify him for that Work. As the Tabernacle was built with the Wealth of *Egypt*, so the Temple with the Wit of *Tyre*. God served himself by these common Gifts for good Purposes. The Place where the brazen Vessels were cast, was the Plain of *Jordan*; because there was stiff Clay fit for Molds, and *Solomon* would not have dirty smoky Work done in *Jerusalem*.

What was signified by the *Levitical* Service, and the Ceremonies of the *Mosaic* Law, hath been before considered (f); I shall now only observe, that the Temple signified Christ the true Temple: *He spoke of the temple of his body* (g); *God prepared it* (h); *in him dwells the fulness of the Godhead* (i). As the *Shechinah* in the Temple, all the spiritual *Israel* meet in him, and through him have Access to God. Secondly, Every Believer is a living Temple, where the Spirit of God dwells; we are not only wonderfully made by divine Providence, but created of new by divine Grace, built upon Christ as the true Foundation of our Happiness, and will be perfected in due Time. Thirdly, The Gospel Church is the mystical Temple, *which grows up to a holy temple in the lord* (k). It is enriched and beautified with the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit; not only *Jews* but also *Gentiles* have free Access to it, *Strangers and Foreigners* may be built up an Habitation to God (l). Here is the Outter-court of the visible Church, which Men enter into by an open Profession of the Truth; and the Inner-court of the invisible Church, to which we are admitted by true Faith uniting us to Christ. *He appoints salvation for walls and bulwarks*: He enlightens the House by his Word and Spirit. He covers it from Storms and Tempests, and he carries on the Building to Perfection. 4thly, Heaven is the everlasting Temple, where the Church triumphant will be fixed for ever. The Streets of this new *Jerusalem*, in Allusion to the flooring of the Temple, are all said to be of pure Gold (m). There the Cherubims always attend the Throne of Glory; there is the Perfection of Beauty and Harmony; there are everlasting Discoveries of the Redeemer's Glory; there the Bodies of the Saints shall be made like his glorious Body. *We shall*

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(a) 2 Kings, xxv. 13, 17. (b) Zech. xiii. 1. (c) 2 Chron. iv. 8. (d) 1 Kings, vii. 49. (e) 2 Chron. iv. 11, 14. (f) Above, p. 107, 108. (g) John, ii. 21. (h) Heb. x. 5. (i) Col. ii. 9. (k) Eph. ii. 21. (l) Eph. ii. 19, 22. (m) Rev. xxi. 21.

shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is. There Sorrow and sighing shall flee away, and Saints shall sing everlasting Songs to him who hath redeemed us with his Blood, out of every Tongue, Kindred, People and Nation.

A. M.
2943.
Ant. C.
1007.

Solomon having finished the Temple in the eleventh Year of his Reign (a), all the Elders, the Princes of the Tribes, and the Heads of the Families of *Israel* assembled at *Jerusalem*, to convey the Ark of the Covenant into this new Habitation, about the Time of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Assembly was very great, to do Honour to God and the King, giving him publick Thanks for the Honour he had done to his Nation, and to testify their universal Joy and Satisfaction in the Settlement of the Ark, which the Priests carried into the Sanctuary. There was nothing in it but the two Tables of Stone, a Treasure exceeding all the dedicated Things; the Pot of Manna, with *Aaron's* Rod were by the Ark, but not in it. The Lord testified that he was well pleased with this Service; for *when the priests were come out of the holy place, the cloud filled the house, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord* (b). By this Emanation of Glory, the Lord put Honour upon the Ark, owning it as a Token of his Presence. The Glory of this sacred Symbol had been long eclipsed by its frequent Removes and mean Lodging; but now he will have it looked upon with as much Veneration, as when *Moses* brought it into the Tabernacle. He testified his Acceptance of the building and furnishing of the Temple as Service done to his Name: He struck an Aw upon the Assembly, and shewed himself ready to hear their Prayers. The Priests being astonished at the Cloud, *Solomon* encouraged them; for tho' it was dark, the legal Dispensation being so, when compared with the Light of the Gospel, and much more, when compared with the Glory of Heaven; yet it was a Token of divine Favour. He also instructed the People in the Reasons he had for building this House, and blessed the Lord: Then he prayed (c). Though he was a great King, he did not appoint one of his Priests to perform this Piece of Devotion, but did it himself before the Congregation, as a Type of Christ the great Intercessor for all over whom he rules. The Prayer is plain, and most suitable to the Occasion, where he gives Glory to God, adoring his divine Perfections, intreats for his Favour, that God would hear, and graciously answer this and all the Prayers that should be made in or toward this House, in every Case, whether of national or personal Affliction, of Strangers or *Israelites*, in the Day of Battle, or in the Land of their Captivity. Prayer being ended, *Solomon* stood up, blessed the People, and solemnly charged them to persevere in their Duty to God. The Feast of Dedication was kept seven Days successively, during which *Solomon* offered two and twenty thousand Oxen, and one hundred and twenty thousand Sheep. The People blessed the King, and went to their own Habitations joyful and glad of Heart. These were *Israel's* golden Days.

A. M.
2956.
Ant. C.
994.

After this *Solomon* spent thirteen Years, which leads to the twenty fourth Year of his Reign, in building his own House, and the House of the Forest of *Lebanon* (d). His Father had enlarged his Dominions as far as was promised to *Israel*; he having Peace, Plenty, opulent Trade, with a Disposition to erect stately Fabricks, thought fit to employ his Cares that way. He took little more than seven Years to build the Temple; but being not so intent about his own Palaces, and no such Preparations being made before Hand for them, nor the People under such Obligations to assist, these took a longer Time. 'Tis not worth Debate, if the House of the Forest of *Lebanon* was a Country Seat near *Jerusalem*, so called from the Pleasantness of its Situation, and the Trees that encompassed it, as some judge, or as others, that it was really a House in the Forest of *Lebanon*, where he certainly had Buildings (e); and we read of the Tower of *Lebanon*, which looketh toward *Damascus* (f), which seems to have been a Part of this House. All his Houses were rich, beautiful and magnificent.

God had given *Solomon* a real Answer to his Prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, by the Fire which came down from Heaven, and consumed the Sacrifices (g); but he gave him a more particular Answer, when he appeared to him a second Time (h), where the Lord assures him of his special Presence in the Temple he had built, yet tells him that this House was designed only to protect him and his People in their Allegiance to God, but not in their Rebellion and Disobedience. The Ruin of the Kingdom would be the certain Consequence of his or his Childrens Apostacy. *Solomon* having finished his principal Buildings, recompensed *Hiram* King of *Tyre* for the kind Assistance he had given him. He had made him a yearly Advance of Provisions, conform to a Bargain that hath been before mentioned (i); and over and above, he gave him twenty small Cities in *Galilee*. *Hiram* came to see them, but not being pleased, he call'd them *Cabul*, a *Phenician* Word, which *Josephus* says (k), signifies *displeasing*. *Tyre* was a clean Town, filled with rich trading Men, who did not know how to value and improve Country Houses, only fit for Men employed in tilling the Ground, and feeding Cattle; where-

(a) 1 Kings vi. 38. (b) 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. (c) 1 Kings viii. 22, — 53. 2 Chron. vi. 12, — 42. (d) 1 Kings vii. 1, 2. (e) 1 Kings ix. 19. (f) Song vii. 4. (g) 2 Chron. vii. 1. (h) 1 Kings ix. 1, — 9. 2 Chron. vii. 12. — 22. (i) Above p. 165. (k) Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.

wherefore *Solomon* took them back, repaired and caused the Children of *Israel* inhabit them, and no Doubt gave *Hiram* an Equivalent in something else. The Cities themselves lay in the Border of the Tribe of *Asher* (a), and probably had continued in the Hands of the Natives, till *Solomon* made himself Master of them, and peopled them with *Israelites*. *Josephus* (b) gives a further Account of the good Correspondence between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, from *Menander* and *Dius*, two Historians who wrote the *Tyrian Annals*, which are now lost.

Solomon not only raised up the Temple of the Lord and Palaces for himself, but also built *Millo*, the Wall of *Jerusalem*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Bethoron* the nether, *Baalab*, and *Tadmor* in the Wilderness. *Josephus* says (c) the *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*, and *Gezer*: which Place last named *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* took from the *Canaanites*, and gifted it to his Daughter, *Solomon's* Wife. He employed the *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites* and *Jebusites* left in the Land, about the more slavish Part of these Structures, making the *Israelites* of his own Nation their Overseers. All these Buildings required immense Taxes, which the Wealth and Plenty of *Israel*, and neighbouring Countries tributary to *Solomon* did afford; and his Riches were also increased by an opulent Trade. King *David* began it; for he having conquered *Edom*, and reduced it to a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Sea-port Towns in the *Red Sea*, *Elatb* and *Ezion-geber* (d), and thence carried on a Trade; for the three Thousand Talents given to the House of God, and called the Gold of *Ophir* (e) seem to be what he had in several Voyages to that Place. *Solomon* improved and carried on the Traffick to *Ophir*; and had from thence in one Voyage four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold (f), which may amount to 3,240,000 Pounds. In 1 *Kings* ix. 28. it is called four hundred and twenty Talents; thirty being deduced for the Expence of the Navy: And it must be owned, That he managed the Trade to the best Advantage by his great Wisdom and Application; for not being perplexed with such Wars as his Father, he had more Leisure to attend thereto. And for the better settling thereof, he went in Person to *Elatb* and *Ezion-geber*, where he took Care by his own Inspection for the building of Ships, fortifying these Ports, and furnishing them with good Seamen, which he might have from the Maritime Towns of *Palestine*, and from his Ally *Hiram* King of *Tyre*. The Use of the Compass not being known in those Times, the Way of Navigation was only by Coasting, which often made that a Voyage of three Years that may now be done in almost three Months. Yet the Trade succeeded so far under the Conduct of *Solomon*, as he drew to these two Ports, and thence to *Jerusalem*, the Merchandise of *Arabia*, *Africa*, *Persia* and *India*, as a Fountain of these immense Riches, whereby he exceeded all his contemporary Kings; for he made Silver to be at *Jerusalem*, for its great Plenty, as the Stones of the Street, and brought home Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes and Peacocks (g). From what Part of the World he brought these Goods, whether from *Taprobana*, now called the Isle of *Ceylon* in the *East Indies*, or from the Southern Part of *Arabia*, which did then furnish the best of Gold in plenty, according to *Eupolemus* (h), seems not necessary to determine.

These Acts of *Solomon* already mentioned, may run to the thirtieth Year of his Reign; about which Time, according to Doctor *Lightfoot* (i), he may be supposed to have wrote the Book of *Proverbs*, when his Children were come to Age, capable of Instruction. From the first to the End of the ninth Chapter, he teaches his Son, and all who shall read the Book, the Nature of true Wisdom, and leads them to our blessed Redeemer, the Wisdom of God. From the tenth, to the End of the twenty fourth Chapter, we have Precepts of Wisdom, fit to conduct us in the various Changes of humane Life, which shine like a Bundle of precious Pearls, without the golden Chain of Connection, in a Magnificence above Order. From the 25th Chapter to the End of the 29th Chapter, we have a Collection of choice Sentences copied out of *Solomon's* Writings by the Men of *Hezekiah*, under divine Conduct and Inspiration. In the thirtieth Chapter, we have the Words of *Agur* the Son of *Jakeb*, of the like Argument and Use. In the last Chapter *Solomon*, who is there called King *Lemuel*, that is, of or belonging to God, speaks of the pious Instructions which his Mother *Bathsheba* gave him in his Youth, and commends her as a Pattern to every good and virtuous Woman.

About the same Time *Solomon* having conducted his Wife *Pharaoh's* Daughter into the House which he had built for her (k); perhaps into that of the Forest of *Lebanon*, penned that noble Book, the *Song of Songs*, where in a pleasant Strain of choice Metaphors, he describes the Intercourse and Love that is between our blessed Redeemer the Lord Jesus, and the real Members of his Church, his espoused Bride; as is more fully shewn by Commentators on that Part of the sacred Scriptures, and particularly by our learned and pious Countryman Mr. *Durham*.

The Fame of the Wisdom and Grandeur of *Solomon* spread so far abroad, that the Queen of *Sheba* came to pay him a Visit (l). The Christians in *Abyssinia* or upper *Æthiopia* say (a) that

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(a) *Ios. xix. 24. 27.* (b) *Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.* (c) *Idem ibidem* (d) 1 *Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.* (e) 1 *Chron. xxix. 4.* (f) 2 *Chron. viii. 18.* (g) 1 *Kings x. 22.—27. 2 Chron. ix. 21.—27.* (h) *Apud Euseb. de præpar. Evangel. lib. 9.* (i) *Chronica temporum, p. 75.* (k) 1 *Kings ix. 24.* (l) 1 *Kings x. 2 Chron. ix.*

(a) that this Queen was their Empress, that her Name was *Maqueda*. But the more common Opinion of Interpreters, is, That *Sheba* lay in the Southern Parts of *Arabia* the happy: Hence our Lord calls her the Queen of the *South* (b). *Solomon's* Fleet sailed near the Coasts of her Country, or perhaps traded there, by whom she might hear the Fame of his Wisdom; and nothing would please her, but to go and receive Instructions from him concerning his Religion and civil Policy. She came with a great Retinue; and this magnificent Prince entertained her suitably to her Rank, gave her suitable Answers to all her Questions, received her rich Compliments, returned her the like, shewed her all his Grandeur, with which she was much delighted, saying, *It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts, and of thy wisdom, and behold the half was not told me*; and returned well pleased to her own Country. They who apply themselves to our Lord Jesus, will find him greater, wiser, and more gracious than *Solomon*, even willing to do above what we are able to ask or think. *Solomon* had a vast yearly Revenue, of 666 Talents of Gold, which amounts to 2,997,000 Pounds *Sterling*, besides his Profit by the Spice-Merchants, and of all the Kings of *Arabia*, and of the Governors of the Country. He did not hoard all this up, but used it; for he made two hundred Targets, and three hundred Shields all of beaten Gold, he raised a stately Throne of Ivory, overlaid with the best Gold; and had all his Drinking-vessels and Furniture of his Table, even in his Country-seat at the Forest of *Lebanon*, of pure Gold: And he made Money circulate in Plenty among his Subjects.

But alas! his Honour was darkened; for he took so many Women, that at last they amounted to seven hundred Wives, and three hundred Concubines (c), a thousand in all, and not a good one among them, as he owns in his penitential Sermon (d). No Woman of established Vertue would desire to be in such a Society. Divine Wisdom has appointed one Woman for one Man; and they who think not one enough, may find unbridled Lust will be unbounded; tho' perhaps *Solomon* took so many, rather for State and Magnificence than for Use: Yet to have a whole *Seraglio* replenished with such Foreigners, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Zidonians*, *Edomites* and *Hittites*, Women wanton in Dress, Air, and Conversation, was intolerable. Even Kings were forbidden by the Law to multiply Horses and Wives (e). *Solomon's* Breach of these Prohibitions, and particularly of the last, was of sad Consequence. His many Wives impaired his Health, and exhausted his Treasure, made him lay heavy Taxes upon his People; and which was still worse, turned him cool and indifferent in his own Religion. His Heart was not perfect with the Lord his God; yea they disposed him to join with them in Idolatry. This drew down the Anger of the Lord, so as to threaten, that since the King had revolted from God, part of the Kingdom should revolt from his Family, tho' not in his Days, yet in the Time of his Posterity. Hence Adversaries were raised up against him, *Hadad* the *Edomite*, *Rezen* the *Syrian*, and *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, an *Ephraimite*. 'Tis not doubted that *Solomon* recovered the Favour of God after his Fall, and penned his *Ecclesiastes*, or *Cobeletb*, as a publick Testimony of his Repentance and Detestation of all these vain and wicked Courses to which he had addicted himself; which *Lightfoot* (f) thinks was wrote in the thirty eight Year of his Reign. In this Book he describes Man's true Happiness, and the Way leading to it, proving that it is not to be found in worldly Wisdom, in sensual Pleasures, in Abundance of Riches, nor in a vain Profession of Religion, but that 'tis only to be had in the Fear of God, and Obedience to his Laws, which alone can give a Man the contented chearful Enjoyment of the present Comforts of this Life, and Assurance of everlasting Happiness in the World to come. 'Tis observable, that in the Book of *Chronicles*, there is no Mention of *Solomon's* Departure from God in his latter Days, nor of his Father *David's* Sin in the Matter of *Uriah*; to signify, that we are not to delight in repeating the Faults of others: Tho' they did fall, they were not utterly cast down. Their Sin was repented of, and pardoned, and so became as if it had never been. After all, *Solomon* died in Peace, when he had reigned in *Jerusalem*, over all *Israel*, forty Years.

A. M.
2972.
Ant. C.
978.

§ 2. THE Glory of the Kingdom was in its Perfection in the Time of *Solomon*, but it soon declined and began to sink; for we find in 1 *Kings* xii. that *Rehoboam* his Son and Successor came to *Shechem*, where all the People were gathered to proclaim him King, where *Jeroboam*, who was then newly returned from *Egypt*, and the People of *Israel* asked the King to ease them of the heavy Yoke his Father had laid on them. *Rehoboam*, instead of answering in a mild loving Manner, as the old Men who had been his Father's Counsellors advised, in great Weakness, took the Counsel of the younger Sort, and threatened not only to squeeze them by Taxes, but also to chastise them with cruel Laws, and severe Executions. Ten of the Tribes were so incensed at this Answer, that they revolted from him, and stoned to Death *Adoram* the Receiver of his Taxes. *Rehoboam* came to *Jerusalem*, where he assembled one hundred and eighty thousand Men of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, with whom he designed to go against the Revolters:

But

(a) See Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 2. p. 275. (b) Matth. xii. 42. (c) 1 *Kings* xi. (d) *Ecclesi.* vii. 28. (e) *Deut.* xvii. 16, 17. (f) *Chronica temporum*, p. m. 76.

But the breaking out of the War was prevented by *Shemaiah* the Prophet, telling them, *Ye shall not go up against your brethren the children of Israel. The thing is from the Lord* : Whereon every Man departed to his own House. The Tribes that had revolted from this Time and forward, erected themselves into a separate Kingdom, and chose *Jeroboam* the Son *Nebat* to be their first King. He rebuilt *Shechem* in Mount *Ephraim*, which had been destroyed by *Abimelech* 258 Years before, and there fixed his Abode for some Time ; and fortified *Penneh* on the other Side of *Jordan*. Being afraid that the People who had submitted to him, when they went to *Jerusalem* to worship, would again return to the House of *David*, he set up two golden Calves ; the one at *Beth-el*, close to *Judah*, and the other as far North as *Dan*, as Symbols of that God who brought the People up out of the Land of *Egypt*. 'Tis like he had learned this Sort of Idolatry among the *Egyptians*, where they worshipped their *Apis* under the Similitude of a Bull or Calf. Wherever he learned it, it was a dreadful Sin, a Worship of his own Invention, not prescribed by the Word of God. The Priests of *Aaron's* Race would not go into it ; and therefore he made Priests of the lowest of the People, who were not of the Sons of *Levi*, and offered Sacrifices on the Altar which he had made on the fifteenth Day of the eighth Month ; the Month which he had devised of his own Heart : For the Feast at *Jerusalem* was kept a Month sooner, conform to the Law (a). And the Thing became a Snare unto many in *Israel*.

A Man of God who came from *Judah* to *Beth-el* foretold, that the Altar which *Jeroboam* had erected, should be destroyed by one who was yet unborn, *Josiah* by Name (b). The Event answered the Prediction (c) : Which being above three hundred Years thereafter, plainly shews the Inspiration of the Prophet by God, whose Providence rules, and whose Foreknowledge reaches even to the most contingent Things ; as *Josiah's* Birth, and his Name depending on his Parents Will, certainly were. As a Proof of the Truth of the Prediction, the Prophet added, that the Altar should be rent. Accordingly *Jeroboam* stretching out his Hand over the Altar, his Hand withered, and the Altar split asunder. This so alarmed the King, that he intreated the Man of God, whom he had before threatened with Death, to pray the Lord that his Hand might be restored : Which the Prophet did, and had his Desire granted. Then the King desired the Prophet to take some Refreshment : But he answered, that God had forbid him either to eat or drink in that Place, or to return the same Way by which he came. Yet the good Man was deceived by an old Prophet who dwelt at *Beth-el*, who had heard what had passed, and very wickedly lied, saying God had ordered to bring him back to eat Bread at his House. After eating, the Man of God, in his Way to his own home, was killed by a Lion, for having disobeyed the Command of God. The old Prophet, who had deceived him, took up his Body, and decently buried it. 'Tis like the good Prophet had repented of his Disobedience, and obtained the Favour of God ; but the lying Prophet was reserved to an after Reckoning. And all this did not make *Jeroboam* cease from his idolatrous Practices.

There are some other Particulars concerning *Reboboam* in the eleventh and twelfth Chapters of the second Book of *Chronicles* ; as, that he fortified his Frontiers, and built many principal Cities in his Kingdom. Having no hopes to reduce the Tribes that had revolted, he thought it necessary to secure the Cities still in his Possession, and to furnish them with good Store of Arms and Provisions. The Priests and *Levites* among the revolted Tribes, since they could not comply with the Worship *Jeroboam* had set up, to be out of Danger of Temptation and Persecution, left their Suburbs and Possessions in the Country, and came to *Jerusalem*, where they might have the free Enjoyment of Ordinances according to divine Institution. Many pious devout *Israelites*, such as *set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel*, followed their Teachers ; and were encouraged in so doing : For, *three years they walked in the ways of David and Solomon* (d). Which some take as an Evidence that *Solomon's* Repentance was accepted of God, since his Way is commended after he was dead ; though his being a Penman of the sacred Scriptures declares his sincere Piety, and his *Ecclesiastes* is also a Proof of his being a true Penitent. *Reboboam* indulged himself too much in Pleasures, having eighteen Wives, and threescore Concubines, by whom he begat twenty eight Sons, and threescore Daughters. His Wives were not Foreigners, but most of them were descended of the Family of *David* his Grandfather. Some of them he might have married before his Father's Death ; for when that Event happened, he was forty one Years of Age : By which it appears that he was born in the last Year of King *David*. The religious Part of his Reign soon expired : For we find, *he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him* (e) ; and, *Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they had committed, above all that their fathers had done. For they also built them high places, and images, and groves on every high hill, and under every green tree. And there were also sodomites in the land, and they did according to all the abominations of the nations which the Lord cast out before the children of Israel* (f).

Y y

Though

(a) Levit. xxiii. 34. (b) 1 Kings, xiii. (c) 2 Kings, xxiii. 16. (d) 2 Chron. xi. 16, 17. (e) 2 Chron. xii. 1. (f) 1 Kings, xiv. 22, — 25.

Though *Rehoboam* enjoyed a religious Education under *Solomon* his Father all his Reign, yet it seems the Example of his Mother *Naamah*, an *Ammonitefs*, and the Defection of his Father in the latter Part of his Life, together with his own corrupt Inclinations, led him into these wicked Courses. Wherefore God soon sent Troubles upon him : For *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam*, came against *Judah* ; and, either by Force or Surrender, made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, took away the Treasures of the Temple and Exchequer, of the House of the Lord and the King's House, plundered and carried off the vast Riches which *Solomon* and *David* had laid up, with the golden Shields *Solomon* had made : In stead of which *Rehoboam* framed brazen Shields, which his Life-guard carried before him when he went in State. Whether *Shishak* came up against *Judah* upon some Quarrel concerning his Daughter or Sister, who had been *Solomon's* Wife, as Dr. *Lightfoot* (a) thinks ; or out of a covetous Desire after the Riches at *Jerusalem*, the Scripture doth not determine : 'Tis more certain that *Shishak* came, with twelve hundred Chariots, threescore thousand Horsemen, and People without Number, of *Egyptians*, *Lubims*, *Sukkims* and *Ethiopians*, against *Jerusalem*, because they had transgressed against the Lord (b). *Solomon* had taught the Way to his Country to the *Egyptians* (c), which now they improved to the prejudice thereof. Yet God sent *Shemaiah* the Prophet, to *Rehoboam* and the Princes, to declare that God had sent this Foreigner to punish them for their Apostacy, and to call them to Repentance. Whereupon they humbled themselves, and professed some Degree of Reformation. Wherefore God in Mercy prevented the Destruction of *Judah* ; but left them under some Marks of his Displeasure. It is the Opinion of *Josaphus* (d), that this *Shishak* is the same King of *Egypt* whom *Herodote* (e) by a Mistake calls *Sesostris*. Of the same Mind are many learned Men, as, *Torniel*, *Scaliger*, *Carpentarius*, *Bochart*, *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Patrick* and others ; and it hath been not long ago maintained by our learned Countryman, my Friend, Mr. *Jamison*, against *Perizonius* (f). Nor can I see any solid Reason against it : For *Herodote* (g) himself owns, That there were many Titles which *Sesostris* King of *Egypt* had erected in many Countries, which for most part were not then extant ; yet there were other Inscriptions in *Palestine* in *Syria*, which that Author had viewed with his own Eyes : Which is a plain Evidence that *Sesostris*, according to *Herodote*, had been in *Palestine*, and may be the same with *Shishak*, and with *Bacchus*. Nor are we to expect Matters so plain, as to leave no room for any Controversy, in so confused a History as that of the antient *Egyptians* ; of which only Scrapes in antient Authors here and there remain.

A. M. 2989. We have little more on Record concerning *Rehoboam*, but that he reigned seventeen Years more in *Jerusalem*, had continual Wars with *Jeroboam*, at last slept with his Fathers, and was buried in the City of *David*.
Ant. C. 961.

Jeroboam the Son of *Nebat* survived *Rehoboam* five Years. He continued in his Contempt of God and Religion, and therefore God proceeded in his Controversy against him. His Son *Abijah*, who was perhaps the eldest, fell sick ; and he sent his Wife in disguise to enquire what should become of the Child, at *Abijah* the Prophet, who lived little noticed at *Shiloh*, blind for Age, and yet blessed with the Visions of the Almighty. God gave the Prophet notice of her Approach ; which enabled him, so soon as she entered the Door, to say, Come in, thou wife of *Jeroboam* : why feignest thou thy self to be another (h) ? To her he delivered the Message of the Lord with great Boldness, upbraiding *Jeroboam* with Ingratitude to God, who had made him King ; charging him with Impiety, Idolatry and Apostacy, in setting up other Gods and molten Images, to provoke the Lord to Anger ; foretelling the utter Ruin of all the Males of his House, that the Child then sick, should immediately die, in Mercy to his Soul : He only of *Jeroboam* shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward the Lord God of *Israel* in the house of *Jeroboam*. Adding, that another Family should be set up to rule over *Israel*, (which was fulfilled in *Baasha*, of the Tribe of *Issachar*) and that Judgments should come upon the People of *Israel* for conforming to the idolatrous Worship which *Jeroboam* had established. After hearing this Message, *Jeroboam's* Wife went home, with a heavy Heart, to *Tirzah*, a beautiful Place (i). So soon as she entered the Threshold of her House, the Child that was sick died ; and *Israel* mourned for him. And *Jeroboam* himself died soon thereafter : The Lord struck him (k) ; 'tis like with some sore Disease : So that he died miserably, when he had reigned twenty two Years.

In the Throne of *Judah*, *Abijah* succeeded his Father *Rehoboam*. His Mother is named *Michaiab*, the Daughter of *Uriel*, 2 Chron. xiii. 2. who was the same with *Maachab* the Daughter of *Abshalom*, 2 Chron. xi. 21. For 'tis usual for the *Hebrews* to have two Names : And he might be a Grand-daughter of *Abshalom* by his Daughter *Tamar* (l), and a Daughter of *Uriel* as her immediate Father. Soon after he had ascended the Throne, a bloody War commenced between him and *Jeroboam*. *Abijah* had an Army of four hundred thousand Men, and the other

(a) *Chronica Temporum*, p. m. 78. (b) 2 Chron. xii. (c) See above, p. 175. (d) *Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 279.* (e) *Lib. 2. cap. 102, — 106.* (f) *Spicilegia*, cap. 13, 14. p. 305, — 355. See also Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology*, p. 68, 69, 192. (g) *Lib. 2. cap. 106.* (h) 1 Kings, xiv. 6. (i) *Song, vi. 4.* (k) 2 Chron. xiii. 20. (l) 2 Sam. xiv. 27.

other of eight hundred thousand. Before the Battle, *Abijah*, to encourage his own People, and to damp his Enemies, made a Speech to the Armies from Mount *Zemaraim* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, declaring he had Right on his Side, since God gave the Kingdom to *David* and to his Sons for ever; and he expected he had God on his Side, for the Religion of *Jeroboam* was false and idolatrous, but he and the Men of *Judah* had the pure Worship of the living God, his Temple and Ordinances among them. *Jeroboam* took little care to answer, but in the mean time prepared an Ambush, to encompass and ensnare his Enemy. Whereupon the Men of *Judah* cried to the Lord, gave a great Shout, and made a resolute Attack, so as to obtain a complete Victory. Giving no Quarter, they put to the Sword five hundred thousand chosen Men: For the Lord chastised the Idolatry of *Israel*, and owned the House of *David*. As a Consequent of the Victory, *Abijah* took the Cities of *Beth-el*, *Jeshanah* and *Ephraim*, with the Villages belonging to them. *Jeroboam* recovered some of these Places afterwards, as appears by the Course of the History, though this is not mentioned 2 Chron. xiii. Yet *Abijah* had no hearty Affection for the Ordinances of God: Though he pleaded his Possession of the Temple and Priesthood to make out his Argument against *Jeroboam*, yet *his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as the heart of David his Great-grand-father (a)*. He walked in the Sins of *Rehoboam* his Father, and had daily Wars with *Jeroboam*, by Incursions and Repprisals upon one another's Borders. He married fourteen Wives, by whom he had twenty two Sons and sixteen Daughters, and died after a Reign of three Years; the last of which was not complete, for he began his Government with the eighteenth Year of *Jeroboam*, continued the whole nineteenth, and ended within the twentieth Year: In which his Son *Ash's* Reign begun.

A. M.
2992.
Ant. C.
978.

Ash was a religious Prince, who governed in *Jerusalem* forty one Years (b). The Number of the good and bad Kings in *Judah* was pretty near equal; but the Reign of the good was generally long, and that of the bad short: Which makes the State of the Church not altogether so degenerate as at first it seems. *Ash did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father*. Though he was neither such a Prophet, nor such a Psalmist; yet he was hearty and zealous for God's instituted Worship. He reformed that which was evil, took away the sodomites (or effeminate Persons) out of the land. These unclean and filthy Birds are more dangerous than Pest-houses. He removed the idols, even those that his father had made; also *Maachab his mother* (or Grand-mother) from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove; or, as *Jerom (c)* and the vulgar Version (d) hath it, that she might not be priestess in the sacrifices of *Priapus*. He brought in the Things which his Father had dedicated, and which himself had dedicated, into the House of the Lord, Silver, Gold and Vessels; and he built many Cities in his Kingdom, to encourage and increase his People. Nevertheless there were some Blemishes in his Reign: For the high Places were not removed; and he took Gold and Silver out of the House of God, which he sent to bribe *Benbadad* King of *Syria*, who dwelt at *Damascus*, to make him break his League with *Baasha* King of *Israel*; that by making an Inroad into his Country, he might divert him from building *Ramah*. The Project succeeded; yet the good Prince was in the wrong, to take Treasures out of the Temple to tempt a Heathen to break his League: He ought rather to have asked counsel of God, and put his Trust in him, who had often helped him; and is therefore blamed by the Prophet *Hanani (e)*. We have a further Account of the State of Affairs in his Time in 2 Chron. xiv. xv. xvi. During the first ten Years of his Reign the Land enjoyed Peace (f). *Abijah's* Victory over *Jeroboam*, laid a Foundation for his Successor's Tranquillity; which he improved so well, as to carry on a Work of Reformation, and to put his Militia into such Order, as to be fit for War when called to it. The first who gave him Disturbance, was *Zerah* the *Ethiopian*, or *Arabian*; for so the original Word *Cush* is frequently taken in Scripture (g): And 'tis more probable, that this mighty Host should come from *Arabia*, in the Neighbourhood of *Judea*, than that they should travel out of the Lower *Ethiopia*, all the way through *Egypt*, into a Part of the World so remote from them. The Army was formidable, of ten hundred thousand Men, with three hundred Chariots, encamped at *Marehab*, in the Borders of *Judah* (h). *Ash* marched against them, making his Application to God by Prayer, saying, *It is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O Lord our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude: O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee*. And God gave him a glorious Victory: He struck the *Ethiopians* with Terror and Consternation; *Ash* and his Soldiers pursued them, took the Spoil of their Camp, carried away their Cattle, and smote the Cities that were in League with them. Upon his Return in Triumph, *Azariah* a Prophet, the Son of *Oded*, met him with this Message: *The Lord is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you (i)*. To testify his Gratitude to God, he summoned

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(a) 1 Kings. xv. 3. (b) 1 Kings, xv. 10. (c) Hieronymus in Hosceam, ix. 10. (d) Verf. vulgata, in 1 Kings, xv. 12, 13. 2 Chron. xv. 16. See Hist. Propag. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 264, — 267. (e) 2 Chron. xvi. 7, — 9. (f) 2 Chron. xiv. 1. (g) Numb. xii. 1. Hab. iii. 7. See above, p. 38. (h) Josh. xv. 44. (i) 2 Chron. xv. 2.

a solemn Assembly, and offered to the Lord of the spoil they had taken, seven hundred oxen, and seven thousand sheep. And they entered into a covenant, to seek the Lord God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul; that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel, should be put to death, whether small or great, man or woman. According to this Engagement, so cheerfully and solemnly made, they carried on a Work of Reformation; in which many out of Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon, and several Corners of Israel joined (a).

^{A. M.}
^{3008.}
^{Ant. C.}
^{942.} In the sixteenth Year of the Reign of *Asa*, *Baasha* King of Israel came up against *Judah*, and built *Ramah*, that he might suffer none to go in or come out to *Asa* King of *Judah*; that is, to hinder any from the Tribes under his Command to go up to *Jerusalem* to worship. There is a Difficulty to reconcile the Date in 2 Chron. xvi. 1. In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of *Asa*, *Baasha* king of Israel came up against *Judah*, with the History in the Book of the Kings; for it is certain that *Baasha* began to reign in the third Year of *Asa* (b), and died in the twenty sixth Year of *Asa* (c): How then could he invade *Judah* in the thirty sixth Year of *Asa*, when he was dead ten Years before? I answer, That in 2 Chron. xvi. 1. the Years of *Asa* are to be computed from the Time when the Kingdom of *Judah* was separated from that of the ten Tribes. Thus *Rehoboam* reigned seventeen, *Abijah* three, and *Asa* sixteen Years, before this Invasion; which make up thirty six from the Time of Separation: And therefore in the Beginning of this Paragraph, this Inroad is dated in the sixteenth Year of *Asa*. 'Tis usual in Scripture to make different Computations of the same King's Reign; as in 2 Sam. xv. 7. *Abshalom*'s Rebellion is said to have happened after forty Years; which are to be reckoned from *David*'s being anointed by *Samuel*, and not from his entering into the Possession of the Kingdom, as in other Texts. And it is frequent in profane History. Thus the Years of *Augustus* are sometimes reckoned from the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, at other times from his first Consulate, or from the time of the Triumvirate, or from the Battle of *Actium*, where he made himself sole Emperor. This hath been observed by others (d); and therefore I wonder why a judicious and pious Commentator (e) should say he is at a loss how to reconcile the Date of this Event with the History of the Kings.

To go on, *Asa* observing the Prejudice that might arise to *Judah* by the building of *Ramah*, hired *Benhadad*, to go up against *Baasha*, to oblige him to leave off that Undertaking, as hath been before observed. *Benhadad* complied; for he sent his Armies against the Cities of Israel; and they smote *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-main*, or *Abel-beth-maachab*, and all the store Cities of *Naphtali*, which forced *Baasha* to give over building *Ramah*, that he might defend his other Territories: And *Asa* carried off the Stones and Timber left by his Competitor, with which he built *Geba* and *Mizpah*. *Hanani* the Seer reproved *Asa* for trusting in a Heathen Prince and not in the Lord, whose kind Providence, he had so often experienced; and the King, was so far displeased with the Charge, as to put the Prophet in Prison, and to oppress some of the People; which was one of the Blemishes of his Reign. About two Years before his Death, he was diseased in his Feet, perhaps with a severe Gout. Under his Illness, he is blamed that he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians. The Help of Creatures ought to be used with a due Dependence on the Creator. At last he died after a Reign of forty one Years, and was buried with great Solemnity.

^{A. M.}
^{3033.}
^{Ant. C.}
^{917.} In the Reign of *Asa* there were several Kings and Revolutions in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, of whom we have before heard, died in the second Year of *Asa*. *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, a Person who imitated his Father in all Wickedness, began to reign in the second Year of *Asa*, and reigned over Israel two Years (f). It appears that these Years of *Nadab* were not complete, a part being oft put for the whole, as in the three Days and as many Nights our Lord lay in the Grave: For *Nadab* began to reign in the second Year of *Asa*, and his Successor in the third (g); or, as Dr. *Lightfoot* explains it (h), *Jeroboam*, being smitten with such Sickness, as rendered him unfit for Government (i), his Son ascended the Throne during his Father's Life, and continued two Years.

Baasha the Son of *Abijah*, of the House of *Issachar*, conspired against *Nadab*, and smote him to Death as he besieged *Gibbethon*, which belonged to the *Philistines*, and reigned in his stead. So little Interest had *Nadab* in the Affections of his Army, as they not only did not avenge his Death, but even chose his Murderer for his Successor. So soon as *Baasha* had got the Government into his Hands, he smote all the house of *Jeroboam*, leaving him none that breathed, according to the saying of the Lord, which he spake by his servant *Abijah* the *Schilonite*. To secure himself and his usurped Government, he did not banish or imprison, but put to Death all the Posterity of his Predecessor; in which, tho' God was righteous in punishing the Sins of *Jeroboam*, yet *Baasha* was barbarous and wicked, which further appeared by his continuing in the Sins of *Jeroboam*, adoring the Calves, and forbidding his Subjects to go and worship the Lord at *Jerusalem*. For these Things the Lord foretold the Ruin of his Posterity

(a) 2 Chron. xv. 9. (b) 1 Kings, xi. 28. (c) 1 Kings, xvi. 8. (d) Pool on 2 Chron. xvi. 1. Baillie in Chronologia. p. 77. Lightfooti Chronica, p. 81, &c. (e) Henry on 2 Chron. xvi. 1. (f) 1 Kings xv. 25, 26. (g) 1 Kings xv. 25, 28. (h) Chronica temporum p. 79. (i) 2 Chron. xiii. 20.

sterity by the Mouth of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani* (a), a Prophet, and the Son of a Prophet, who about forty Years after this reprov'd *Jehoshaphat* (b), and wrote the Annals of that Prince (c). *Baasha* having reigned over *Israel* twenty four Years, died. He was active, politick, and daring, likely enough to have established his Family: But he was an Idolater, which ruined all. *Elah* his Son reigned two Years; and his Servant *Zimri*, Captain of the Half of his Chariots, conspired against him, as he was in *Tirzah*, drinking himself drunk in the House of *Arza* his Steward, and cut off all the Males of the House of *Baasha*, with all who could avenge their Quarrel. Thus the Sins of this Family, in provoking the Lord God of *Israel* to Anger, with their Wickedness and Idolatry, were punished, as had been foretold: And the Manner of *Elah's* Death, in 2 *Kings* xvi. 8,—10. may be a Warning to Drunkards; since they know not but Death may surprize them in this Condition, and throw them into the Pit of Perdition.

Zimri, who slew his Master, had not much Peace (d); for after a Reign of seven Days, the Army encamped at *Gibbethon*, resenting what he had done, chose *Omri* for their King; who marched off his Men, and soon made himself Master of the City *Tirzah*; whereon *Zimri* seeing all lost, retired into his Palace, burnt it, and himself with it (e). Thus for the transgression of a land, many are the princes thereof (f). *Omri* being come to the Government, had Wars with *Tibni* his Competitor four Years, from the twenty seventh to the thirty first of *Asa*, till *Tibni* being vanquished and dead, *Omri* became the sole King in *Israel*, without a Rival (g). He bought *Samaria* or *Shemer* from *Shamer* the former Owner, for two Talents of Silver, which comes to about seven hundred and fifty Pounds. There he built and fixed the Royal Seat for himself, and the Kings of *Israel* his Successors. But he did worse than all that were before him. He was more superstitious, profane, and a greater Persecutor, by iniquous Laws, of these that went up to worship at *Jerusalem*, than the Kings of the House of *Jeroboam* or *Baasha*. Hence we read of the Statutes of *Omri*, in *Micah* vi. 16. Yet he reigned twelve Years, which are to be reckoned not from the Time when he governed without a Rival, upon the Death of *Tibni*, but from the Death of *Zimri*, or from the twenty seventh to the thirty eighth Year of *Asa* (h), and died in Peace; for he slept with his Fathers, and was buried in *Samaria*. *Ahab* the Son of *Omri* succeeded. He was contemporary with *Asa* King of *Judah* for three, or a Part of Four Years; and was more wicked than his Predecessors: But of him we shall hear more afterwards. During these Revolutions *Israel* was as a reed shaken in the water; as had been foretold in 1 *Kings* xiv. 15. For while *Asa* reigned in *Judah*, *Israel* was in the Hands of seven or eight several Princes, viz. *Jeroboam*, *Nadab*, *Baasha*, *Elah*, *Zimri*, *Tibni*, *Omri* and *Ahab*; yet in all these Changes they did not think fit to return to the House of *David*, and the Worship at *Jerusalem*. Their Hearts were hardened in Sin and Idolatry: Perhaps also they feared the heavy Yoke and Taxes of the Kings of *Judah*, which made them at first separate from *Rehoboam*, and continue afterwards in the same State.

It may be also remarked, That in the Reign of *Asa* we have the first Mention of a King in *Syria* (i), *Benbadad* the Son of *Tabrion*, the son of *Hezion*, king of *Syria*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, who seems to be of the Line of the *Adads*, of whom there are several Descents in sacred Record. *Athens* was then under the Government of perpetual *Archons*, who ruled during Life, as *Phorbas* and *Megacles*: But the Affairs of the Greeks and ancient *Latins* at that Time are very uncertain, and of them we shall speak in a proper Place.

Jehoshaphat the Son of *Asa* succeeded his Father in the Throne of *Judah*; a good Son of a good Father. Grace then ran in the Royal Blood. So soon as he came to the Crown, he strengthened himself against *Israel* (k), not to act offensively, but to maintain his own, by fortifying the Cities on his Frontiers, placing strong Garisons in them, and in the Cities of *Ephraim*, of which he was Master. By these Means he became so formidable, that *Ahab*, a warlike Prince, thought fit to court his Alliance, and proved more dangerous as a Friend, than he could have been as an Enemy. But *Jehoshaphat's* Piety was still more valuable; He walked in the first ways of his father *David*, sought not unto *Baalim*, but sought to the Lord God of his father, walked in his commandments, and not after the doings of *Israel*; took away the high places, and the groves out of *Judah*; removed the Teachers of Lies, and sent forth Teachers of Truth, who had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went through all the cities of *Judah*, teaching the people, who, 'tis like, were generally ignorant; they knew not that they did evil. But these itinerant Priests and *Levites* rectified their Mistakes, and convinced them of the Truth, by the Law of the Lord. For these things he was in favour with God, who established the Kingdom in his Hand, and happy in the Affections of his People, who brought him Presents to support him in the Government, which was so much for their Good. Yea, he had a great Interest among the neighbouring Princes: None of them made War against him. The

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Fear

(a) 1 *Kings* xvi. 1,—7. (b) 2 *Chron.* xix. 2. (c) 2 *Chron.* xx. 34. (d) 2 *Kings* ix. 31. (e) 1 *Kings* xvi. 15,—20. (f) *Prov.* xxviii. 2. (g) 1 *Kings* xvi. 20,—23. (h) 1 *Kings* xvi. 15,—29. (i) 1 *Kings* xv. 18. (k) 2 *Chron.* xvii.

Fear of the Lord fell upon them ; even the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brought him Tribute, Silver and Flocks. He had considerable Stores laid up in the Cities of *Judah*; and his numerous Militia, of eleven hundred and sixty thousand Men, either of his own Subjects or Foreigners, in a very good Posture, under valiant Generals. One of the greatest Blemishes in his Reign, was, that when he had Riches and Honour in Abundance, he joined in Alliance with *Abab* King of *Israel*, an Idolater, and a Persecutor ; and married his Son *Jehoram* to his Daughter *Athaliah*, the worst Match that could be. He paid him a kind Visit in *Samaria*, where *Abab* gave him a splendid Entertainment, and prevailed with him to join in a League against the *Syrians*, for the Recovery of *Ramoth-Gilead*, a City in the Tribe of *Gad*, on the other Side of *Jordan* (a). Yet *Jehoshaphat* was not willing to go on that Enterprize, without enquiring the Mind of the Lord ; wherefore *Abab* assembled four hundred of his Prophets, who encouraged him to proceed, for the Lord would deliver the City into his Hands. But the King of *Judah* desired to ask the Question at a Prophet of the Lord, which made *Abab* bring *Micaiah* the Son of *Imlah*. 'Tis like he had him in Custody for some of his former Admonitions or Predictions ; and he owned that he hated him, *because he never prophesied good to him, but evil*. *Micaiah* being come, told that an evil Spirit had gone into the Mouths of these Prophets to tell Lies, to entice *Abab* to go up and fall at *Ramoth-Gilead*. *Zedekiah*, one of the false Prophets mocked *Micaiah*, and smote him on the Cheek ; and the King of *Israel* ordered him to be put in Prison, and there fed with Bread and Water of Affliction till he returned in Peace. But the Prophet replied, *If thou return in peace, then hath not the Lord spoken by me. Harken all ye People*. Where we may observe the Danger good *Jehoshaphat* ran himself into by being in so bad Company ; even *Abab* was unhappy, to be cheated into his own Ruin, by flattering false Prophets, crying, *Peace, peace, when there was no peace*. By divine Permission Satan becomes powerful ; one lying Spirit may make four hundred false Prophets utter Falshoods. God in Justice can give these up to strong Delusions, who would not receive the Truth. Notwithstanding divine Warnings, the two Kings went up to *Ramoth-Gilead* : The *Syrians* sent an Army against them, with Orders to make an Attack on the Person of the King of *Israel*. *Jehoshaphat* went in his Robes to the Battle ; but *Abab*, as had been concerted, disguised himself. 'Tis like *Abab*, while he pretended Friendship and Honour, aimed at *Jehoshaphat's* Life, that he might have the sole Management of the Successor in *Judah*, who was his Son-in-law ; if so, he acted a vile Part, yet fell into the Pit which he digged for his Friend : For *Jehoshaphat* was assaulted ; but the Enemy perceiving he was not the King of *Israel*, pressed no further : And a certain Man drew a Bow at random, whereby he smote the King of *Israel* between the Joints of the Harness. The Battle was continued until the Evening ; and about Sun-setting *Abab* died in his Chariot. The Coach being washed in the Pool of *Samaria*, Dogs licked his Blood. No Art nor Arms can save those whom God has appointed to Ruin.

Jehoshaphat returned to his House at *Jerusalem*. *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani* the Seer, went out to meet him (b), and told him, he had done wrong to join in Affinity with *Abab*, *to help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord ; therefore is Wrath upon thee, from before the Lord*. God is displeased ; thou must repent and be reconciled to him. Yet he commends him for these Things that were Praise-worthy. *There are good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away the groves out of the land, and hast prepared thine heart to seek God*. The pious King took the Admonition very well, staid at home, promoted Reformation in his own Kingdom, reclaimed those who had gone astray ; and in order to keep them at their Duty, let Judges, Civil and Ecclesiastical over them, charging them to deal courageously, to see the Laws put in Execution, and to be a Terror to evil Doers. But he must not enjoy constant Tranquillity, the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, and their Auxiliaries made a formidable Invasion upon his Kingdom (c). *Jehoshaphat* convened his Subjects, and made Preparation to oppose his Enemies. But his great Care was to obtain the Favour of God by Prayer, Humiliation and Fasting. God gave him a gracious Answer ; before the Congregation was dismissed, they had Assurances that they should be victorious. The Spirit of Prophecy came upon *Jabaziel* the Son of *Zechariah* a *Levite*, who told them, that next Day they were to go down against their Enemies ; but they *they need not fight, only stand still and see the salvation of God*. Which comfortable Intimation the King and his People received with Faith, Reverence and Thankfulness. Next Morning *Jehoshaphat* with his Army went to the Field of Battle, where he exhorted them, *Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established ; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper*. And appointed the Singers to praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever. The Success answered their Expectations ; the Children of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and Mount *Seir*, were smitten by Thunder or Hail, or by the Sword of an Angel, as Bishop *Patrick* conceives, and every one helped to destroy another, so as when *Judah* looked, their Enemies were all dead bodies fallen to the earth ; none escaped. *Jehoshaphat* and his People had nothing to

(a) 1 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xviii. (b) 2 Chron. xix. (c) 2 Chron. xx.

to do but to carry off the Spoil and Jewels, which were so great, as three Days were employed in gathering it. On the 4th Day they gave solemn Praises to God; and the Realm of *Jehoshaphat* was quiet; for God gave him Rest round about. He helped *Jehoram* King of *Israel* against the revolted *Moabites* (a) of which afterwards. From the Division of *Israel* and *Judah*, *Edom* was possessed by the latter, and governed by a Deputy (b); and *Jehoshaphat* carried on the Trade to *Ophir*, that had been begun by his Predecessors, from *Elatb* and *Exion-geber*. One of his Fleets being in Partnership with *Abaziah*, a wicked King in *Israel*, was broken at a Ridge of Rocks that lay near *Exion-geber*, in the Shape of the Back-bone of a Man; from which the Name of that Place is derived; and therefore he next sent out a Fleet from *Elatb*; in which he would not allow *Abaziah* to have any Concern (c). He lived sixty, and reigned twenty five Years; slept with his Fathers, and was buried in the City of *David* (d). He was a religious and good Prince, and a great Reformer, yet during his Reign the People retained a Kindness to the High-places (e).

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While *Jehoshaphat* was King in *Judah*, there were several Kings in *Israel*. *Abab* the Son of *Omri* was his Contemporary seventeen Years (f). This *Abab* was more wicked than any King of *Israel* that had been before him. He not only continued in the Worship of the Calves which *Jeroboam* had set up, but took to Wife *Jezabel* the Daughter of *Ethbaal* King of the *Zidonians*; worshipped *Baal* (g), reared up a House and an Altar for him; and made a Grove, to provoke the Lord to Anger (h). One of his Subjects, *Hiel* the *Beth-elite*, imitating the Presumption of his Prince; adventured to build *Jericho*, in defiance of the Curse *Joshua* had pronounced, above five hundred Years before, against any that should attempt it (i). But *Hiel* prospered very ill: The Prediction was fulfilled: His eldest Son died when he began, and his youngest Son when he finished the Work. During this wicked Reign, *Israel* was blessed with an eminent Prophet, *Elijah* the *Tishbite*; of the Inhabitants of *Gilead*, on the other Side *Jordan* (k). He of all the Prophets had the Honour of *Enoch*, to be translated so as not to see Death, and of *Moses*, to attend our Saviour in his Transfiguration. Though there be no Writing of his on Record, except one Letter; yet his Actions did cast a great Lustre on his Name. He foretold to *Abab* and his Court a fore and grievous Famine, which continued three Years and a half (l). That fruitful Land was turned into Barrenness by the want of Rain, for the Iniquity of those that dwelt therein. When the Prophecy began to be accomplished, *Elijah* withdrew, to live near the Brook *Cherith*; where Ravens in kind Providence brought him Food, and he drank of the Water of the Brook. The Rivulet being dried up; because there had been no Rain for a long Time; the Lord sent *Elijah* to *Zarephath*, a City of *Zidon*; where he met with a poor, humble, industrious and charitable Widow. He asked of her some Water to drink; and as she was going for it, he desired her to bring him a Morsel of Bread. The Woman replied; That she had only a Handfull of Meal in a Barrel, and a little Oyl in a Cruse, and was gathering some Sticks to bake the Meal, that she and her Son might eat it for their last Meal. *Elijah* said to her; Fear not; do as thou hast said; but make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it to me; and afterwards make for thee and for thy son: for thus saith the Lord God of *Israel*, The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oyl fail, until the day the Lord sendeth rain upon the earth. The same was fulfilled; and they did eat of it many days, even two Years. The Lord, who multiplies the seed sown (m), can make a little, charitably employed, go far; can feed his Prophets by Miracles, when ordinary Means are wanting; and can, according to his Promise, keep them that fear him alive in famine (n). While the Prophet was at this House, the Widows Son (perhaps her only Son; who had been thus miraculously supported) took sickness, and died; which threw her into great Sorrow, making her to fear God was contending for her Sin. But the Prophet, by earnest Prayer, got the Child miraculously restored to Life, to the Glory of God.

Elijah, after he had been some Years concealed in a private House, was ordered to shew himself to *Abab* the King; for the Lord would send Rain upon the Earth (o). There was then one good Man in *Abab's* Court; named *Obadiab*, who feared the Lord greatly; and when *Jezabel* the Queen, that idolatrous persecuting Woman, cut off the Prophets of the Lord, he took a hundred of them, and hid them by fifty in a Cave, where he fed them with Bread and Water. The Prophet met him going to seek Grass to maintain his Master's Horses and Mules, and desired him to go tell his Master; Behold, *Elijah* is here. *Obadiab* saluted him with great Respect; but craved to be excused from carrying the Message: For he did not desire to deliver him up to the King, who had caused Search to be made for him every where: And he feared, lest when he had given notice of him, he would vanish, or be covered by Providence; whereupon the King would put him to death for giving a false Report. Nevertheless, upon *Elijah's* assuring him that he would appear that Day before *Abab*, he went,

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(a) 2 Kings iii. (b) 1 Kings xxii. 47. (c) 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. 1 Kings xxii. 28, 49. (d) 1 Kings xxii. 50. (e) 2 Chron. xx. 31, — 33. (f) 1 Kings, xxii. 51. (g) Of *Baal* and his Worship, see Hist. Propag. of Christianity, Vol. I. p. 281, — 295. (h) 1 Kings, xvi. 30, — 33. (i) Josh. vi. 26. (k) 1 Kings, xvii. (l) James, v. 17. (m) 2 Cor. ix. 10. (n) Psal. xxxiii. 18, 19. (o) 1 Kings, xviii.

and told it to that Prince : Who immediately came to meet the Prophet, and upbraided him, saying, *Art thou he that troubleth Israel ?* *Elijah* returned the Charge : *I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and followed Baalim. Therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal, four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezabel's table.* Accordingly *Abab* issued out Writs to convene this Assembly, either because he feared *Elijah*, and durst not oppose him ; or because he hoped the Prophet would bless the Land with Rain. At the Meeting, *Elijah* reprov'd the People for mixing the Worship of God and that of *Baal* together. It seems, not only some worshipped God, and others *Baal* ; but even some *Israelites* worshipped God to please the Prophets, and *Baal* to please *Jezabel*, and gain Favour at Court. He propos'd the Matter fairly to them : “ Since there can be but one infinite, supreme, all-sufficient and independent Being, let us try who this is. You that are Worshipers of *Baal* have all Advantages ; the Favour of Court, four hundred and fifty Priests, four hundred Assistants, (perhaps *Zidonians* :) The Manager of God's Cause is but one poor banished Man. Let the Priests of *Baal* have two Oxen brought ; let them call on their Gods, after they have chosen their Ox, dress'd it, cut it in Pieces ; and put no Fire under : And I *Elijah* will do the like with the other Ox, and call on the Name of *Jehovah* : And let the God who shall make it appear that he hath heard the Prayers, by consuming the Sacrifice with Fire, be owned as the true, supreme, independent Being.” This being agreed to, and done accordingly, the Priests of *Baal* dress'd their Sacrifice, cried on their God, leap'd on his Altar, cut themselves with Knives and Lancets, till the Blood gushed out ; but all to no purpose : The Prophet mock'd them ; yet their Idol heard not. Then *Elijah* call'd the People, reared an Altar on Mount *Carmel* : For the Law concerning one Altar, upon such an extraordinary Commission as this Prophet had, was dispens'd with ; in token that when the Thing signified by the ceremonial Law was come, those Shadows would flee away. He cut the Bullock in Pieces, laid him on the Wood, poured twelve Barrels of Water (likely brought from the Sea) into the Trenches, and intreat'd by a short pathetick Prayer, about the time of the offering of the Evening-sacrifice, saying, *Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, let it be known this day, that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word.* Then the Fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the Burnt-sacrifice, and the Wood, and the Stones, and the Dust, and lick'd up the Water that was in the Trench. When the People saw it, they fell on their Faces, and said, *Jehovah he is God, Jehovah he is God.* Whereupon *Elijah* caus'd take all the Priests of *Baal*, and carry them down to the Brook *Kishon* ; where they were kill'd. No doubt he had the Consent of the King and the Princes for their Execution. They deserv'd Death by the Law (a), for committing Idolatry, and tempting to it. The Prophet had an extraordinary Commission for what he did, without which none may pretend to do the like. It was necessary to bring the People to repent and reform, before the Judgments they were under could be removed : Three Years and a half of Famine could not bring them to such a Disposition ; and therefore this Method was necessary. It may also be remarked, that even *Julian*, commonly call'd the *Apostate*, owns the Truth of the Miracle at Mount *Carmel* : For, writing against the Christians, he says, *You shun to offer Sacrifices at the Altar, because Fire does not descend from Heaven to consume the Victims, as in Moses's Days. But this happened only once in his Time, and long after in that of Elias the Tishbite* (b).

Elijah having so far obtained a Reformation, that the People acknowledged *Jehovah*, the God of *Israel*, to be the supreme and only God, and consented to the Execution of *Baal's* Priests, he went to the Top of *Carmel*, whence he might view the *Mediterranean* Sea ; where he pray'd for Rain, and sent his Servant seven Times to notice if he saw any Appearance ; who at the last Time reported that he saw a little Cloud rising : And in a short Time the Heaven was black with Clouds and Winds. Whereupon the Prophet desir'd *Abab* to make ready his Chariot, and haste home, lest he should be stop't by the Rain ; and the Prophet girt his Loins, and ran before the Chariot. One would have expected, that after so signal Service as *Elijah* had done, to the Conviction of all *Israel*, they would have promoted a Work of Reformation by the Advice of the Prophet. But it was quite otherwise. *Abab* inform'd his Wife *Jezabel*, an imperious wicked Woman, of what had pass'd, and of the killing of *Baal's* Priests : Whereupon she vow'd to put *Elijah* to death immediately (c). This made him retire to *Beer-sheba*, in the South Corner of the Land of *Judah* ; where he left his Servant, but himself proceeded a Day's Journey, to the vast howling Wilderness where the Children of *Israel* had long wander'd after they came from *Egypt*. There he sat down, faint and uneasy, under a Juniper-tree, desiring to die. But an Angel brought him Meat and Drink, and bad him arise and eat, that he might be prepared for a long Journey. He did so, and went, in the Strength of that, forty Days and forty Nights, unto *Horeb*, the Mount where *Moses* had the

(a) Deut. xiii. 6, — 11. xvii. 2, — 7. (b) *Cyrillus contra Julianum*, lib. 10. (c) 1 Kings, xix.

the Law given him. There the Lord manifested his Glory to him in a still small Voice, saying, *What dost thou here, Elijah?* Why so far from home? Might not thou, so great a Prophet, so famous for Resolution and Courage, stand safe in the Land of Israel, notwithstanding *Jezabel*? To this Question, he replied, *I have been very jealous for the Lord of hosts; because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant; thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only am left, and they seek to take away my life.* Where he pleads, That his Retreat is not to be imputed to want of Zeal, but to want of Success. His Defence being heard, the Lord ordered him to anoint *Hazael* King of Syria, *Jehu* King of Israel, and *Elisha* to be his Successor in the prophetick Office; signifying that these Men would chastise degenerate Israel, plead God's Cause, and avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant: And at the same time God intimated to him, *That he had left him seven thousand in Israel, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and whose mouths had not kissed him.* For in the worst of Times, the Lord hath a Remnant of hidden ones, wherever he hath a Church, who will retain their Integrity against an Inundation of Error and Profaneness. Soon after this, the Prophet met with *Elisha*, and effectually called him, from his Plough, to attend him in the Discharge of the prophetick Office; who having made a Farewell-feast to his Family and Friends, cheerfully complied with the Call, notwithstanding the Difficulty of the Times.

About this Time *Benbadad* King of Syria made a Descent upon *Abab's* Kingdom, and besieged *Samaria* with a powerful Army; wherein were thirty two Kings, with abundance of Horses and Chariots (a). This *Benbadad* was of the antient Race of the *Adads*; of whom there are several Descents in Scripture Record, particularly *Hadadezer*, the Son of *Rehob* (b), *Rezon*, the Son of *Eliadab*, an Adversary to *Solomon* (c), *Hezion*, *Tabrion* his Son, *Benbadad* I. his Son, who invaded *Baasha*. These three last named are to be found 1 Kings, xv. 18. and then *Benbadad* the II. who at this Time made War with *Abab*: Which is the most authentick Account of the first Kings of Syria. This *Benbadad* is called by *Josephus* (d), *Adad*; by the *Septuagint* (e), *Ader*; and by *Justin* (f), *Adores*. So different Names are given to the same Person by several Authors and Translators. He sent to *Abab* an insolent Demand, requiring him to become his Vassal, and to hold of him his Silver, his Gold, his Wives and his Children. *Abab* meanly submitted to all this. But *Benbadad* commanded further, that all those Things should be put into his Hands immediately; whereupon *Abab* and his Council resolved to stand to their Defence. Then the Syrian proudly swore, *That the dust of Samaria should not suffice for handfuls to all his followers.* That is, his great Army would turn all the City into an Heap of Dust, and be sufficient to carry it all away, though each Soldier should take but one Handful. *Abab* rebuked this Insolence, saying, *Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.* That is, do not sing a Triumph before a Victory; the Events of War are uncertain, one of the best Speeches he ever spoke. The Treaty being thus broken off, a Prophet of the Lord was sent to *Abab*, to encourage him to make a resolute Sally with the few Men which he had; (that is about seven thousand) with Assurance of a glorious Victory. He did so; and the Event answered the Prediction. The Syrian King, who was drinking himself drunk in his Pavilion with his Tributaries, at first despised the *Israelites*; yet seeing many of his Men killed, and the whole Camp put into Disorder, he and his numerous Host thought fit to run for it. A Prophet of the Lord warned *Abab* to prepare for another Campaign; and the Syrians stirred up their King to retrieve his Loss, saying, *Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And take the kings away; and put captains in their rooms.* The first Part of their Speech was blasphemous against the God of Israel, the Creator and Ruler of all the World; though it is like the Idolatry of the *Israelites* gave them too much Occasion to talk in this Strain. The other Part of their Advice is taken from a Maxim in War, not to intrust the Command of an Army to lazy idle Princes, pretending to be Commanders by Birth, but to experienced Officers inured to War, and raised by Merit. According to the Advice, the Syrian provided a great Army, and encamped at *Aphek*, a City in the Tribe of *Asher* (g). The *Israelites* look'd like two little Flocks of Kids before them; yet in the Day of Battle, to punish the Blasphemy of the Syrians, they were overthrown, with the Loss of one hundred thousand Men, and twenty seven thousand crushed or killed by the Fall of the Walls of *Aphek*, to which they had retired for Shelter; which Fall might be occasioned by an Earthquake, or by the Ministry of Angels, or by some other Way to punish their Sin, and *Benbadad* himself fled into a Chamber within a Chamber. Upon the whole we may remark, that *David* subdued the Syrians, and made them Tributaries; *Asa* tempted them to invade Israel (h); now they did it of their own accord; nevertheless the Lord gave Israel a great Deliverance, to magnify his Mercy to the Seed of *Abraham*, though now evil and unthankful, either to bring them to Repentance, or

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(a) 1 Kings, xx. (b) 2 Sam. viii. 3. (c) 1 Kings, xi. 23. (d) Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 8, ab init. (e) In 2 Kings, xx. 1. (f) Lib. 36. cap. 2. (g) Josh. xix. 30. Judges, i. 31. (h) 1 Kings, xv. 18.

leave them inexcusable; and to humble the Pride, Insolence and Blasphemy of *Benhadad*, and his Heathenish Army. After the Victory *Benhadad* made a humble Submission; and *Ahab*, on too easy Terms, only requiring that the *Syrians* would restore some Cities formerly taken from *Israel*, and allow him to make a few Streets in *Damascus*, concluded a League with him. For which a Prophet of the Lord, by a Parable closely applied, reprov'd him, saying, *Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom the Lord appointed to utter destruction, thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people.* The *Syrian* for his Blasphemy deserved Destruction, conform to the Law (a); but since he had been let go, *Ahab* and his People should meet with the Punishment that their Sin deserved. Upon hearing of this, the King of *Israel* went to his house heavy and displeased; not truly penitent, but enraged at the Sentence pass'd against him.

After these Things, *Ahab* set a covetous Mind on a Vineyard that belonged to one *Naboth*, near his Palace in *Jezreel* (b). The Owner would not alienate the Property of the Inheritance of his Fathers, knowing that if it were given to the King, it would never return, no even in the Year of Jubilee. The King was very uneasy at the Refusal; but his idolatrous Wife check'd him, as if he had been unfit to govern, if he could sit with such Affronts from his Subjects, and wrote Letters in the King's Name, sealed with his Seal, to the Elders of *Jezreel*, commanding them to proclaim a Fast, and procure two false Witnesses to swear that *Naboth* had blasphemed against God and the King, that he might be stoned to Death. This being done, *Ahab* took Possession of the Vineyard; but immediately *Elijah* the Prophet (of whom we do not read during the former War with the *Syrians*, because it is like he had been retired instructing the Sons of the Prophets) came by God's Command to declare to him, that for this and his other Wickedness and Idolatries, he should perish and all his Race, and *Jezabel* should be eaten by Dogs. *Ahab* being uneasy at the Sight of the Prophet, and much more terrified with those Threatnings, rent his Cloaths, put on Sackcloth, and humbled himself, making some Shew of Repentance; wherefore God told the Prophet, that the Evils which he had denounced should not come in the Life of *Ahab*, but should all fall on his House in the Reign of one of his Sons. How *Ahab* was afterwards killed at *Ramoth-gilead*, we have before seen, when discoursing of the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*.

Ahaziah the Son of *Ahab* began to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria* in the seventeenth Year of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah* (c). He reigned not full two Years, and did evil in the sight of the Lord; for he walked in the way of his father, and in the ways of his mother, and in the way of *Jeroboam*, the son of *Nebat*, who made *Israel* to sin: for he served *Baal*, and worshipp'd him, and provoked to anger the Lord God of *Israel*. This is a very bad Character; though he had heard of the Ruin of *Jeroboam's* Family, the Fall of his own Father foretold by the Prophets of the Lord, and the Prophets of *Baal* often proved false Deceivers; yet none of those Warnings did reclaim him, from following the evil Steps of his Father, and the Counsel of his wicked Mother, who was still alive to stir him up to Mischief. He was soon rebuked for these Courses; *Moab* rebelled against *Israel* (d), throwing off their Allegiance and Subjection, himself fell down through a Lattice in his upper Chamber, and the Hurt received by the Fall threw him into Sickness. In this Distress he sent Messengers to *Beelzebub*, the God of *Eckron* (who seems to be the same with the *Pluto* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* (e), the Prince of Devils) to know if he would recover. *Elijah* the *Tishbite* met the Messengers by Direction from God, faithfully reprov'd the Sin of consulting with the Devil to know future Events; and at the same Time read *Ahaziah's* Doom, *he shall surely die.* The Messengers having repeted this to the King, he asked them what manner of Man was he who came to meet you, and told you so? They answered, he was an hairy Man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins; and he said, it is *Elijah the Tishbite.* Which he might easily conclude, because he had seen him in that Dress, and heard his awful Messages at his Father's Court. But so far was the King from making any good Improvement of the Warning given him, that he sent a Captain with fifty Soldiers to apprehend the Prophet. The Officer coming towards him, then on the Top of a Hill, said, insulting him, *Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down.* *Elijah* answered, *If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty.* And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty. The same happened to another Captain and fifty Men, whom *Ahaziah* sent a second Time. *Elijah* did not this to secure, nor yet to revenge himself; he could have done that another Way, but by a Miracle, to prove his Mission from Heaven, to reveal the Wrath of God against the Unrighteousness of Men: Yet our Lord would not allow his Disciples to draw it into a Precedent against the *Samaritans* (f). For the *Old Testament* Dispensation was of Terror; but that of the Gospel was of Spirit and Grace. The third Captain humbled himself (though it doth not appear that the King had ordered him to do so) and intreated the Prophet, *Let my life now be precious in thy sight.* Whereupon the Officer

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(a) LEVIT. XXIV. 16. (b) 1 Kings, XXI. (c) 1 Kings, XXII. 51. (d) 2 Kings, I. 1. (e) Hist. of Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. I. p. 292, — 294. (f) Luke ix. 54, — 56.

was not only spared, but *Elijah*, at the Command of the Angel, went to the King and told him, that he would surely die of that Disease. Neither the King nor any about him durst offer the Prophet Violence nor Affront; and *Abaziah* died in a few Days childless, leaving the Kingdom to his Brother *Jehoram*.

There are several Dates of the Reign of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*: One in the seventeenth Year of *Jehoshaphat*, when that Prince, marching with *Abab* to *Ramoth-gilead*, appointed him, as his eldest Son, his Viceroy; and in case of Death, his Successor. Thus we understand, *Abaziah* died, and *Jehoram* reigned in his stead, in the second year of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah* (a). For *Abab*, the Father of *Abaziah*, died in the seventeenth Year of *Jehoshaphat* (b): And *Abaziah*'s second Year was begun, and not complete in the eighteenth Year of *Jehoshaphat* (c). In the second Year then, from *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* being his Father's Viceroy, began *Jehoram*, the Son of *Abab*, to reign at *Samaria*. But his Father resumed the Government after he returned in Peace from *Ramoth-gilead* to *Jerusalem*. A second Date of the Beginning of his Reign was, in the twenty first Year of his Father's Reign, four Years before his Death; probably about that Time when *Jehoshaphat*, going to assist *Jehoram*, the Son of *Abab*, against the revolted *Moabites* (d), thought fit to invest his eldest Son in the Throne, to prevent Dissention and Competition among the rest of his Brethren. A third Date of this *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat*'s Reign, is in the Beginning of the twenty fourth Year of his Father's Reign, while he was yet alive, and was King of *Judah* also; for it is said, *In the fifth year of Joram the son of Abab king of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began to reign* (e). By these several Beginnings of his Government, all these several Texts do well agree, and this chronological Difficulty is removed. Nor is it unusual to assume a Son as Assessor in the Throne during his Father's Life: Thus did *David* to *Solomon* (f); and many other Examples may be found.

Mean Time it was a great Loss to the Kingdom of *Judah*, that *Jehoram* did not imitate his Father *Jehoshaphat* in Piety; for his Father having seven Sons, to six of them he gave great Gifts in Silver, Gold, and pretious Things, with fenced Cities in *Judah*; but he gave the Kingdom to *Jehoram*, because he was his First-born: And he was so barbarous, as to slay all his six Brethren with the Sword (g), pretending, 'tis like, that he could not be safe in the Government, till they were out of the Way, or because their Piety condemned his Wickedness; and with them he slew divers of the Princes of *Israel* who had adhered to them, or were like to revenge their Quarrel. He also ruined the Reformation that his good Father and Grandfather had carried on; for *he walked in the way of the Kings of Israel, like as did the house of Abab; for he had the daughter of Abab to wife; and he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord*. *Elijah* the Prophet being informed of the wicked Beginnings of his Reign, sent him a Writing, warning him, that since he had murdered his Brethren, and departed from the Ways of God in which he had been educated; therefore the Lord would smite with Punishments his People, his Children, his Wives, and his Goods, and himself with a sore Sickness and Disease in his Bowels. By this Letter it appears that *Jehoram* came to the Throne, and shewed what he was, before *Elijah*'s Translation to Heaven: But the Prophet finding he could not go in Person to *Judah*, 'tis like left this Letter with *Elisha* to be sent by the first Occasion, that it might either be a Mean to reclaim that Prince, or be a Witness against him. He slighted the Warning, and all the Miseries foretold by the Prophet came upon him; for the *Edomites* revolted; and having expelled his Deputy, choose them a King of their own, and were not any more subject to *Judah*; and from that Time the *Jewish* Traffick through the *Red Sea*, begun by *David* or *Solomon*, had an Interruption till the Reign of *Uzzah*, that is, about eighty six Years. The City *Libnah* in his own Kingdom also revolted. Moreover, the Lord stirred up against him the *Arabians*, who were near the *Æthiopians*, and the *Philistines*; and they brake in upon *Judah*, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save *Jehoahaz* the youngest. And after all this the Lord smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease; so that after two years his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness, and he died. He that had no Bowels of Compassion to his Brethren, was so plagued in his Bowels; and he departed without being desired; yet they buried him in the City of *David*, but not in the Sepulchres of the Kings, after he had lived forty, and reigned eight Years (h); but four Years being to be deduced for the Time in which he governed with his Father, only the other four Years of his Reign enter into Chronolgy.

In the Beginning of the Reign of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*, *Elijah* the Prophet was translated to Heaven (i). God had determined this Event, and had let him know some Time before, that he was not to leave the World by Death, but to be carried in Body and Soul to

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(a) 2 Kings, i. 17. (b) 1 Kings, xxii. 51. (c) 2 Kings, iii. 1. (d) 2 Kings, iii. 7. (e) 2 Kings, viii. 16. (f) 1 Chron. xxix. 22. (g) 2 Chron. xxi. (h) 2 Chron. xxi. 2 Kings viii. 16, — 24. (i) 2 Kings ii.

Heaven like *Enoch* (a), only undergoing such a Change as would be necessary to qualify him to be an Inhabitant of the World of Spirits. 'Tis not for us to say why God gave this Honour as an Exception in his sovereign Will to the common Rule, *What man is he that liveth and shall not see death?* Only we may observe, that God looked on *Elijah's* past Services, which were extraordinary, and designed this Recompence as an Encouragement to the Prophets to witness faithfully against the Corruptions of the Age, whatever it cost. In this degenerate State of the Church, he thought fit to give this sensible Proof of another Life, to draw the Hearts of the faithful up in Desires after it: And he looked forward, so as in the Translation of this Prophet he gave a Type and Figure of the Ascension of the Messiah our Saviour, and of the opening the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers. Before his Departure, he visited the Schools of the Prophets at *Beth-el* and *Jericho*, and took his Leave of them. They suspected by the Solemnity of his Farewell, that he was soon to be removed, and told it to *Elisba*, who determined not to leave his Master so long as he was on Earth. In a miraculous Way he divided the Waters of *Jordan*, that he might go over it, and be translated in his native Country of *Gilead*. By the Death of Christ, the Waters of Sickness and Death are made a comfortable Way to carry us to Heaven. Being come to the Place of his Translation, *there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire; and Elijah went up by a whirl-wind into heaven*, being conducted in his Ascent thither by the Ministry of Angels. *Elisba* saw it, as a Sign agreed upon, that he should receive a double Portion, like that of the First-born, of his Spirit, above that of the Prophets Sons. And he pathetically lamented, saying, *My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof*: Where he reckons, that he had lost the Guide of his Youth, and was thrown upon the World like a fatherless Child; and that *Israel* had lost its best Guide, who did more to keep off the Judgments of God by his Prayers, Warnings and Counsels, than all the Horses and Chariots the King of *Israel* had. In his Translation he dropt his Mantle; being to be clothed with Immortality, he had no more need of it. *Elisba* took it up, as a Badge of his Office; and as a Manifestation of the divine Presence with him, he applied to *Elijah's* God, and divided the Waters of *Jordan*. The Sons of the Prophets at *Jericho* gave him Reverence, owning that the Spirit of *Elijah* did rest on him. They proposed to make Enquiry after his Master; to which he, against his Inclination consented: But their Search was to no Purpose, they found him not. At the Desire of the People of *Jericho*, he miraculously healed their bitter Waters, and the Barrenness of their Ground. From thence he came to *Beth-el*, where a Company of Children came out mocking him, and said, *Go up thou bald-head, go up thou bald-head*; perhaps reflecting on the Assumption of *Elijah*. Thy Master is gone up, why dost not thou go up after him? We are got free of him, why not of thee too? 'Tis like their Parents, who worshipped the Calves at *Beth-el* had taught them so. *The prophet turned, and cursed them in the name of the Lord; and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them*. Nor was the Punishment too great for the Offence; for these Children seem to have grown to some Maturity: They mocked not only a venerable Prophet, but even God himself, who had in a wonderful manner translated *Elijah* to Heaven. In them the Lord punished the Sin of their Parents, who were training them up to Idolatry, a Sin that deserved Death; and they might be guilty of many other Evils, known to God, who best discerns the Demerit of every Transgression. The Prophet did not inflict the Stroke from any carnal or revengeful Spirit, but by God's Commission, as a Caution against Profaneness and Idolatry, which abounded in that Place, and as a Specimen of that Ruin that would be inflicted upon *Israel* at last, for misusing God's Prophets, and mocking his Messengers (b). From *Beth-el* *Elisba* went to Mount *Carmel*, and from thence returned to *Samaria*.

Jehoram the Son of *Abab* reigned at this Time in *Samaria*; his Government continued twelve Years, from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, to the first of *Abaziah*, 2 Kings iii. 1. compared with ix. 24. which Texts do satisfy me, that the four last Years of *Jehoshaphat*, are included in the four first of *Jehoram* his Son, as before observed, otherwise there would be more than twelve from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat* to the first of *Abaziah*. But to go on with *Jehoram* the Son of *Abab*, *He wrought evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like his father and mother; for he put away the image of Baal that his father had made; nevertheless he cleaved to the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin*. His Reformation was only partial: He put away the Image of *Baal*, 'tis like, in Compliment to *Jehoshaphat*, who would not otherwise come into Confederacy with him, more than with his Brother (c); but he did not break all the Images of *Baal* into Pieces, nor destroy that Worship among his People; for *Jehu* found it still prevalent (d); and he adhered to the Worship of the Calves, that State Engine, by which the Division between *Israel* and *Judah* was supported. The *Moadabites* had revolted from *Israel* immediately upon the Death of *Abab*; and we do not find that *Abaziah* made any Attempt to reduce them, tho' they paid a considerable Tribute of a hundred

(a) See above, p. 19. (b) Chron. xxxvi. 16. (c) 1 Kings xxii. 49. (d) 2 Kings x. 18, — 28.

hundred thousand Lambs, and a hundred thousand Rams with the Wool: But no sooner had this *Jehoram* got the Sceptre into his Hand, but he levied an Army, and prevailed with *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*, and the King of *Edom* then his Deputy to join in the War. The confederate Army was in great Straits; for by seven Days Journey through the Wilderness of *Edom*, they wanted Water; whereon *Jehoshaphat* made a good Motion, to ask Counsel of God. *Elisba* the Prophet was then in the Camp, and the Kings went to him. He dealt very plainly with *Jehoram*. *What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and of thy mother.*—*Were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, I would not look toward thee.* And after composing himself to receive Instructions from God, he assured them that if they cut Ditches along the Valley, these should without Wind or Rain be filled with Water in a marvellous Way; and God would deliver *Moab* into their Hands. The Prediction was soon accomplished; for next Morning the Waters came on a sudden along by the way of *Edom*. The *Moabites* being on their March, next Morning saw the Water at a Distance appearing by the Reflex of the Sun, red as Blood; whereon they fancied that their Enemies had slaughtered one another, and ran to plunder their Camp. But the *Israelites*, animated by the Assurances *Elisba* had given them of Victory, fell upon their Adversaries with the utmost Fury, routed them, and pursued them into their own Country, which they laid waste, destroyed the Cities, marred the Ground with Stones, stopped the Wells, and felled the growing Timber; only the Royal City, *Kirharezeth* was left standing, yet the Walls and Houses thereof were broken by Stones cast out of Engines. This they got by revolting from *Israel*. The King of *Moab* seeing himself reduced to the last Extremity, sallied out with seven hundred Men, to force the King of *Edom's* Quarters: But being repulsed, he took his own eldest Son, that should have reigned in his stead, and sacrificed him on the Wall; 'tis like to obtain Favour of *Chemosh* his Deity, or rather a Devil that delighted in the Destruction of Mankind; so barbarous was the heathen Idolatry! The *Israelites* seeing this brutish Cruelty, were moved with Indignation, raised the Siege, and returned to their own Country.

Tho' *Elisba* had been the Mean of delivering the confederate Army, no Man remembered or rewarded his Services; but God honoured him to do many Miracles. A Prophet's Widow, (both Priests and Prophets were then allowed to marry) complained that her pious Husband being dead, and she left very poor, the Creditor came to take her two Sons and make Slaves of them (a). *Elisba* having Compassion on her, and finding she had nothing in her House save a Pot of Oyl, he ordered her to go and borrow Vessels of her Neighbours, to shut her self up with her two Sons, and pour of the Oyl into the Vessels, for it would fill them all. Accordingly she poured out the Oyl, sold part of it to pay the Creditor; (for we can reckon nothing comfortably our own, till our just Debts be satisfied) and she with her Children lived on the rest. At *Shunem*, a City in the Tribe of *Issachar* (b), in the Road between *Samaria* and *Carmel*, there lived a Woman whose Husband had a good Estate, and was hospitable; she having a great Esteem for this holy Man, invited him to dine, and provided a quiet Room for him. In Gratitude for this Favour, the Prophet offered to do any kind Office for her or her Family, in his Power: But she wanted no Preferment at Court, only his Servant told him she had no Child to leave her Estate to; whereon his Master promised, that within a Year she should have a Son. This being performed, when the Child was grown up, and past the Perils of Infancy, he takes some sudden Illness and dies. The pious but sorrowful Mother believed the Child might be restored to Life; and therefore without divulging her Loss, asked Leave of her Husband to go to the Prophet. He wondered what was the Matter, since it was neither new Moon nor *Sabbath*, on which she used to frequent his Meetings, yet with Allowance she went, and laid her Case before him. Upon hearing thereof, he sent his Servant *Gebazi*, with Orders to lay his Staff upon the dead Child. But the Mother having no Confidence that this would be a Mean of Recovery, would not go without the Prophet himself, who cheerfully went; and after earnest Prayer, obtained from God that the dead Child was restored to Life, whom he gave to his Mother, to the Glory of God, and Comfort of all concerned. At *Gilgal*, where the Sons of the Prophets dwelt, there being a Famine, *Elisba* ordered Portage to be prepared for the young Prophets; a Servant that was sent to gather Herbs, brought in a wild Vine, or *Colloquintida* (which if not qualified, is dangerous) and shred it into the Pot. Upon tasting the Food, the Guests cried there was *Death* in it; but the Prophet presently, in a marvellous Way, by a little Meal, turned the hurtful into wholesome Meat, and fed a hundred Men with a few Loaves.

Naaman, the King of *Syria's* General, hearing of *Elisba's* Miracles, came to him to be cured of a Leprosy, by which he was infected. He came with a Retinue suitable to his Quality, with Gold, Silver, and other Presents to his Physician (c), and Letters of Recommendation to the King of *Israel*. On reading whereof the King was afraid that the *Syrian* was

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(a) 2 Kings iv. (b) Josh. xix. 17. 18. (c) 2 Kings, vi.

seeking some Occasion of Quarrel. But *Elisha* offered his Service : *Let him come to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel.* Then *Naaman* came with his Retinue to the Prophet's Door ; who directed him, *Go wash in Jordan seven times, and thou shalt be clean.* The General at first slighted the Mean prescribed, saying, *Are not Abana and Pharpar better than all the waters of Israel ?* Yet upon his Servants Importunity, he dipped seven Times in *Jordan* ; and to his great Surprise and Joy, found himself completely cured. Being by this convinced of the Power of the God of *Israel*, he offered Silver, Gold and Raiment to the Prophet ; who generously refused all : For he looked on the Wealth of the World with Contempt, and desired the *Syrian* might have no Reason to say he had made *Elisha* rich. Then the General declared himself a Profelyte to the God of *Israel* ; only reserving Liberty to bow in the House of *Rimmon*, in complaisance to the King his Master, according to the Duty of his Place at Court. But there ought to be no Reserves, in our covenanting with God, to indulge our selves in known Sin ; and no Countenance should be given to any Idol, such as *Rimmon* ; which the *Septuagint* (a) call *Remman*, and the *New Testament* (b), *Remphan*. *Naaman* being dismissed, *Gebazi*, the Prophet's Servant, without his Master's Knowledge, ran after him, and told him a deliberate Lie, basely misrepresenting his Master, as if, repenting of his Generosity, he would act contrary to his Oath, and send a Servant after the *Syrian*, to seek a Talent of Silver and two Changes of Raiment for some indigent Sons of the Prophets, after the like had been solemnly refused. Upon *Gebazi*'s Return, his Master accused him of Covetousness in order to make an Estate to himself. He denied the Fact ; but was convicted, and punished by the Leprosy of *Naaman*, being made to cleave to him and to his Seed for ever ; which his heinous Iniquity deserved. Our Lord (c) seems to make *Naaman*'s Cure typical of the calling and cleansing of the Gentiles.

Elisha did other wonderful and miraculous Works : For, going towards *Jordan*, with the Sons of the Prophets, who seem to have dwelt at *Gilgal*, and as poor, industrious, honest Men, went to cut Wood to build to themselves more Houses (d) ; as one of them was felling a Tree, the Head of the Ax fell into the Water. *Elisha* seeing him concern'd for the Loss of a borrowed Ax, bid him shew the Place where it fell ; which he having done, the Prophet threw in a Stick, and the Iron, contrary to its Nature, swimed : For the God of Nature is not tied to its Laws. The King of *Syria* being then at War with *Israel*, resolved to fix his Camp, or set an Ambush in a certain Place ; which *Elisha*, by the Spirit of Prophecy, forewarned the King of *Israel* to take care of. The *Syrian* finding himself disappointed once and again, judged he was betrayed ; till one of his Officers told him, that *Elisha* the Prophet discovered his most secret Counsels. Whereupon the *Syrian* ordered a Part of his Army to go to *Dothan*, where the Prophet then was, and apprehend him. The Prophet's Servant, at Sight of the Army, was mightily alarmed, knowing of no Force to resist them : But the Prophet prayed the Lord to open his Eyes ; and then he saw the Mountain full of Horses and Chariots of Fire round about his Master, even an Host of Angels, to protect him, and work Wonders. And at *Elisha*'s Prayers, the *Syrians* were all struck with Blindness, so as in that bewildered Case they were led to *Samaria* ; where was an Army sufficient to cut them in Pieces, or make them Prisoners. Thus the God of this World blinds the Eyes of Men, to their own Ruin ; but when God enlightens them, they see themselves in the midst of their Enemies. The King of *Israel* asked what he should do with them ; and by the Prophet's Advice, he gave them Meat and Drink, treated them kindly, and dismissed them handsomely. So the Bands of *Syria* came no more to the Land of *Israel* to take *Elisha* Prisoner.

But after, *Benhadad* went up with his Army in open War, and besieged *Samaria* ; that if he could not take it by Storm, he might starve it into a Surrender. The Famine became very great in the City, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, (if these Pieces be common Shekels, at fifteen Pence each in Value, the whole will amount to five Pounds Sterling ; for which six or more living Asses might in former Times have been bought) and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of silver. Some by Doves Dung here understand a small Cicer, or Pease (e) in the Doves Croops. Some take it for the Doves Excrements, to be used for fattening their Grounds within the City, for Fire or for Meat. But it was an unusual Rate, to give six Shillings and three Pence for a Scots Gill, or the fourth Part of an English Quart of such Stuff. The Famine was extreme ; and there are many Instances like it in History (f) : And this had still something worse, that Mothers did eat their own Children ; which was one of the Judgments *Moses* (g) had denounced against *Israel* for Apostacy. The King, as he was walking on the Wall to give necessary Orders, being apprised of these sad Effects of the Famine, vowed to take off *Elisha*'s Head, and sent an Officer to see it done. The Prophet knew it, and commanded to stop the Messenger : *His master is coming, who will prevent the execution.* This might come from the Mouth of *Elisha* by his ex-

(a) δ βασιλεὺς, v. 18. Vide de Naamani facto opera Bocharti, 1 om. 1. col. 892, — 900. (b) Acts, vii. 43. (c) Luke, iv. 27. (d) 2 Kings, vi. (e) Vide Bocharti Hierozoicon, Part. 2. lib. 1. cap. 7. (f) Vide Poli Critica in 2 Regum, vi. 25. (g) Deut. xxviii. 53.

extraordinary Office. And when the King came, not knowing what to say, he said what cannot be vindicated: *This evil is of the Lord: what, should I wait for the Lord any longer?* But his Affliction should have made him patient, not outrageous.

Notwithstanding the great Straits *Samaría* was reduced to; *Elisha* foretold that in a Day's Time they should have great Plenty in the City (a). A certain Lord, who was one of the King's Favourites, said it was impossible, unless God should rain Corn out of the Clouds; and for his Infidelity, he did see the Plenty, but was never allowed to eat of it. That very Evening the Siege was raised, not by Might or by Power, but by the Spirit of the Lord striking Terror upon the Besiegers. At hearing a terrible Noise, they concluded the King of *Israel* had procured Assistance from some foreign Powers, the *Hittites* or *Egyptians*: Wherefore they fled in the twilight, leaving their Tents, Horses, Asses, and their whole Camp as it was, and escaped for their Life. This was discovered by four Lepers; who being like to perish for Hunger at the Gates of *Samaría*, resolved to make a Visit to the Camp of the *Syrians*. Coming thither in the Evening-twilight, when the Enemies were gone, they found the Camp empty of Men, and well provided of all Riches and Necessaries for Life. Whereupon they satisfied their Appetites, enriched themselves with the Plunder, and then told the good News at the Gate of the City. Upon notice thereof, the King of *Israel* sent to discover if the *Syrians* did not ly in Ambush, to take his People when they came out. The Party sent made Report, That all the Way to *Jordan* was full of Garments and Vessels which the *Syrians* had cast away in their haste; which made the People immediately rush out of the City, and plunder the Camp: Whereby such incredible Plenty was made in *Samaría*, that a Measure of fine Flour (that is about an *English* Peck and a Pottle, or the third Part of a Bushel) was sold for a Shekel, or fifteen Pence; and two Measures of Barley for a Shekel. The incredulous Lord, having the Charge to keep the Peace at the Gate, did see the Plenty; but did never eat thereof, being trod to Death in the Crowd: And all was fulfilled that *Elisha* had foretold. These and the like Miracles were done, to prove to the *Syrians* and to all the World that the God of *Israel* was the only true God, and to encourage a small persecuted Remnant in that Land, who adhered to the Interests of true Religion under many Difficulties.

Seven Years Famine was inflicted on the Land of *Israel*; which Dr. *Lightfoot* (b) reckons to have been from the first to the seventh Year of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*, *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab* then reigning in *Israel*, though for the Connexion of the History the whole is put together; and the several Years not distinguished in the sacred Text, 2 *Kings*, viii. 1, — 6. During the Ministry of *Elijah*, there were three Years and a half of Famine: Now the Time of the Calamity is doubled, because the People were still obstinate and incorrigible, under many Judgments, and under the powerful Ministry of *Elisha*, who confirmed his Doctrine with Miracles: And *Moses* had declared to *Israel* in the Name of the Lord, *If ye walk contrary unto me, I will bring seven times more plagues upon you, according to your sins* (c). At the Beginning of the Famine, *Elisha* minding the Kindness of the *Shunamite*, whose Son he had restored to Life (d), warned her to provide for her Family, by removing to some other Country, where she might find Plenty. And she went to the Land of the *Philistines*; but staid no longer than was necessary: For there she could not enjoy her New-moons and her Sabbaths, as she had done at home among the Schools of the Prophets (e). Upon her Return, she found herself kept out of the Possession of her Estate; and applied to the King for Redress; who was then talking with *Gebazi* the Leper, concerning the Miracles that *Elisha* had done: And while he was telling how he had restored a dead Child, this Woman coming in with her Petition, *Gebazi* said, *This is the woman, and this is her son*; which they owned: And this made the King believe the Narrative, and to cause restore to her the Land that belonged to her, with all the Fruits thereof, as a just Grant to one favoured of Heaven. About this Time *Elisha* came to the Territory of *Damascus*. *Benhadad* the King being sick, and having notice that the Prophet was there, sent *Hazael* his prime Minister to wait on him, with a Present of forty Camels Burden of every good thing of *Damascus*, and to enquire of him, as of an Oracle, saying, *Thy son Benhadad, king of Syria, hath sent me to thee, to ask, Shall I recover of this disease?* The Prophet replied, *Say to him, Thou mayst certainly recover, (thy Disease is not mortal:) but the Lord hath shewed me he shall surely die*: For he had it discovered to him that *Benhadad* would die a violent Death; and he had a further Revelation, which made the Prophet weep. *Hazael* asked the Reason of his Tears: And he replied, *Because I know the evils thou wilt do to the children of Israel. Their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child*. *Hazael* took this Prediction very ill: *What, is thy servant a dog, (so vile a Creature) to do so wicked a thing?* But *Elisha* told him, *The Lord hath shewed me that thou shalt be king over Syria*. Then he would have it in his Power, and then he would find in his

B b b 2

Heart

(a) 2 *Kings*, vii. (b) *Chronica Temporum*, p. m. 86, 87. (c) *Levit.* xxvi. 21, — 24. (d) 2 *Kings*, iv. (e) 2 *Kings*, iv. 28.

Heart to do it. *Hazael* returning to his Master, made a partial and unfaithful Representation of the Prophet's Answer, saying he had told that he would certainly recover : But he soon barbarously murdered him, by stifling his Breath with a thick Cloth dipt in Water, spread upon his Face, and usurped the Throne. This Change was before revealed to *Elijah* (a), and was now accomplished.

A. M.
3063.
Ant. C.
887. In the twelfth year of *Joram* the son of *Abah* king of Israel, did *Abaziah* the son of *Jehoram* begin to reign in Judah. He was twenty two years old, and reigned one year in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was *Athaliah*, the daughter of *Omri* king of Israel. And he walked in the way of the house of *Abah*, and did evil in the sight of the Lord; for he was son in law of the house of *Abah* (b). He sucked in Wickedness with his Mother's Milk, following the Footsteps of her idolatrous bloody House : And this was his Ruin; for going to visit *Joram* King of Israel, after he was wounded at *Ramah*, while *Jehu* was executing Judgment upon the House of *Abah*, he killed *Abaziah* among the rest who belonged to that Family; yet they decently buried him, because he was the Son or Grandson of good *Jehoshaphat*, who sought the Lord with all his heart (c) : He is called *Jeboahaz* (d), but more frequently *Abaziah*, which is the same Name, and of the same Signification, only the Words of which it is composed, are transposed. But there is a Difficulty of greater Weight concerning the Years of his Life. How can *Abaziah* be forty and two Years old when he began to reign, as is said, 2 Chron. xxii. 2. when yet he is affirmed to have been only at that Time twenty two Years old, 2 Kings, viii. 26. and besides, *Joram* his Father died in the fortieth Year of his Age (e) : How then could he be forty two Years old when he began to reign ? Answer, The Words in the Hebrew, a son of forty two years (f), do not always signify the Age of the Person; but may point out, either first the Age of *Athaliah* this King's Mother; who being so infamous for Mischief in Judah, it is not strange if her Age be here described; especially since she for a Season swayed the Sceptre. But secondly, I rather incline with judicious and learned Authors (g) on this Question, to conceive, that a Son of forty two Years signifies the Time and Continuance of the Royal Race of *Omri*; from which *Abaziah* by his Mother was descended. *Omri* reigned six Years (h); *Abah* his Son reigned twenty two Years (i); *Abaziah* his Son two Years (k); and *Joram* his Brother twelve Years (l). All which being put together, make up exactly these forty two Years of this Kingdom. Such a Computation hath been before observed (m); nor is there any Necessity to have Recourse to an Error of the Transcribers, nor to a various Reading.

To return to the History of the Kings of Israel. *Elisba* appointed one of the Sons of the Prophets to go to *Ramoth-gilead*, and call for *Jehu*, the Son of *Nimshi*, (who was there as Commander in chief, fighting for King *Jehoram* his Master) and privately to anoint him King over Israel, to smite the House of *Abah*, and to avenge the Blood of all the Servants of the Lord at the Hands of *Jezabel* (n). *Hazael* in Syria, and *Jehu* in Israel, were before appointed for this Service. *Elijah* was ordered to do it (o) : But upon *Abah*'s Humiliation, a Reprieve was granted, and *Elisba* was left to see the Orders executed. We have before heard of *Hazael*'s Elevation to the Throne; and now we may observe this young Prophet delivered his Commission to *Jehu*, with the Assurance that became a Messenger of God. Though the Officers who were with *Jehu* had a mean Opinion of the Prophet, looking on him as a Madman; yet when they heard that he had anointed him King over Israel, they proclaimed him with sound of Trumpet, and immediately marched towards *Jezreel*, where *Joram* was not quite recovered of his Wounds, and *Abaziah* King of Judah was come to visit him. These two Kings went out to meet *Jehu*, and found him in *Naboth's* Field. *Joram* perceiving by *Jehu*'s Answer, *What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezabel, and her witchcrafts are so many ?* that he came in a hostile manner to avenge the Idolatry and Wickedness of his Mother who governed all, turned his Chariot and fled. At the same Time *Jehu* drew a Bow with his full Strength, and smote *Joram* with the Arrow in at the Shoulders through the Heart, so as he sunk down in his Chariot; and his Body was cast out in *Naboth's* Field, the Place that his Father had unjustly seized, that the Lord might be known by the Judgments which he executeth. *Abaziah* the King of Judah seeing this fled, but *Jehu*'s Men smote him at the going up to *Gur*, in the Territory of *Samaria*; and the Circumstances of his Death are more particularly narrated 2 Chron. xxii. 9. *Jehu* went on to *Jezreel*; where *Jezabel* who had caused all this Mischief, painted, and looked out at a Window, telling him, that he would have no more Peace than *Zimri*, who slew his Master. The Case was not parallel; for *Jehu* had a Commission for what he did, which *Zimri* could not pretend to. *Jehu*, without staying to answer, ordered *Jezabel* to be thrown out at a Window; which her own Eunuchs did. The Walls were imbrued with her Blood, the Horses trode upon her, and the Dogs devoured her Body, according to the Prediction of *Elijah* (p).

Jehu

(a) 1 Kings, xix. 15. (b) 2 Kings, viii. 25, -- 29. (c) 2 Chron. xxii. 9. (d) 2 Chron. xxi. 17. (e) 2 Chron. xxi. 5, 20. (f) 2 Chron. xxii. 2. (g) Lightfoot, Pool, Bailie, Junius, Nisbet. (h) 1 Kings, xvi. 23. (i) 1 Kings, xvi. 29. (k) 1 Kings, xxii. 51. (l) 2 Kings, iii. 1. (m) Above, p. 180. (n) 2 Kings, ix. (o) 1 Kings, xix. 15, 16. (p) 1 Kings, xxi. 23.

Jehu being in quiet Possession of *Jezreel*, sent a Challenge to the Friends of the House of *Abab*, to set any of that Family upon the Throne (a). By this Method he made them submit; for they reasoned thus, *Behold, two kings stood not before him: how then shall we stand? We are thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us.* This he improved, so as to make them Executioners of seventy of *Abab's* Sons, to whom they were Guardians. The Heads of these being presented to him, he cunningly upbraided the Rulers and Elders of *Samaria*, *Ye be righteous? behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who slew all these?* yet owned that all this was done, in Performance of the Threatnings of *Elijah* against the House of *Abab*, and proceeded to destroy all that belonged to that Family. The Brethren (or Brothers Sons of *Abaziah*, as they are called 2 Chron. xxii. 8. his own Brethren being killed (b) by the *Arabians*) coming to make their Compliments to the Princes of the House of *Abab*, to which they were joined in Affinity and in Wickedness; *Jehu* met them at the Pit of the Shearing-house, and slew them all, being forty two in Number. When he departed thence, he met with *Jonadab*, the Son of *Rechab*, a good Man, and mortified to the World; as appears by the Charge he gave to his Posterity, which they religiously observed three hundred Years after this (c). He invited him up to his Chariot, and boasted of his Zeal for the Lord: Then giving out that he had a great Sacrifice to offer to *Baal* (meaning the Death of the Priests who served this Idol, though he did not say so) he gathered all the Ministers of this Deity to offer Sacrifice in his Temple, a large House built by the Royal Family, that would contain them all; for the Worshippers of this Idol were vastly diminished by the Ministry of *Elijah*, *Elisha*, and other Prophets, and by *Joram's* Neglect of that kind of Idolatry. When they were convened and clothed in their Robes, he caused his Guard to go in and kill them all, destroyed *Baal's* Temple, and burnt his Images. God approved this Extirpation of *Baal's* Service, and promised that *Jehu's* Children of the fourth Generation should sit on the Throne of *Israel*. Yet *Jehu* was partial in his Reformation; he departed not from the political Worship of *Jeroboam's* Calves, and took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of *Israel*, with all his heart. The People were careless, as well as the Prince, and therefore *Hazael* King of *Syria* was permitted to ravage a great Part of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as had been foretold by *Elisha* (d). The Time that *Jehu* reigned over *Israel* in *Samaria*, was twenty eight Years, extending to the twenty third Year of *Joash* King of *Judah*, and *Jehoahaz* his Son reigned in his stead.

We must now enquire into the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Judah*: King *Abaziah* being killed by *Jehu*, as hath been already observed, his Mother *Athaliah*, a Daughter of the House of *Abab*, out of a wicked Spirit of Ambition and Revenge, that she might reign alone, cut off all the Seed-royal, whereby she almost extinguished the Lamp that was promised to *David*. But *Jehoshaphat* the Daughter of King *Joram*, Sister to *Abaziah*, Wife to *Jehojada* the Priest, stole away *Joash*, her Brother's Son, of a Year old, and hid him in a Chamber of the Temple, with his Nurse, six Years; whereby she, with a pious Care, preserved the Lamp of *David* from being put out (e). *Athaliah* having tyrannized six Years, in the seventh Year *Jehojada* the High-priest, a pious and zealous Man, entred into a solemn Concert, confirmed by an Oath among the Rulers and Officers of the Army, to set this young King, whom he shewed to them, upon the Throne (f). To this End he divided his Men into three Bodies; one to guard the Place where the King was, and the other two to take care of the Gates of the Temple, that none might come in, save the Priests and *Levites* that ministred, upon pain of Death; and armed his Men with King *David's* Shields and Spears that were in the Temple of the Lord. He set the Crown upon the young King's Head, gave him the testimony, in Token of his Obligation to govern by Law, to make the Word of God his Rule, which he must read all the Days of his Life; and anointed him, in Token of his receiving the Spirit, to qualify him for his Office: And the People, in sign of accepting their Prince, clapped their Hands with Joy, and cried, *Long live the king.* *Athaliah* coming into the Temple, cried, *Treason!* But *Jehojada* ordered her to be carried out, and killed; which she deserved as an Idolater, an Usurper, and a Disturber of the publick Peace. The pious High-priest, to carry on a Work of Reformation, entred into a Covenant between the Lord, the King, and the People, obliging them to become the Lord's People, to serve him, and renounce Idolatry. The Multitude entred into *Baal's* Temple; overthrew the Images of that Idol, slew *Mattan* the Priest before his Altar; brought the King into the Royal Palace, and set him on the Throne of the Kings.

Jehoash, or *Joash*, being thus invested, reigned forty Years (g), and did that which was right, though not with a sincere Mind, as long as *Jehojada* instructed him; but the high Places were not taken away, the People still sacrificed and burnt Incense in them. The Temple being out of Order, and many Breaches in it, he ordered the Money of the dedicated

A. M.
3070.
Ant. C.
880.

A. M.
3110.
Ant. C.
840.

C c c

(a) 2 Kings, x. (b) 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. and xxii. 1. (c) Jerem. xxxv. (d) 2 Kings, viii. 11, — 13. (e) 2 Kings, xi. 1, — 21. 2 Chron. xxii. 10, — 12. (f) 2 Chron. xxiii. (g) 2 Kings, xii. 2 Chron. xxiv.

ted Things, and the Half-shekel a-head to be made use of for its Reparation : Which not being effectual for the End, the Free-will-offerings were put into a publick Chest ; and the Money being afterwards counted, was given to those who did the Work and had the Overfight thereof. *Jebojada the priest* at last died, being one hundred and thirty years old : and they buried him among the kings, because he had done good to God and to his house. This good Counsellor being gone, the Princes seduced the King unto Apostacy : They left the House of the Lord God of their Fathers, and served Groves and Idols. Their Sin was aggravated because the Lord sent Prophets to reprove it. *Zachariah the Son of Jebojada* told them faithfully, *Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord, that ye cannot prosper ?* But they conspired against him, and stoned him with Stones at the Commandment of the King, in the Courts of the House of the Lord. This was barbarous, to murder the Son of good *Jebojada* for doing his Office. But the Judgment of God soon pursued this Wickedness : For *Hazael* King of *Syria*, having chastised *Israel*, as hath been observed, went up against *Judah*, took *Gath*, a City that once belonged to the *Philistines*, but was taken by *David* (a), and now pertained to the Kingdom of *Judah* : From thence he intended to march against *Jerusalem*. *Joash* having neither Spirit nor Strength to go against this Adversary, when God was departed for his Sin, he gave his Enemy all the hallowed Things that *Jebozaphat*, *Jeboam*, *Abaziah* and himself had dedicated, with all the Gold that was found in the House of the Lord, to leave off his Enterprize against *Jerusalem*. At another Time a small Army of the *Syrians* made themselves Masters of *Jerusalem*, destroyed the Princes, plundered the City, and sent the Spoil thereof to *Damascus*. And God smote *Joash* with Diseases of Body or Mind, or both ; and his own Servants conspired against him, and killed him in his Bed.

In the twenty third Year of *Joash* King of *Judah*, *Jehu*, King over the ten Tribes, died, and *Jeboahaz* his Son reigned seventeen Years (b). He departed not from the Sins of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* ; and therefore *Israel* was fore oppressed all his Reign, by *Hazael* King of *Syria*, and *Benbadad* his Son, the third King of *Syria* of that Name. So low was *Israel* brought by their Depredations and Wars, that all the Forces *Jeboahaz* could bring to the Field were, fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot : Yet in answer to this King's Prayers, the Lord gave *Israel* a Saviour ; for *Joash*, his Son, had remarkable Success against the *Syrians*.

In the thirty seventh Year of *Joash* King of *Judah*, began *Jeboash* the Son of *Jeboahaz* to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria*, and reigned sixteen Years, 2 Kings, xiii. 10. By which Account, compared with the first Verse of the same Chapter, it appears that *Jeboahaz* had, two or three Years before his Death, made his Son *Jeboash* King, being himself still in a State of War, and in Danger of Death. For if this be not allowed, there are not sixteen Years between the twenty third and thirty seventh Year of the Reign of *Joash* ; but if this be granted, as is reasonable, the Difficulty is removed. This *Jeboash* did evil in the Sight of the Lord ; for he kept up the Idolatry of the House of *Jeroboam*. Yet he was not so wicked as the Kings of the House of *Abab* ; for he visited the Prophet *Elisba* while he was lying sick, lamented the Loss that *Israel* would have by his Death, and received his Blessing and dying Counsel to fight against the *Syrians*, with a Promise and Sign of Success, that he would defeat them three Times. *Elisba* being dead, they buried him ; and his Body communicated Life to another dead Person, as a Confirmation of his Miracles and Prophecies. He had been a burning and shining Light, for about sixty Years, from the Time he was first called to his Office (c) : Yet we hear little of him from the anointing of *Jehu* to his dying Day ; which was forty five Years, or thereby. All the Years of a Prophet are not alike famous. His last Predictions were soon accomplished : For the Lord had compassion on *Israel* ; and *Jeboash* took again, out of the hand of *Benbadad* the son of *Hazael* king of *Syria*, the cities which he had taken out of the hand of *Jeboahaz* his father, by war : three times did *Joash* defeat him, and recovered the cities of *Israel*.

In the second Year of *Joash* King of *Israel*, reigned *Amaziah* the Son of *Joash* King of *Judah*. He was twenty five Years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty nine Years in *Jerusalem* (d), doing that which was right in the sight of the Lord, but not with a perfect Heart. He began well, to keep up the Temple-service, and countenance Religion in his Kingdom. But the high Places were not taken away. He was not uniform, and did not persevere in doing good. He very justly put to death *Zabad* and *Jebozabad*, who had murdered his Father ; but not their Children, according to the Law *Deut.* xxiv. 16. Upon a Muster of his own Forces, he found them three hundred thousand Men ; but thinking them not sufficient for an Expedition he intended against the *Edomites*, he hired a hundred thousand Men out of *Israel*, for a hundred Talents of Silver. If a Silver Talent be reckoned, as commonly, at a hundred and twenty five Pound-weight, and each Pound-weight at four Pounds in Value, the whole will amount to fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling* ; which will be but ten Shillings to each Man, Officers included ; and that is no extraordinary Wages. Others (e) lay it at less.

(a) 1 Chron. xviii. 1. (b) 2 Kings, xiii. (c) 1 Kings, xix. 19, — 21. (d) 2 Kings, xiv. 2 Chron. xxv. (e) Vide *Pol. Critica* in 1 Chron. xxv. 6.

A Prophet warned him not to take the Assistance of these *Israelites*. God was not with them, because they were Idolaters. Whereupon *Amaziab* forfeited his Money, and dismissed them : Which they taking as a mighty Affront, plundered several Cities that belonged to *Judah* in their Return. 'Tis like God permitted this to punish the Inhabitants for joining with *Israel* in Idolatry. He did not prosper the worse that at the Command of God he sent away the mercenary *Israelites* ; for with his own Subjects he overcame the *Edomites*, ten thousand being killed in the Battle, and ten thousand taken Prisoners, whom he barbarously broke in Pieces, by throwing them over some craggy Precipices. But he made a bad Improvement of his Victory, when he served the Gods of *Edom*, who could not protect their own Worshipers. For which he was reproved by a Prophet ; whom he mocked at, as impertinent : Yet the Wrath of the Lord soon appeared against him ; for he having without Provocation challenged *Joash* King of *Israel* to Battle, *Joash*, after rebuking him for the Challenge, routed his Army at *Beth-shean*. *Josephus* (a) says that *Amaziab's* Men were struck with Terror, so as they could not strike a Stroke. Himself was taken Prisoner, and the Conqueror marched to *Jerusalem*, where he broke down four hundred Cubits of the City-wall, and took all the Gold and Silver, with the Vessels found in the House of the Lord, and in the Treasures of the King's House, and Hostages, and returned to *Samaria*. *Amaziab* survived his Conqueror fifteen Years, and was slain at *Lachish* by his own Subjects, who killed him for his Male-administration after his Apostasy from God, yet buried him among his Ancestors.

In the fifteenth Year of *Amaziab* the Son of *Joash* King of *Judah*, *Jeroboam*, the second of that Name, the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel*, began to reign in *Samaria*, and reigned forty one Years (b). His Character is much the same with most of the Kings who governed the ten Tribes ; He departed not from the sins of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* : But his Reign was longer than any one of them. And he had considerable Prosperity ; for, he restored the coast of *Israel*, from the entering of *Hamath*, (which was the North Border) unto the sea of the plain, (that is, to the Dead Sea, or South Border) according the word of the Lord which he spake by his servant *Jonah* the son of *Amittai*, who was of *Gath-hepher* ; which City lay in the Tribe of *Zebulun* (c), in the District of *Galilee* (d) : And therefore the Jews were mistaken when they said, Out of *Galilee* there ariseth no prophet (e). We read more concerning *Jonah* in that little Book which bears his Name, which 'tis like he wrote when newly initiated into the prophetick Office. God having forgiven him his Follies, he was here made a Messenger of Mercy to *Israel*. The Reason why God shewed *Jeroboam* such Favour, was, because he saw the affliction of *Israel* was very bitter : there was none to help them ; and the Decree for their utter Destruction was not yet gone forth.

In the twenty seventh Year of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, began *Azariah*, (who is also called *Uzziah* in 2 *Chron.* xxvi. both Names signifying God's Strength or Help) the Son of *Amaziab* King of *Judah*, to reign (f). There is a Difficulty to reconcile this with the Account we have in the foregoing Chapter ; for if *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* began to reign in the fifteenth Year of *Amaziab* King of *Judah*, as is said in 2 *Kings* xiv. 23. then *Azariah* or *Uzziah*, the Son of *Amaziab*, immediately succeeding his Father, who reigned twenty nine Years, could not begin to reign in the twenty seventh Year of *Jeroboam*, but in the fourteenth. But this may be removed, if we allow that *Jeroboam* the second reigned with his Father full twelve Years, and afterwards reigned alone ; and so there was a twofold Beginning of his Kingdom, by his reigning with his Father the first of *Uzziah*, was the twenty seventh of *Jeroboam*, and by his Reign alone the fifteenth. And we find many Instances of the Sons reigning with the Father (g), especially when the Father was called abroad by Wars, from minding the Affairs of the State, as was the Case with *Joash* the Father of this *Jeroboam*. This Way of answering the Doubt, is in my humble Opinion better, than by allowing an Inter-reign of twelve Years, between *Amaziab* and his Son, who succeeded, which would very much disturb and change the Chronology of this Period, without Scripture Warrant or Necessity.

Uzziah being sixteen Years old when he began his Government, he reigned fifty two Years in *Jerusalem*, and did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, as his father *Amaziab* had done ; only he had not Zeal and Courage enough to take away the high Places. He sought God in the Days of *Zechariah*, who had Understanding in the Visions of God ; and so long as he continued in the Exercises of Piety, God made him to prosper ; for he had Success in Wars, triumphing over the *Philistines* and *Ammonites*, these old Enemies of the People of God. He built *Eloth*, and restored it to *Judah* ; from whence Dr. *Prideaux* infers (h), That he planted this City with his own People, and from thence renewed the old Traffick into the Red Sea, which was carried on till the reign of *Abaz*. He erected Towers in *Jerusalem*, and fortified them, and raised fine Houses in the Country. He got much by Cattle and Corn, had a considerable standing Army, and a numerous Militia. Nevertheless he sinned, when out of

C c c 2

A. M.
3191.
Ant. C.
759.

(a) Antiq. lib. 9. cap. 10. p. 317. (b) 2 *Kings*, xiv. 23. (c) *Josh.* xix. 13. (d) Vide *Reland.* De urbibus & vicis *Palestinae*, p. 317. (e) *John*, vii. 52. (f) 2 *Kings* xv. 1. (g) See above, p. 187. (h) *Connection* p. 8.

the Pride of his Heart he intruded into the Priests Office, attempting to burn Incense at the golden Altar within the Temple. The Priests dissuaded him from it, as unlawful; for the kingly and priestly Office were separated by the Law of *Moses*, not to be united again but in the Person of the *Messiah*; and while he persevered in his Purpose, he was smitten with an incurable Leprosy, breaking out in his Fore-head; wherefore thy thrust him out of the Temple; yea he hasted to go out, and continued to dwell in a separate House as a Leper, to the Day of his Death (a).

There are several memorable Events to be found in other Parts of sacred Scripture, during the Reign of *Uzziah*, which deserve our Attention. God had given to *Israel* and *Judah* many Prophets to support his Remnant, to reclaim them from Apostasy, and to stir them up to Repentance and Reformation: But they did strive against both Priest and Prophet, and murdered *Zechariab* the Son of *Jebojada* (b), stoning him to Death in the Courts of the House of the Lord, or between the Porch and the Altar of Burnt-offerings (c). Tho' his Father be called *Jebojada* in the former Text, and *Barachias* in the latter, yet these are of the same Import; and it was usual among the *Jews* for the same Person to have two Names. This was a Sin of so crying a Nature, as it was foretold, *the Lord would look on it and require it*. Some Authors count it (d) the Source of the Rejection of the *Jews*, and others say (e), that the Captivity scarce atoned for it. Christ let them know it still remained on their Score. These Means not being effectual to bring them to a thorough Reformation, God visited them with his Judgments. A terrible Earthquake was sent in the Days of *Uzziah* King of *Judah* (f). *Amos* prophesied of it two Years before it came (g). After it there came a Plague of Locusts to eat up the Fruits of the Earth (h), which made the Land to mourn (i). This Judgment being removed by Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer, God contended with them by a burning Heat and Fire (k): And if these Judgments should not humble and reform them, God declared, *The high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste* (l).

The Lord also in those Times and afterwards, raised up a Succession of Prophets in *Israel* and *Judah*, to give them Instructions, Threatnings and Exhortations; not only Warning them by their Words, but also committing their Admonitions to writing, that all after Ages might see the abominable Ingratitude of that People towards their God, and learn to do no more so wickedly. Of these Prophets whose Books are transmitted to us, *Hosea* is the first in order of Time: For it is said, *The beginning of the word of the Lord by Hosea*. He prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Abaz*, and *Hezekiah* Kings of *Judah*, and in the Days of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel* (m); consequently he continued a Prophet at least seventy Years. He foretold the Destruction of the ten Tribes when it was at a Distance, and lived himself to see and lament it when it was over, for a Warning to its Sister Kingdom. For that Captivity being in the ninth Year of *Hoshea* King of *Israel*, and sixth of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, this Prophet might easily be an Eye-witness to it. His Book discovers the Sins, and denounces the Judgments of God against a People that would not be reformed, and intimates gracious Promises to the penitent. Neither all that he, nor the other Prophets spoke is committed to Writing, but only so much as God thought fit to be a Warning to that and future Ages.

Joel prophesied about the same Time with *Hosea* and *Amos*; for he speaks of the same Judgments of Locusts, Drought and Fire that *Amos* laments. He describes the Desolation made by noxious Insects, calls the People to Repentance, and promiseth Mercy to the penitent; that God will pour out his Spirit in the latter Days, plead against his Enemies, and do glorious Things for his Church in Gospel Times.

The Time of the Prophecy of *Amos* is plain from the first Verse of his Book, and from the seventh Chapter and tenth Verse, that it was in the Days of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel*. He is not the same with *Amos* the Father of *Isaiab*; their Hebrew Names are writ with different Letters, of a different Signification, that of *Isaiab's* Father signifies *strong, robust*; but this Prophet's Name denotes a *Burden* (n). He was one who carried weighty Prophecies, called the *Burden of the Lord*; and their Families were of a different Character; for *Isaiab* was a Courtier, and *Amos* a Country Farmer. He begins with Threatnings against the neighbour Nation that were Enemies to *Israel*; then reproves the People of *Israel* and *Judah* for their Idolatry and other Sins; exhorts them to Repentance, without which their hypocritical Sacrifices would not please God; foretells the Judgments of God coming upon them; and concludes with Predictions of setting up the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, under which his People should be happy.

The Time of the Prophecy of *Obadiab* is uncertain, yet with Dr. *Lightfoot* (o), I conceive it

(a) 2 Chron. xxvi. (b) 2 Chron. xxiv. 21. (c) Matth. xxiii. 35 (d) Lightfoot, Cronica temporum p. m. 91. (e) Henry on Matth. xxiii. 35. (f) Zech. xiv. v. (g) Amos i. 1. and Joel ii. 1, 2. (h) Joel i. & ii. (i) Hof. iv. 3. (k) Amos vii. 4. Joel i. 19, 20. (l) Amos vii. 9. (m) Hosea i. 1, 2. (n) Vide Leusdeni Onomasticon. (o) Chronica, p. 26.

it probable that he was contemporary with *Hosea*, *Joel* and *Amos*. He reproves the *Edomites* for the Mischiefs they had done to *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, which might be when that City was plundered by the *Philistines* and *Arabians* (a), or when it was oppressed by *Joash* King of *Israel* (b), or at the like Occasion; for the *Edomites* made it their ordinary Practice to take Spoil of *Judah*, when that Nation was under Oppression. For which crying Sin he faithfully admonishes them, and certifies them of God's Judgments, as many of the subsequent Prophets also did, and concludes with Promises of the Restauration and Reformation of *Israel*; that they shall be victorious over the *Edomites*, and their other Enemies; and that the Kingdom of the Messiah shall be set up by bringing in the great Salvation.

The Book of *Jonah* is rather a History than a Prophecy: But there is one Prediction in it, *Tet forty days, and Niniveh shall be overthrown*. 'Tis probable that *Jonah*, of whom we have before heard in the Reign of *Jeroboam II.* (c), whereby his Time is evident, was the Author of the Book, where he mentions his own Faults, after the Example of *Moses*, and other inspired Penmen, as an Evidence that in their Writings they designed God's Glory; and not their own. The Story here recorded contains remarkable Instances of humane Infirmities in the Prophet, of God's Compassion to him, and a noble Type of our Redeemer's Burial and Resurrection out of the Grave on the third Day (d).

The Prophet *Isaiah* was contemporary with *Hosea* and the other Prophets above-mentioned; or perhaps a little later, as appears by the first Words of his Book, *The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziab, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah*. He continued a long Time in his Office. We are not indeed told in what Year of *Uzziab* he began: But if we reckon from the fortieth Year of *Uzziab's* Reign, to the fifteenth Year of *Hezekiah*, the Time of this Prince's Sickness, of which *Isaiah* doth write, then he was near sixty Years a Prophet; and we are uncertain but he might have been longer. It was a great Honour to him, and Happiness to his Country that he was so long useful in a declining Time. We may suppose that he began young, and held out to old Age: For Prophets were not as the Priests, pinned down to a certain Period of their Life, for the Beginning and ending of their ministration. His whole Book is eminently useful to the Church of God in all Ages, for Conviction of Sin, Direction in Duty, and Consolation in Trouble; and for clear Discoveries of the Person, Offices, and Sufferings of Christ, with other Gospel Mysteries. The Author may justly be esteemed a great Prophet, if we consider the extent and Variety of his Predictions, the Sublimity of the Truths revealed by him; the Majesty and Elegancy of his Style, or the incomparable Liveliness of his Sermons. Some historical Passages may be noticed from him afterwards; and 'tis not my Province to enlarge on the Book; this belongs to Commentators.

There were several Changes in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, during the Reign of *Uzziab*. *Jeroboam II.* began his Reign with the fifteenth Year of *Amaziab*, and reigned forty one Years (e), of which, fourteen were in the Time of *Amaziab*, and twenty seven in the Time of *Uzziab*, Kings of *Judah*. *Zachariah* the Son of *Jeroboam* reigned over *Israel* in *Samaria*, in the thirty eight Year of *Azariab*, or *Uzziab* King of *Judah* (f), whereby it appears that between *Jeroboam's* Death, and his Son's coming to the Government, the Throne of *Samaria* was vacant eleven Years from the twenty seventh to the thirty eighth of *Uzziab*; and *Zachariah*, who continued in the Sins of his Predecessors, had only possessed the Crown six Months, when *Shallum* the Son of *Jabeish* slew him before the People, and reigned in his stead. Thus the Line of *Jehu* came to an End in the fourth Generation, viz. *Jehoahaz*, *Joash*, *Jeroboam*, and *Zachariah*, according to the Word of the Lord in 2 Kings x. 30. *Shallum*, who killed his Master, had no Peace; for *Manahem*, the Son of *Gadi*, killed him, when he had reigned only one Month. *Manahem* was a Monster of Cruelty; he not only ruined the City *Tiphsah*, which refused to open her Gates to him; but, forgetting all Humanity, he ript up the Women with Child. By these Means he did not strengthen himself; for *Pul* the King of *Assyria* came against him; and he not daring to trust his own Subjects in Battle, bought Peace of his Adversary by a Present of a thousand Talents of Silver, to confirm him in the Kingdom. He exacted the Money by military Execution upon all the Men of Wealth among his Subjects, obliging each of them to pay fifty Shekels. Thus he got free of his Enemy at that Time; and this is the first authentick Account we have of a King of *Assyria*. *Manahem* did Evil in the Sight of the Lord: He departed not from the idolatrous Worship of the Calves set up by *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*; yet he reigned ten Years and slept with his Fathers. In the fiftieth year of *Azariab*, (or *Uzziab*) king of *Judah*, *Pekabiah* the son of *Manahem*, began to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria*, and reigned two years (g). He continued in the Sins of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, and was treacherously slain in his own Palace by *Pekab*, falling under the Load of his own and his Father's Wickedness. *Pekab* the

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Son

(a) 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. (b) 2 Chron. xxv. 23, 24. (c) Above, p. 195. (d) Matth. xii. 39, 40. (e) 2 Kings xiv. 23. (f) 2 Kings xv. 8. (g) 2 Kings xv. 23.

Son of *Remaliab*, began to reign in the two and fiftieth, or last Year of *Uzziab* King of *Judah*, and reigned twenty Years: Of him we shall hear more afterwards; only we may here remark, that the Sins of the ten Tribes were now fast hastning that Kingdom to Ruin; their fatal Divisions at Home made Way for the Kings of *Assyria* to make a Prey of them, and carry them into Captivity.

In the Year of the World 3174, which coincides with the thirty first of *Uzziab* King of *Judah*; the first Olympiad began (a), a famous *Epocha* among the *Greeks*, and over all the Heathen World, beyond which they have nothing but what is fabulous and uncertain, as the Christian Fathers often told them (b); and therefore I have, during this Period, after the Example of the great and learned *Primate Usher* (c), given as yet very little of profane History.

To return to the Kingdom *Judah*, *Jotham* was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in *Jerusalem*, and did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father *Uzziab* did; but he entered not into the temple of the Lord; and the people did yet corruptly (d). He took Warning by his Father's Fate, not to do so presumptuous a Thing, as to burn Incense in the Temple: But the People would not be reformed; they still sacrificed in the High-places, notwithstanding the good Example the King set before them. He built the high Gate of the House of the Lord, fortified the Wall of *Ophel*, erected Cities in the Mountains of *Judah*, with Castles and Towers to strengthen his Frontiers; and he conquered the *Ammonites*, exacted great Contributions of them, even a hundred Talents of Silver, ten thousand Measures of Wheat, with as much Barly, and became mighty in Wealth and in Power. *Josephus* (e) gives him a great Character, saying, he was pious towards God, just towards Men, and careful of the Common-wealth. At last he slept with his Fathers, and was buried in the City of *David*. During all the Time of *Jotham*, *Pekab* the Son of *Remaliab* reigned in *Samaria*. He did Evil in the Sight of the Lord; for he departed not from the Sins of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*: And in his Days *Tiglath-Pileser*, or *Pilneser*, King of *Assyria* (f), who seems to be the Son of *Pul*, took *Ijon*, *Abel-beth-maacha*, *Janoah*, *Kedesb*, *Hazor*, *Gilead*, *Galilee*, with all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria* (g). This was the Beginning of the miserable and long lasting Captivity of the ten Tribes, which is also mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 26. the *Reubenites*, the *Gadites*, the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, on the East Side of *Jordan*, with the People in some of the Cities in the Tribes of *Naphtali* and *Zebulon*, being then carried Captives.

Micah began to prophesy in the Days of *Jotham*, *Abaz* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah* (h). He was a Citizen of *Maresbath*, which lies within the Territories of the Tribe of *Judah*, near the Borders of the *Philistines* (i), and faithfully convinced the People of their Sins, charging both *Israel* and *Judah* with Idolatry, Covetousness, Oppression, Contempt of the Word of God, and their Rulers in Church and State with Abuse of their Power; and for these Transgressions declares the Judgments of God ready to break in upon them, particularly he foretells the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: *Zion for your sake shall be plowed as a field; Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest* (k); (which is quoted by the Elders of the Land, to stay the Prosecution of the Court against another (l) famous Prophet;) prophesies concerning our Saviour, and the very Place where he shall be born (m), which was literally fulfilled in the *New Testament* (n); and comforts the People of God with Promises of Mercy, especially with the coming of the *Messiah*, and the Gospel-grace through him, in the same Words with *Isaiah* (o), who was for some Time his Contemporary, though *Micah* began several Years after him.

Abaz the Son of *Jotham* King of *Judah* began to reign in the seventeenth Year of *Pekab* the Son of *Remaliab*, 2 Kings, xvi. 1. It may be indeed enquired, How doth this agree with 2 Kings, xv. 30. *Hoshea* the son of *Elah*, in the twentieth year of *Jotham* king of *Judah*, slew *Pekab* the son of *Remaliab*, and reigned in his stead? Answer, The sacred Writer having not made mention of *Abaz* in 2 Kings, xv. 30. thought it proper to date the Year of *Hoshea*'s coming to the Kingdom from *Jotham*'s Government; which twentieth Year was really the fourth of *Abaz*'s Reign, and the twentieth after the Beginning of *Jotham*'s.

We have a very bad Character of this King *Abaz*: He was twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in *Jerusalem*, and did not that which was right in the sight of the Lord, — but walked in the way of the kings of *Israel*, and made molten images for *Baalim*; yea he made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, and sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree (p). He had no Concern nor Affection for the instituted Worship of God, for which

David

(a) Vide *Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri*, p. 37. & 216. (b) *Justin Martyr ad Græcos*, p. 13. ab initio. *Eusebius de præp. Evang.* lib. 10. cap. 10. ab initio. (c) Vide *Usserii Annales*, p. m. 34. — 44. (d) 2 Kings xv. 32, — 36. 2 Chron. xxvii. (e) *Antiq.* lib. 9. cap. 11. prope finem. (f) 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. (g) 2 Kings xv. 29. (h) *Micah*, i. 1. (i) *Joth.* xv. 44. (k) *Micah*, iii. 12. (l) *Jer.* xxvi. 18. (m) *Micah*, v. 2. (n) *Matth.* ii. 5, 6. (o) Compare *Isaiah*, iii. 2, — 4. with *Micah*, iv. 1, — 3. (p) 2 Kings, xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

David and others of his Predecessors were famous ; no Love for the Temple ; made no Conscience of his Duty, nor had any Regard to his Law. The Kings of *Israel* pleaded Policy and Reasons of State for their Idolatry, to detain the People from Worship at *Jerusalem*, lest thereby they should be led to revolt : But *Abaz* had no such Pretence. Yea he rejected the God of his Fathers, and abandoned himself to the worst Abominations of the Heathen Nations, even to the making his Sons pass through the Fire to *Moloch*, in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*. For these things the Lord stirred up against him *Rezin* King of *Syria*, and *Pekab* King of *Israel* ; who invaded his Land, wasted his Country, and shut him up in *Jerusalem*. Their Design was, on taking the City, to have extirpated the House of *David*, and to have set up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal* (a). Who this Person was, we are not told. Some (b) take him to have been a potent Jew, who stirred up this War against his Master : Others (c) think he was a *Syrian*, of the Race of *Tabrion*. But God designing only to punish *Abaz*, and not to cut off the whole Family of *David* his Servant, sent the Prophet *Isaiah* to *Abaz*, to assure him that they should not prevail against the City : And for this he gave him two Signs. One was, That the Prophet should take a Wife, who on that Marriage should conceive a Son, and before this Child should be of Age to discern between good and evil, both these Kings should be cut off from the Land. Which accordingly came to pass : For the Prophet immediately taking a Wife, bore *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, the Son of that Marriage (d), arrived to the Age of discerning good and evil, both these Kings were slain, *Rezin* in the third Year of *Abaz*, and *Pekab* the next Year. The other Sign was, That a Virgin should conceive and bear a Son, who should be called *Immanuel* (e), that is, *God with us*, the blessed *Messiah* our Saviour ; to intimate that the People might take Courage, for God would not utterly destroy the House of *David*, till the *Messiah* should be born of a Virgin of that Race. Soon after these Promises, the two Kings were forced to raise the Siege, and return home.

But *Abaz* growing still more wicked, God brought again upon him the same confederated Kings ; who divided themselves into three Armies, one under *Rezin*, a second under *Pekab*, and the third under *Zichri*, a mighty Man of *Ephraim*. *Rezin* King of *Syria* having loaded his Army with Spoils, and taken many Captives, returned with them to *Damascus*. *Pekab* with his Army marched directly against *Abaz*, and overthrew him with a terrible Destruction, a hundred and twenty thousand of his Men being slain in one Day. Of which Victory *Zichri* taking the Advantage, marched to *Jerusalem* ; where he slew *Maaseiah* the King's Son, with many other principal Men of the City. And both these Armies of *Israel*, on their Return, carried away vast Spoils, with two hundred thousand Men, Women and Children (f), whom they designed to sell for Slaves. But a Prophet of the Lord, named *Oded*, severely rebuked them for their Cruelty to these Captives. Whereupon the Elders of *Israel*, fearing the Wrath of God, would not suffer these poor People they had taken to be carried to *Samaria*, but clothed such of them as were naked, gave them Meat and Drink out of the Spoils, and sent them back to their own Homes. No sooner was *Judah* delivered from these Enemies, but it was invaded by the *Edomites* to the South, and by the *Philistines* to the West, who did all the Mischief in their Power. Nevertheless *Abaz* would not return from his evil Ways, but placing his Confidence, not in God, but in Man, pillaged the Temple of all the Gold and Silver that was found therein, and sent to *Tiglath-pilneser* King of *Assyria*, to engage him to come to his Assistance, promising thereon to become his Servant. *Tiglath* laid hold of this Opportunity, and marched a great Army into *Syria* ; where he slew *Rezin* in Battle, took *Damascus*, and reduced all that Country under his Dominion : Whereby he put an End to the Kingdom of the *Syrians* in *Damascus*, after it had continued nine or ten Generations (g), from the Time of *Rezin* the Son of *Eliadab*, who first founded it while *Solomon* was King of *Israel*. But he assisted not *Abaz* to recover any Place that had been taken from him by his Enemies, but rather distressed him : For *Abaz* was forced to raise Money for the Service of this Ally, by cutting the Vessels of the Temple into Pieces, and melting them down ; and then the *Assyrian* marched back to *Damascus*, where he and his Successors were ill Neighbours to the Kings of *Judah*. One of the bad Effects of the *Assyrian* Greatness was, that *Rezin* having driven the Jews from *Elath* (h), their advantageous Port for Trade in the Red Sea ; when *Tiglath-pilneser* conquered *Rezin*, he seized *Elath*, and thereby put an End finally to that great Profit which the Jews had long reaped from this Trade. *Abaz* found it necessary to overlook all these Injuries, yea even to wait on the *Assyrian*, as his Protector and Sovereign, at *Damascus*. While he was there, he saw an idolatrous Altar, which pleased his Fancy extremely : Whereupon he caused take a Pattern of it, which he sent to *Urijah*, who was Priest, and 'tis like High-priest, at *Jerusalem*, with Orders to make one like it, and place it in the room of the Lord's Altar. *Urijah* straight complied with the Orders : Which he ought not to have done ; for by his Office he was obliged to maintain God's Institutions, and to witness against

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(a) *Isaiah*, vii. 1, —6. (b) *Prideaux's Connexion*, Vol. 1. p. 2. (c) *Lightfoot's Chronica*, p. m. 100. (d) *Isaiah*, vii. (e) *Isaiah*, vii. 14. *Matt. i. 23.* (f) *2 Chron. xxviii.* (g) See above, p. 185. and 194. (h) *2 Kings*, xvi. 6.

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Innovations. And the King, upon his Return, sacrificed on the Altar, filled *Jerusalem* and all *Judea* with heathenish Idols, and shut up the Temple of the Lord, as if it had been in his Power to oppose the Almighty. *Tiglath-pilneser* King of *Affyria* died in the twelfth Year of *Abaz*, according to *Eusebius* (a), and *Salmaneser* his Son, who is called *Shalman* (b), reigned in his stead. *Abaz*, being smitten of God for his Sin, died in the sixteenth Year of his Reign, and thirty sixth of his Age, and was buried in the City of *David*, but not with a Royal Burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings, leaving the Kingdom to a better and more religious Prince, *Hezekiah* his Son, who reigned in his stead.

Hoshea the Son of *Elah* killed *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliab* in the fourth Year of *Abaz*, as before (c) observed, which was the twentieth Year from the Beginning of *Jotham's* Government; but he seems not to have been established in the Kingdom so soon: For in *2 Kings*, xvii. 1. it is said, *In the twelfth year of Abaz king of Judah, began Hoshea the son of Elah to reign over Israel in Samaria nine years.* From the Murder of *Pekah*, to the twelfth Year of *Abaz*, the Government might be in the Hands of the Elders of *Israel*. When he came to the Crown, Matters were in a very bad State. A great part of the Inheritance of the ten Tribes, even that on the East Side of *Jordan*, with several Cities of *Zebulon* and *Naphtali* to the West, were in the Hands of the Kings of *Affyria*. Their Sins had brought them low, and *Hoshea* was forced to become tributary to *Shalmaneser* for the rest (d). Nevertheless he seems not to have been so wicked as the preceeding Kings of *Israel*: *He did evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like them.* The *Jewish* Chronicle (e) says, that the Kings of *Affyria* having taken away the golden Calves at *Dan* and *Beth-el*, *Hoshea* removed the Guards his Predecessors had set to hinder their Subjects to go up and worship at *Jerusalem*, and he allowed them to go; and we find many of the ten Tribes joining with good King *Hezekiah* in his solemn Passover at *Jerusalem*, and on their Return concurring to destroy all the Monuments of Idolatry in their own Country (f). But the Sins of the Kings of *Israel*, and of the Body of that People had been so great, that God saw fit no longer to delay their Punishment. Wherefore *Shalmaneser*, finding that *Hoshea* had confederated with *Sabaco* (g) or *So* King of *Egypt*, that by his Assistance he might throw off the Yoke of the *Affyrian*, and therefore would pay him no more Tribute, nor bring him Presents, he marched an Army into the Heart of his Kingdom, and besieged *Samaria* three Years; at the End of which he took the City, and carried the People into Captivity, fixing them in *Halab*, and in *Habor*, by the River *Gozan*, and in the Cities of the *Medes*. I shall have occasion, in the Sequel of this History (h), to give the most probable Account of the ten Tribes, and where these Cities are to which they were carried; and therefore now proceed to notice, that *Israel* being dispossessed of the Land of *Canaan*, the King of *Affyria* transplanted thither such as his own Country could well spare; but these being too few to fill the Land, and very wicked, who feared not the Lord, Lions and other wild Beasts were permitted to multiply against them. The Case being represented at Court, the *Affyrian* sent thither a Priest or Priests to teach them the Manner of the God of the Land. He resided at *Beth-el*, and taught this Colony a sort of mungrel Religion; they worshipped their own Idols out of Love, and the God of *Israel* for fear of his Judgments: *Every nation made gods of their own: the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, the men of Cuth made Nergal, the men of Hamath made Ashima, the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech the gods of Sepharvaim.* I have in another Essay (i) more particularly enquired into what was signified by these Idols, which I shall not here repeat. The Men of *Babylon* observed the profane Rites of their *Venus*, prostituting their Daughters to Whoredom; the Men of *Sepharvaim* sacrificed their Children to *Moloch*, and others worshipped the Sun under several Names and Representations. Thus the People of this Country continued long, observing a profane Mixture of Heathenism and Judaism. And what became of the *Samaritans* in succeeding Ages, we shall see afterwards, in other Parts of this History.

Here ended the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, after it had subsisted two hundred and fifty six Years and seven Months: For *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* reigned 22 Years, in which 2 Years of *Nadab* are comprehended, *Baasha* reigned 24 Years, *Elah* 2, *Omri* 12, in which 7 Days of *Zimri* are contained, *Abab* 22, *Abaziah* 2, *Jehoram* 12, *Jehu* 28, *Jehoabaz* 17, *Joash* 16, *Jeroboam* II. 41, the Throne vacant 11, *Zachariah* 6 Months, *Shallum* 1 Month, *Menabem* 10 Years, *Pekah* 20, the Kingdom administrated by Elders 8 Years, and *Hoshea* the Son of *Elah* reigned 9 Years. The Particulars are evident from the above History, and the whole makes up the Duration of this Kingdom 256 Years 7 Months. The Prediction, *Within sixty five years shall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people* (k), may be computed from the Time of *Amos*, who prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah* King of *Judah* (l), and plainly foretold, that *the high places of Isaac should be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel should be laid waste* (m). And

(a) In *Chronico*, sub *Olymp.* 8. (b) *Hos.* x. 14. (c) Above, p. 198. (d) *2 Kings*, xvii. 3. (e) *Seder Olam Rabba*, cap. 22. p. m. 84, 86. (f) *2 Chron.* xxx. 10, 18. and xxxi. 1. (g) *Herodotus*, lib. 2. cap. 137. (h) Chap. viii. (i) *Hist. Propag. of Christianity*, Vol. 1. p. 298, — 303. (k) *Isaiah*, vii. 8. (l) *Amos*, i. 1. (m) *Amos*, vii. 9.

And it was long ago observed by *Jerom* (a), that if this Prophecy take its Date from the twenty fifth Year of *Uzziab's* Reign, who reigned in all fifty two Years, there will be 27 Years of *Uzziab*, 16 of *Jotham*, 16 of *Abaz*, and 6 of *Hezekiah*; which make in all sixty five Years between the Deliverance and the Execution of the Prophecy. Now, the Words of *Amos* being fresh in the Memory of many then living, *Isaiab* might well have Respect to it. Others (b) prove, that several Colonies of the *Israelites* were not carried into *Affyria*, till the Time of *Efarbaddon*, the Son of *Senacherib*, and Grand-child of *Salmaneser* (c). And thus there might be Time enough for these sixty five Years, from the Time when *Isaiab* spoke the Prophecy in the Time of *Abaz*, to the full Accomplishment thereof in the Days of *Efarbaddon*. Since either of these Computations makes the Event agree with the Prediction, I shall not further insist upon it at this Time.

§ 3. HAVING seen the End of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes in *Samarina*, let us go on with the Kings of *Judah*. *Hezekiah* being twenty five Years old when he began to reign, he reigned twenty nine Years (d). 'Tis here objected, how could *Hezekiah* be twenty five Years old at his Father's Death, when his Father lived only thirty six Years (e); for thus he must have been begotten in the eleventh Year of *Abaz* his Father's Age? Answer, 'tis the known Custom of sacred and profane Writers; to omit, and sometimes to add to the Number of the Years they name, such as are imperfect and unfinished. Thus *Abaz* might be near twenty one Years old when he began to reign, and near seventeen Years older when he died: And on the other Side, *Hezekiah* when he began to reign, might be only twenty four Years complete, and entered into his five and twentieth; and so *Abaz* might be between thirteen and fourteen Years old when he begot *Hezekiah*; which is in nowise incredible, considering the fruitfulness of the *Jews*, and the many Promises God had made to the House of *David*; yea, tho' his Father had begot him in the eleventh Year of his Age, there are some Instances of the like in credible Authors, which these who quarrel with the sacred Scriptures will not deny (f). *Hezekiah* being come to the Throne in an Age fit for Business, notwithstanding his Descent from a bad Father, and Education in a very corrupt Time, soon shewed that he was a religious Prince; for in the very first Month of the first Year of his Reign, he caused the Gates of the Temple which his Father had shut, to be opened, the House to be cleansed, the *Levites* to be sanctified; (g), the Priests to offer Sacrifices, to make Attoneiment for their own Sins, and for the Sins of the last Reign; and the *Levites* to sing Praises to God in the Words of *David* and of *Asaph* the Seer. The House being sanctified, and the Priests cleansed from all Monuments of Idolatry, the King ordered the Passover to be kept at *Jerusalem* upon the second Month, which could not be done on the first; and the Law had allowed such a Change of Time (h) in necessary Cases. To this Solemnity he invited not only his own Subjects in *Judah*, but also the *Israelites* in the other Tribes, exhorting them, *not to be stiff-necked as their fathers, but to yield themselves to the Lord; and enter into his sanctuary, to serve the Lord their God, that the fierceness of his wrath may turn away from them* (i). Accordingly there was a great Concour of People met to observe the Festival; for tho' some in *Ephraim*, *Manasseh* and *Zebulon* mocked at the Call, yet a considerable Number humbled themselves; and came to *Jerusalem*. They doubled the usual Time of their Continuance at the Feast, and there was great Joy; for since the Time of *Solomon* the Son of *David*, there was not the like at *Jerusalem*. *Hezekiah* prayed the Lord might graciously pardon such as had been guilty of any Irregularity: The Lord hearkned and healed the People; and the Priests dismissed them with a solemn Blessing. After the Passover the People went into all the Coasts of *Judah* and *Benjamin*; broke the Images in Pieces, cut down the Groves, and demolished the high Places, utterly destroying all Monuments of Idolatry; and these of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* did the like in their Country (k); even the brazen Serpent that *Moses* had made (l), because the Children of *Israel* in these evil Times had burnt Incense to it, and abused it to Idolatry; *Hezekiah* broke it to Pieces, and called it *Nebustan*, that is, a Piece of Brass that can do you neither Good nor Hurt; and therefore no fit Object for religious Worship (m): Wherefore 'tis great Impudence in the Papists to shew to their Devotees in the Church of St. *Ambrose* at *Milan* (n) a brazen Serpent for Adoration; which they pretend to be the same that *Moses* erected in the Wilderness.

Near the Beginning of *Hezekiah's* Reign, *Sabakon* the *Æthiopian* (o) subdued *Egypt*, and possessed that Country many Years. About the Time when *Salmaneser* besieged *Samarina*, he destroyed *Ar* or *Arne* and *Kirbarezeth*; two chief Cities of *Moab*, whereby the Predictions in the fifteenth and sixteenth Chapters of *Isaiab* were fulfilled. 'Tis like the *Affyrian*, to prevent any Disturbance from that Side, to hinder him in the Siege, subdued *Moab*, and put Garrisons in that Country; to keep all Things quiet, and to stop the Incursions of the *Arabs*.

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(a) Hieronymus in *Esaia* cap. 7. (b) Vide *Poli Critica* & notas in *Isaia* vii. 8. (c) *Ezra*, iv. 2. (d) 2 Kings xviii. 1, 2. 2 Chron. xxix. 1. (e) 2 Kings xvi. 2. (f) See Dr. Patrick on 2 Chron. xxix. 1. Bocharti Phaleg, last Edition, p. 920. — 927 (g) 2 Chron. xxix. (h) Numb. ix. 10, 11. (i) 2 Chron. xxx. 8. (k) 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. (l) Numb. xxi. 9. (m) 2 Kings xviii. iv. (n) Vide Sigonii *Historiam de regno Italiae*, lib. 7. (o) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 137. 139.

In the Year that *Samaria* was taken, *Merodach-baladan*, the Son of *Baladan* (a), reigned at *Babylon*. He is, in the Canon of *Ptolomy*, called *Mardoc Empadus*: And there we find (b), that before him reigned *Nabonassar*, fourteen Years; after *Nabonassar*, *Nadius*, two Years, after him *Chozirus* and *Porus* together, five Years; and then *Jugæus* other five Years; and to him succeeded *Mardoc Empadus*, who in the twenty seventh Year after *Nabonassar*, founded the Kingdom at *Babylon*.

While *Salmaneser* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* made War upon the *Philistines*, whereby he not only regained all the Cities of *Judab*, which they had taken during his Father's Reign, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own Country excepting *Gaza* and *Gath* (c). *Samaria* being taken, *Salmaneser* sent to *Hezekiah*, to demand the Tribute that his Father *Abaz* had agreed to pay to the Kings of *Assyria*; but *Hezekiah*, trusting in the divine Support, refused the Demand: Which would have brought the Arms of the *Assyrian* straight against him; but they were diverted by another War; for *Elulæus* King of *Tyre*, finding (d) the *Philistines* brought low by War, took this Opportunity to reduce *Gath*, which had revolted from him. The *Gittites* applied themselves to *Salmaneser*, who marched with his whole Army against the *Tyrians*. *Sidon*, *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*, and other maritim Towns, which had been before subject to the *Tyrians*, revolted to the *Assyrian*. Nevertheless the *Tyrians*, with twelve Ships only, defeated the *Phœnician* and *Assyrian* Fleets, consisting of sixty Ships, and took five hundred of their Men Prisoners. This gave them such a Reputation by Sea, that *Salmaneser* thought not fit to debate with them any more in that Element, but ordered his Army to block up their City. The *Assyrian* Forces stopped their Aqueducts: But they digged Wells, which supplied them with Water, and held out five Years; at the End of which *Salmaneser* dying, they were relieved for a Time. But the *Tyrians* being too proud of this Success, *Isaiab* in his twenty third Chapter foretold their Ruin; which was accomplished by *Nebuchadnezzar*, as shall be observed in its proper Place.

A. M. 3337. Ant. C. 713. *Salmaneser* King of *Assyria* being dead, after he had reigned fourteen Years (e), *Sennacherib* his Son succeeded him in the fourteenth Year of *Hezekiah* King of *Judab* (f). So soon as he was fixed in the Throne, he renewed the Demand for the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay in the Reign of *Tiglath Pileser* his Grandfather; and upon *Hezekiah*'s Refusal to comply with it, marched a great Army into *Judea* to fall upon him. At that Time *Hezekiah* falling sick of the Pestilence, had a Message from God by the Prophet *Isaiab*, to set his House in order and prepare for Death (g): But on his humble and fervent Prayer to God, he obtained another Message by the same Prophet, promising him Life fifteen Years longer, and also Deliverance from the *Assyrians*, who were coming against him: And to give him thorough Assurance thereof, God made the Sun go backwards ten Degrees upon the Dial of *Abaz*, which was miraculous. Yet these Degrees 'tis like were only Lines denoting the Inequality of the Hours, which might be without prolonging the Day above an Hour or two: And this not being occasioned by any Conjunction in the Heavens, but by the over-ruling Hand of Providence, was not so considerable as to awaken the Curiosity of the neighbouring Nations to mind it. And there being no Histories then writ by Heathens, we need not question the Fact because they do not observe it. This seems to be the first and most authentick Account of a Sun-dial; but of this, and of the Jewish Days and Hours, I shall have Occasion to enquire afterwards (h). According to the Prediction a Lump of Figs having been laid to the pestilential Boil, by the Prophet's Direction, *Hezekiah* recovered within three Days, and went to the House of God to give Thanks for so wonderful a Deliverance.

Merodach Baladan hearing of this miraculous Recovery, sent Ambassadors to congratulate *Hezekiah*; and it is like also to enter into an Alliance with him against *Sennacherib*, whose growing Power the Princes of *Babylon* had reason to fear, as well as the Jews. *Hezekiah* being well pleased with the Proposals the Ambassadors made, shewed them all the Riches of his House, his Treasury, his Armoury, with all his Stores. God sent him by the Prophet *Isaiab* a Rebuke for the Pride of his Mind which he had discovered, and a Prediction that all these Stores should be one Day carried to *Babylon*; which Admonition he received in a very humble and penitent Manner (i). In the same Year *Sennacherib* came with a great Army against the fenced Cities of *Judab*, took several of them, laid Siege to *Lachish*, threatening *Jerusalem* next. Whereupon *Hezekiah*, by Advice of his chief Counsellors, made all manner of Preparation for Defence of the City, by repairing the Walls, fortifying them with Towers, and furnishing his Subjects with Arms and Artillery. Also he took care to stop the Wells without the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and divert all the Water-courses (k). And to strengthen himself further, he entered into an Alliance with the King of *Egypt*, for their mutual Defence; which *Isaiab*, in the thirtieth and thirty first Chapters of his Prophecies, condemned, as carrying in it a Distrust

(a) *Isaiab* xxxix. 1. (b) Canon *Ptolomæi* ab initio. (c) 2 *Kings* xviii. 8. (d) *Josephus* *Antiq.* lib. 9. cap. 14. & contra *Appionem*, lib. 1. (e) *Africanus* apud *Syncellum* p. 74. (f) 2 *Kings* xviii. 13. *Isaiab* xxxvi. 1. (g) 2 *Kings* xx. 1. 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 24. *Isaiab* xxxviii. (h) Below Chap. 7. See also above, p. 127. (i) 2 *Kings*, xx. 12, ... 20, and *Isaiab* xxxix. (k) 2 *Chron.* xxxii.

Distrust in God, on whom alone his People should depend for their Deliverance. *Sennacherib* being informed of all these Preparations, became inclined to hearken to Terms of Accommodation; and it was agreed, That upon *Hezekiah's* paying to him three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold (a), which Dr. *Prideaux* (b) reckons to have amounted to three hundred and fifty one thousand Pounds Sterling, there should be Peace. The *Assyrian* having received the Money, marched against *Egypt*; and to open his Way into that Country, sent *Tartan*, one of his Generals, to take *Ashdod* or *Azotus*: And after this, the whole Army oppressed the *Egyptians* for three Years together, destroying their Cities, and carrying Multitudes of them into Captivity (c). At that Time *Sevechus*, the Son of *Sabacon* or *So*, the *Ethiopian*, was King of *Egypt*; *Herodotus* (d) calls him *Setbon*, and represents him as a Prince of bad Conduct, who affecting to be the chief Priest of *Vulcan*, gave himself wholly up to Superstition, and oppressed the best of his Subjects, taking from them the Rights of their Lands; which gave them such Offence, that they would not fight for him: Whereupon he was forced to raise an Army of raw undisciplin'd Men, whom *Sennacherib* easily overcame, and made what Desolation in the Country he pleased. He seems to have brought that Destruction upon *Noammon*, which the Prophet *Nabum* (e) speaks of, saying, *She went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.* This City is the same with *Thebes*, famous for its hundred Gates and many Inhabitants; as our learned Countryman Mr. *Jameson* (f) hath more fully proved. The *Greeks* called it *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, because of a famous Temple built there to that Deity, who was called *Ammon* (g) among the *Egyptians*. The Prophet *Nabum* was one of the Comforters of the *Jews* against the Terror of the *Assyrians*, as his Name imports: Though his Family and Age are not on Record, yet he seems to have lived about this Time, and might have continued to the Reign of *Manasseh*: He mentions the evil Imagination of *Sennacherib* against *Jerusalem*, foretells his Death in an idolatrous Temple (h), and prophesies of the Destruction of *Nineveh*. All which were accomplished in due Time, as shall be afterwards observed.

Sennacherib did not finish the War in *Egypt* with the same Success as he began it (i); for having laid Siege to *Pelusium*, he was forced to break up thence, because *Tirbakab* King of *Ethiopia* was coming with a great Army to help *Sevechus* his Kinsman. Whereupon the *Assyrian* returned to *Judea*, and encamped again at *Lachish*; where, contrary to his Agreement, he renewed the War against *Hezekiah*, and sent *Tartan*, *Rabsaris* and *Rabsakeb*, three of his chief Captains, with that proud blasphemous Message recorded 2 *Kings*, xviii. 19, — 36. *Rabsakeb* who delivered the Speech, seems to have been the *Assyrian* King's chief Cup-bearer, as his Name imports; but by his ready speaking the *Hebrew* Tongue, he appears an apostate *Jew*, or one of the *Israelites* carried into Captivity, and chose to speak that Language to make the *Jews* revolt; but failing of that Design, the Messengers returned to *Sennacherib*, whom they found besieging *Libnah*: Where hearing that *Tirbakab* King of *Ethiopia*, or of the *Cushites* in *Arabia*, was marching after him, he led forth his Army, and gave him a great Overthrow; whereby he executed the Judgments foretold by the Prophet *Isaiab* (k) against *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*. Then he wrote a Letter in the same blasphemous Strain with his former Message to *Hezekiah*, defying both him and the Lord his God. The good King of *Judah* went to Prayer, complaining of the Blasphemy, and spreading the Letter before the Lord, who assured him by the Prophet *Isaiab*, that his Prayer was graciously heard: *The virgin, the daughter of Zion despised the proud Assyrian.* His impotent Malice was ridiculous: *He that sits in heaven did laugh at him; the Lord put a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips.* And this was given as a Sign, Though the Earth were devoured by the Enemy one Year, and the next was a Sabatical Year, wherein they must neither sow nor reap, yet they shall be plentifully provided. According to the Predictions, *The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred fourscore and five thousand men: and when they arose in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses* (l). *Josephus* (m) says this was by a pestilential Disease bringing sudden Death. Others (n) think it was done by a hot Wind, frequent in those Parts, destroying great Numbers in a Moment; for the Prophet *Isaiab* (o) said, *I will send a blast upon him*; and *Jeremiab* (p) speaks of a destroying wind. However, it was a terrible Effect of the Wrath of the Almighty God, whom the proud *Assyrian* had provoked in a high Degree; and he was so terrified by it, as he fled out of *Judea* in great Confusion back to *Nineveh*; where he dwelt for the Remnant of his Life in Dishonour. *Herodote* (q), from a disguised Account of the *Egyptian* Priests, hath the same Story; he calls the *Assyrian* on whom this Judgment was inflicted *Sanicherib* or *Sennacherib* (r); and the Time doth agree with that in the Scriptures: Nor need we wonder that

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(a) 2 *Kings*, xviii. 14. (b) *Connection*, Part 1. p. 22. (c) *Isaiab*, xx. (d) *Lib.* 2. cap. 141. (e) *iii.* 8, — 10. (f) *Spicilegia Ægypti*, p. 33, — 43. (g) *Herodot.* lib. 2. cap. 42. (h) *Nah.* i. 11, 14. (i) *Joseph.* *Antiq.* lib. 10. cap. 1. (k) xviii. xix. (l) 2 *Kings*, xix. 19, — 35. (m) *Antiq.* lib. 10. cap. 2. (n) *Prideaux's Connection*, Part 1. p. 24, 25. (o) 2 *Kings*, xix. 7. (p) *li.* 1. (q) *Lib.* 2. cap. 141. p. 144. (r) *Sec Hist. Propagat. of Christian.* Vol. 1. p. 191.

the Fact is not right represented by a Heathen, who from an Aversion to the *Jews* and their Religion, never speak to the Honour of either the one or other. After this Blow the *Affyrian* was mightily weakened; the *Medes* revolted from him, and chose *Dejofes* for their King (a); who enlarged and beautified the City *Ecbatana*, where he reigned fifty three Years. *Sennacherib* after his Return to *Nineveh*, became cruel and tyrannical in his Government, especially towards the *Jews* and *Israelites* carried into Captivity; of whom he caused many every Day to be slain (b), and cast into the Streets. By this savage Humour he became so intolerable, even to his own Subjects, that his two eldest Sons, *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, fell upon him, as he was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch* his God, and escaped into the Land of *Armenia* (c), in the twenty second Year of *Hezekiah*, and *Esharaddon* his third Son reigned in his stead.

At *Babylon* *Merodach Baladan*, or *Mardoç Empadus* having reigned twelve Years, died, and *Arkianus* reigned in his Place five Years, beginning with the twenty first of *Hezekiah*. *Arkianus* having no Sons, there was an Inter-reign of two Years; at length *Belibus* being advanced to the Throne, he sat in it three Years. To him succeeded *Apronadius*, who reigned six Years; and there is no more concerning these Princes, but their bare Names in the Canon of *Ptolemy*.

In *Egypt* *Sevechus* or *Sethon* having reigned fourteen Years, died in the twenty second Year of *Hezekiah*, and was succeeded by *Tirbakab*, the same who came with the *Ethiopian* or *Cushite* Army to his Help. He was the third and last of that Race who reigned in this Country.

Hezekiah King of *Judah* being delivered from the *Affyrian* Army in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, governed for eleven Years longer in great Peace and Prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the neighbouring Nations, who observing God to be his Protector, were afraid to give him any Disturbance. He much improved *Jerusalem*, by erecting Magazines therein, and filling them with Arms, by making a Pool and a Conduit to bring Water into the City (d). And for the better promoting of Religion, he maintained skilful Scribes to collate and write out Copies of the holy Scriptures; and particularly of the Proverbs of *Solomon* (e): Which they did by divine Conduct. At last he died at *Jerusalem*, when he had reigned twenty nine Years, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of *David*: and all *Judah* and the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* did him honour at his death (f). The Burial-place of the Kings of the House of *David* is extant at this Day, about one Mile without the Walls of *Jerusalem*. There is a large Court, with a Gallery supported by Pillars, cut out of a solid marble Rock; at the End of the Gallery there is a Door, now much filled with Rubbish, by which Travellers with Difficulty enter into a large Room of about twenty Foot square; within which are several lesser Rooms, and off from these several Niches; in which the decessed Kings were deposited in marble Coffins. In the lowest of these Rooms at the upper End was the Body of *Hezekiah* laid, to do him Honour: The whole Work cut out of a marble Rock is so great, as it seems to have been done by the Orders; and at the Expence of King *Solomon*. About this Time the *Simeonites*, being straitned in their Habitations, much enlarged their Borders towards the South: For falling upon the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in Part of Mount *Seir*, and in the rich adjoining Valley, they destroyed them, and dwelt in their room (g).

Though *Hezekiah* was a religious Prince, yet he was succeeded by a very wicked Son: For after him reigned *Manasseh*; who being a Minor of twelve Years of Age when he came to the Crown, fell into the Hands of such Guardians and Ministers as were Enemies to his Father's Reformation, and framed him so as he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical to his Subjects of any that ever reigned in *Jerusalem*. For he went beyond *Abaz* his Grand-father in every Abomination. *Abaz* shut up the House of God; but he set up an Image in the Sanctuary, and built Altars for all the Host of Heaven in the two Courts of the House of the Lord (h). He made the Devil his Oracle, practised Witchcrafts, dealt with familiar Spirits, Conjurers and Fortune-tellers, made his Children pass through the Fire to *Moloch*, and filled all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with his high Places, Idols, Groves and idolatrous Altars; and made his Subjects conform to these Abominations, by a terrible Persecution, whereby he filled the Land with innocent Blood. The Lord witnessed against these Evils by his Servants the Prophets (i). *Habakkuk*, though the Time of his Prophecy, nor the Family he came of, be not upon Record; yet is thought to have exercised his Office in the Reign of *Manasseh*. He foretells the Destruction coming by the *Chaldeans* (k), calls the People to live by Faith, and to beware of Apostasy in such an evil Time. But *Manasseh* slighted the Warnings, treated the Prophets with Contempt: Some of them he put to death (l); and particularly, 'tis said that in his Time *Isaiab* suffered Martyrdom, being cruelly fawn asunder; which some infer from *Heb.* xi. 37. By these Abominations God was so just-

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(a) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 97, — 102. (b) Tobit, i. 21. (c) 2 Kings, xix. 37. (d) 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. 2 Kings, xx. 20. Eccclus. xlviii. 19. (e) Prov. xxv. 1. (f) 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. (g) 1 Chron. iv. 24, 39, — 43. (h) 2 Kings, xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii. (i) 2 Kings, xxi. 10. (k) Hab. i. 5, — 10. (l) Vide Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 333.

ly provoked, that he declared *he would stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Abab, and would wipe Jerusalem of its inhabitants, as a man wipeth a dish, turning it upside down (a)*: Which was afterwards accomplished in the Captivity. And among all the Iniquities which drew down these heavy Judgments, the Sins of *Manasseh* are always particularly named (b).

In the seventh Year of *Manasseh*, *Apronadius* King of *Babylon* died; and was succeeded by *Regibulus*, who reigned only one Year. After him *Messefi-mordacus* had that Kingdom, and held it four Years (c). In the eleventh Year of *Manasseh*, died *Tirbakab* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned eighteen Years (d). The *Egyptians*, after his Death, not being able to agree about the Succession, continued two Years in a State of Anarchy; till at length twelve of their principal Men conspiring together (e), seized the Kingdom; and dividing it into twelve Parts, governed it by a joint Confederacy fifteen Years. About the same time the like Confusion happened at *Babylon*: For *Messefi-mordacus* leaving no Son behind him, there followed an Anarchy for eight Years together (f). Of which *Esar-baddon* King of *Assyria* taking Advantage, seized *Babylon*, and reigned over both it and *Assyria* sixteen Years, being called in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, *Affaradinus*; but he is named in sacred Scripture, *The king of Assyria (g)*, *Esar-baddon (h)*, and, *The great and noble Asnappar (i)*, being a Prince of more Vertue and Worth than his Predecessors.

In the twentieth Year of *Manasseh*, *Esar-baddon* having settled his Authority at *Babylon*, resolved to recover what his Father *Sennacherib* had lost in *Syria* and *Palestine*, when his Army was destroyed before *Jerusalem*. To this end he marched with a great Army into the Territories of the ten Tribes, and carried thence a multitude of the *Israelites* captive (k): And this was just sixty five Years after *Isaiab* (l) prophesied in the first of *Abaz*, that *within that space Ephraim shall be broken that it be not a people*. Having possessed himself of the Land of *Israel*, he sent a Part of his Army into *Judea*, to reduce that Country also; who having overcome *Manasseh*, took him Prisoner in a Thicket of Thorns (m), and carried him to *Babylon*: Where his Fetters and Prison brought him to a due Sense of his great Sin, so as *he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers; who was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom; where he knew that the Lord he was God*. He abolished those idolatrous Profanations of the Temple, and in other Parts of the Land, which he had before introduced, and restored in many things the Reformation of *Hezekiah* his Father: Wherefore God gave him a longer Reign than any that ever sat on the Throne of *David*; for he reigned fifty five Years. And it is to be hoped, that in the Beginning of his Reign, Matters went well, as his Father had left them. After his Repentance, he again favoured Religion: And, no doubt, when Things were at the worst, God had his Remnant in *Judah* who kept their Integrity.

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To this Time may be referred the Accomplishment of the Prophecy of *Isaiab* (n), concerning the Removal of *Shebna* the chief Minister of State, and the Advancement of *Eliakim* the Son of *Hilkiab* in his Place. *Shebna* being a very wicked Man, was fit to serve the corrupt Inclinations of *Manasseh* in the worst part of his Reign; and therefore was made the first Minister of State: And *Eliakim* being a religious Person, was quite laid aside. But when *E-sar-baddon* invaded *Judea*, *Shebna* was taken Prisoner with his Master, and detained captive in *Babylon* to the Day of his Death; and therefore *Manasseh*, on his Repentance, and Return to *Jerusalem*, having resolved on other Measures, called for *Eliakim*, and put the Management of his Affairs into his Hands; who being a Person of great Wisdom, Justice and Piety, soon re-established them upon the same Foot as they had been in the Days of *Hezekiah*; and therefore he is supposed to have been High-priest, and hath the Character given him of a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to the House of *Judah*: Yea our Lord's Dignity is described in the same Terms that were given to *Eliakim* (o).

In the twenty eighth Year of the Reign of *Manasseh*, the twelve confederated Sovereigns of *Egypt*, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen Years, falling out among themselves, expelled *Psammiticus* out of his Share (p). But he, flying to the fenny Country, hid himself there, till he got together, out of the *Arabian* Robbers, and the Pyrats of *Caria* and *Ionia*, such a Number, as with the *Egyptians* of his own Party made a considerable Army: With which he marched against his eleven Collegues; whom he overthrew in Battle, slew several of them, drove the rest out of the Country, and seizing the whole kingdom, reigned there fifty four Years. So soon as he had settled his Affairs at home, he entred into a War with the King of *Assyria*, about the Boundaries of their two Empires, which continued many Years. In the Beginning thereof, he found *Ashdod* so strong a Barrier, that it cost him a Blockade of

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(a) 2 Kings, xxi. 12, 13. (b) 2 Kings, xxiii. 26. and xxiv. 3. Jer. xv. 4. (c) Canon Ptolemæi. (d) Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. (e) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 147. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 66. (f) Canon Ptolemæi. (g) 2 Kings, xvii. 24. (h) Ezra, iv. 2. (i) Ezra, iv. 10. (k) Ezra, iv. 2, 16. (l) vii. 8. (m) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 4. (n) Isaiab, xxii. 15, — 25. (o) Compare Isaiab, xxii. 22. with Rev. iii. 7. (p) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 151, — 157. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 66, 67.

nine and twenty Years before he could make himself Master thereof. While Part of his Army lay before this City, the rest carried on a War against the other Parts of *Palestine*; which seems to have obliged *Manasseh* to fortify *Jerusalem*, and to put strong Garrisons in all his frontier Towns (a): For 'tis like, when he was released out of Prison, he paid Homage to the *Assyrians* for his Possessions, and was obliged to stand for their Side in the War against the *Egyptians*.

In the thirty first Year of *Manasseh*, died *Esar-baddon*, after he had reigned thirty nine Years over the *Assyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*; and *Saosducheus* his Son reigned in his stead (b) twenty Years. In the twelfth Year of his Reign he fought a great Battle, in the Plains of *Ragau*, with *Dejoces* King of *Media*; whom he put to flight, and pursued to the adjacent Mountains; where he cut him off, with all his Army, and followed the Blow, till he made himself Master of all the Cities of *Media*, and particularly of *Ecbatana*, the Royal Seat of that Empire, and then returned in Triumph to *Nineveh*; where he and his Army feasted for one hundred and twenty Days.

Here Dr. *Prideaux* (c) placeth the History of *Judith*, where the cruel Tyranny, Pride and Luxury of *Holofernes* and his Army of *Assyrians* is described; and at the same time the Vertues of the chaste, pious, prudent, humble and courageous Widow *Judith* are extolled, by whose Conduct *Holofernes* was killed, the *Jewish* State delivered, and settled in Peace. But though this Story be entertaining, yet I cannot but join with orthodox *Protestant* Divines, in their Opinion not only that the Book is apocryphal, being never owned by the Church of the *Jews*, to whom were committed the oracles of God (d), nor writ in the *Hebrew* Language, nor acknowledged by Christ or his Apostles; but also that it is inconsistent with true History and Chronology (e): For there is no mention of the Facts therein related, neither in the sacred Scriptures, nor in *Josephus*, nor in any other antient Monument. There was no such King as *Nebuchadnezzar* then reigning in *Nineveh*, nor an *Arphaxad* reigning in *Media*, who was Founder of *Ecbatana* (f), in the Reign of *Manasseh*. However the learned Arch-deacon pretends, that by the former may be understood *Saosduchinus*, and by the latter *Dejoces*; yet this is said without Ground. Besides, the Question of *Holofernes*, Tell me, O Cananean, what is that people who live in the hill-country, what cities do they inhabit? what is the multitude of their forces? wherein consists their strength and power? have they any king or captain of their army (g)? is like that of one wholly ignorant of the State of the Country, not of a General, who should understand the Strength of the Kingdom he is coming to subdue. Nor is the Answer of *Abior* (h) very likely. How comes the chief Management of the publick Affairs of State to be represented in the Book of *Judith* as only in the chief Priest, without any mention made of the King or chief Governor; since this is inconsistent with the whole *Jewish* History, not only from the Reign of *Saul* to the Captivity, but even for some Ages after? Finally, 'tis said, *Judith* lived in the house of her husband an hundred and five years; and in all the days of her life there was none that disturbed the peace of *Israel*, nor for many days thereafter (i). When *Judith* killed *Holofernes*, she is said to have been a young Woman, able to charm that Prince with her Beauty; consequently Peace must have continued in *Israel* at least eighty Years: Which they never enjoyed since they were a Nation, nor scarce any other People. This is an Objection which Dr. *Prideaux* owns is not in his power to answer: And indeed it destroys the Authority of the whole Book.

To go on with our History; in the fifty first Year of *Manasseh* died *Saosducheus* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, and *Obyniladannis* (k) reigned in his Room twenty two Years. *Dejoces* King of *Media* being dead, after a Reign of fifty three Years, *Phraortes* his Son succeeded, and governed *Media* twenty two Years.

Manasseh King of *Judah* having reigned fifty five Years, and lived sixty seven, died at *Jerusalem* (l); and they buried him in the Garden of his own House. Nothing of that Honour was done to him at his Funerals, as to his Father. Wicked Men, tho' Penitents, may recover their Comfort sooner than their Credit.

To him succeeded *Ammon* his Son, who gave himself up to all Manner of Wickedness and Impiety; for he sacrificed to the carved Images that his Father had made, and served them. He exceeded the Wickedness of the first part of his Father's Reign, and never imitated him in Repentance. Whereon the Servants of his House conspired against him, and wickedly slew him, after he had reigned two Years: But the People of the Land put all of them to Death who had murdered the King, and buried him in the Garden of *Uzza* (m).

Josiah his Son succeeded him in the Kingdom, being then but eight Years old. His early Piety, walking in the Way of *David* his Father, without turning aside to the Right Hand, or to the left (n), is rather to be ascribed to the sovereign free Grace of God, than to the good Con-

(a) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. (b) Canon Ptolomæi, (c) Connection, part 1. p. 35, — 42. (d) Rom. iii. 2. (e) See more of this Argument in Chamier's Panstratia, Tom. 1. p. 117, — 127, De mendaciis historiæ Judith, Heideggeri Enchirid. Biblicum, p. 488 & seqq. and others. (f) Judith, i. 4. (g) Judith, v. 3. (h) Judith, v. 5. (i) Judith, xvi. 23, 25. (k) Canon Ptolomæi. (l) 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. (m) 2 Kings xxi. 19, — 26. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21, — 25. (n) 2 Kings xxii. 2.

Conduct of his Guardians. The Lord made him, tho' born of wicked Parents, tho' under the Influence of evil Example, who no doubt advised him to tread in his Father's Steps, to be an eminent Saint, and to persevere in Holiness all the Days of his Life, without going aside either to Superstition or profaneness.

In the sixth Year of *Josiah*, *Phraortes* King of *Media*, having brought under him all the upper *Asia*, to the North of Mount *Taurus*, and the River *Halys*; and also having subdued the *Persians*, marched against the *Assyrians*, with a Design to take *Nineveh*; but there had the Misfortune to be overthrown in the Attempt (a); and both he and his Army perished, when he had reigned twenty two Years.

Josiah in the eighth Year of his Reign (b), being then sixteen Years old, began the Reformation of his Kingdom, by purging out all Monuments of Idolatry that had been introduced by his Father and Grandfather, and fought the Lord his God with all his Might.

Cyaxares the Son of *Phraortes* succeeded his Father in *Media* (c), and drew together a great Army, to be revenged on the *Assyrians* for the late Loss, wherein his Father and his Army perished; and having overthrown them, laid again Siege to *Nineveh*, called by *Herodote*, *Ninus*; but before he could make any Progress, he was called to defend his own Territories against another Adversary; for the *Scythians*, under *Maäyes* the Son of *Protothyas*, from the Parts about *Palus Mæotis*, passing round Mount *Caucasus*, had made an Inroad upon him; and he had bad Success against them; for they vanquished him in Battle, dispossessed him of all the upper *Asia*, and reigned there twenty eight Years, during which Time they enlarged their Conquests into *Syria*, as far as the Borders of *Egypt*. But *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt* prevailed on them with Entreaties and large Gifts, that they proceeded no further. In this Expedition they seized on *Bethshean* (d) a City in the Tribe of *Manasseh*, to the West Side of *Jordan*, and kept it as long as they staid in *Asia*; wherefore from them it was named *Scythopolis*, or the City of the *Scythians*. How far they ravaged *Judea* at that Time, is not on Record, only *Herodote* (e) tells us, That some of the *Scythian* Straglers robbed the Temple of *Venus Urania* at *Ascalon*; for which they and their Posterity were afflicted with Emrods for a long while.

Josiah in the twelfth Year of his Reign, being twenty Years of Age, proceeded to perfect that Reformation which he had begun; and to that End purged *Judab* and *Jerusalem* of the high Places and the Groves, broke down the Altars of *Baalim*, with the molten and carved Images, made Dust of them, which he strowed upon the Graves of them that had sacrificed: And when he had thus cleansed *Judab* and *Jerusalem*, he went into the Cities of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, which seem then to have been subject to him, and did the same (f). In the thirteenth Year of *Josiah*, *Jeremiah* (g) was called to the prophetick Office, which he discharged for above forty Years, warning *Judab* and *Jerusalem* of the Wrath of God for their Iniquities, and calling them to Repentance, in order to turn it away, till on their continuing obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out to their Destruction. The Prophet *Zephaniah* did also execute his Office in the Reign of *Josiah* (h). He foretells the general Destruction of *Judab* and *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* for their Sins, which had provoked God, calls them to Repentance, threatens the neighbour Nations with the like Destruction, and gives encouraging Promises of their joyful Return out of Captivity in due Time, with a Reference to the Grace of the Gospel.

In the fifteenth Year of *Josiah*, *Chyniladanus* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, having by his effeminate Government for twenty two Years (i), rendered himself contemptible to his People, *Nabopolassar*, General of his Army, took the Advantage to set up for himself; and being a *Babylonian* by Birth, made use of his Interest there, to seize that part of the *Assyrian* Empire, and reigned there twenty one Years.

Josiah in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, took special Care to repair the House of God: To that End he sent several Officers of his Court to take Account of the Money collected for it, and to command *Hilkiah* the High-priest to see it laid out for doing the Work. In Pursuance of this Order the High-priest took a View of the House, to see what was necessary to be done; and while he was examining every Place, he found an authentick Copy of the Law of the Lord, which, 'tis like, was hid in the Time of *Manasseh*, that it might not be destroyed. Blessed be God, the Bible may now be in every Body's Hand: Tho' 'tis a Jewel, 'tis no Rarity. This Copy *Hilkiah* sent by *Shaphan* the Scribe to the King, who read some part of it (k). The Place, as the *Jewish* Doctors think, was the Threatnings denounced against those who disobey the Law in *Deut. xxviii*. In hearing thereof, good *Josiah* rent his Clothes, knowing how much the People and their Fathers had by their Sins deserved these Curses. To ease his Mind, he sent *Hilkiah* the High-priest, with some Officers of the Court to *Huldah* the Prophetess, to enquire of the Lord. She answered, That the Lord would bring Evil upon *Jerusalem*, and the Inhabitants thereof, for their Apostasy, Idolatry, and other Transgressions,

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(a) Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 102. (b) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. (c) Herodot. lib. cit. cap. 103. (d) Syncellus, p. 214. (e) Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 105. (f) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, — 7. (g) Jer. i. 2. (h) Zeph. i. 1. (i) Canon Ptolomæi. (k) 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

sions, the Wrath of God would be poured out on them not to be quenched : But as to *Josiah*, because his heart was tender, and he humbled himself, the evil shall not come in his days ; he shall come to his grave in peace. For tho' he died in Battle, yet he died in Peace and Favour with God before the People were carried into Captivity. However the good King, to appease the Wrath of God, and to carry on a Work of Reformation, as far as he could, called a solemn Assembly of all the Elders of the People ; where after the reading of the Book of the Law to them for their Instruction, both he and the People publicly entered into a solemn Covenant, to walk after the Lord, to keep his Commands, Testimonies and Statutes. After this he made another Progress through the Land to purge it of all Abominations and Monuments of Idolatry, all which he rooted out (a) ; particularly he destroyed the Altar and high Place which *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* had built at *Beth-el* ; whereby he fulfilled what a Man of God had prophesied of him by Name, many Ages before (b) : And he made the same Reformation in all the Cities of *Samaria*. And when the next Passover approached, he caused that Feast to be kept with so great Solemnity as it not only exceeded that in the Days of *Hezekiah*, but also all others, from the Days of *Samuel* the Prophet, unto that Time (c).

In the twenty fifth Year of *Josiah*, died *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt* (d), after he had reigned fifty four Years, and was succeeded by *Necus* his Son, who in holy Scripture is called *Pharaoh-Necho*. He made an Attempt to join the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, by drawing a Canal from the one to the other ; but after he had lost an hundred and twenty thousand Men in that Work, he was forced to desist from it ; but had better Success in another Undertaking : For we are told (e), that he having got some expert *Phenician* Sailors into his Service, sent them out by the Coasts of the *Red Sea*, to discover the Coasts of *Africa*, who having performed their Voyage in the third Year, came home through the Straights of *Gibraltar*, called by *Herodote*, the *Pillars of Hercules*, and the *Mediterranean Sea* to *Egypt*. This was an extraordinary Voyage in those Times : which was more certainly performed by *Vasquez di Gama*, about two thousand one hundred Years after, in the Year of our Lord 1497, when a Trade was opened from *Europe* to the eastern Parts of the World, which hath continued ever since.

In the twenty ninth Year of *Josiah*, which was the twenty third of *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, having made an Affinity with *Astyages* (f), the eldest Son of *Cyaxares*, by the Marriage of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son with *Amytis* the Daughter of *Astyages*, entered into a Confederacy with him against the *Assyrians* ; and joining their Forces, they besieged *Nineveh* : And after taking the Place, and killing the King thereof, to gratify the *Medes*, they utterly destroyed that great ancient City ; and from that Time *Babylon* became the sole Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire. *Strabo* (g) says, That *Ninus*, or *Nineveh* was bigger than *Babylon* ; and *Diodorus Siculus* (h) affirms it was 480 Furlongs in Circuit, which makes sixty of our Miles. And this agrees well with the Account given by the Prophet *Jonah* iii. 3. that it was an exceeding great city, of three days journey : For twenty Miles is as much as one can well go in Circuit in one Day. In the Destruction thereof, the Predictions of the Prophets *Jonah* iii. 4. of *Nabum* ii. 3. and of *Zephaniah* ii. 13, — 15. were all accomplished.

Here ends the apocryphal Book of *Tobit* (i), which besides the Arguments justly used against these Books (k), affords many Arguments of it self to prove that 'tis not canonical nor any Part of the infallible Rule of Faith and Manners. For how comes an Angel, under the Name of *Raphael* there to pretend to be born of the Children of *Naphtali*, carried Captive unto *Nineveh* (l) ? To be sure a good Angel would not tell such a false Story. How comes the Angel to be named *Raphael*, the *Physician of God*, and the Devil to be called *Asmodeus* (m) ? These strange Names could proceed from nothing but *Jewish* Fables. The Story of an Angel accompanying *Tobias* in a long Journey, under the Shape of *Azarias* ; the Account of *Raguel's* Daughter ; the frightening away of the Devil by the Smoke of the Heart and Liver of a Fish, with the Cure of *Tobit's* Blindness, by the Gall of the same Fish (n), look more like the Fables of *Homer*, than the Writings of a sacred Historian. We know that Devils are cast out by Fasting and Prayer (o), not by abominable Charms. The Speech of the Angel in *Tobit* xii. 15. *I am Raphael, one of the holy Angels which stand before the Lord, and offer the prayers of saints to God*, plainly favours Idolatry and Angel-worship, joining Creatures with our only Mediator, in the Performance of his Office. These besides other Things observed by learned Men on this Subject (p), shew that this Book is not canonical ; or, as a *Jewish* Chronologer speaks (q), that 'tis full of idle foolish Sayings.

A. M. 3540. The *Babylonians* and the *Medes* having destroyed *Nineveh*, as hath been told, their Neighbours became jealous of their Power ; and to check it, *Necho* King of *Egypt* in the thirty first and last Year of *Josiah*, marched with a great Army towards *Euphrates*, to make War, as *Joseph*

(a) 2 Kings xxiii. (b) 1 Kings xiii. 2. (c) 2 Chron. xxxv. (d) Herodote, lib. 2. cap. 157, 158. (e) Idem, lib. 4. cap. 42. (f) Idem, lib. 1. cap. 107. Eusebius in Chron. fol. m. 51. (g) Strabo lib. 16. p. 737. See above p. 47. (h) Diod. Siculus, lib. 2 cap. 3. (i) Tobit xiv. 17. (k) Above p. 206. (l) Tobit v. 5. vii. 3, 4. (m) Tobit iii. 8. (n) Tobit vi. 9, 10. (o) Matth xvii. 21. (p) Reynoldi prælectiones, Heideggeri Enchiridion Biblicum, p. 470. & seqq. (q) Ganz Tsemach David, p. m. 170.

Josephus (a) says, upon those who had dissolved the Assyrian Empire. Which shews that this War commenced immediately after the Destruction of *Nineveh*, as before observed. Upon *Necho's* taking his Way through *Judea*, *Josiah* resolved to hinder his March; and to this end posted his Forces in the Valley of *Megiddo*: Whereupon *Necho* let him know that the War was designed against others, and desired him not to meddle in it, lest it should turn to his Hurt (b). *Josiah* not hearkening to this Advice, was overthrown and fore wounded in the Battle; of which he died at his Return to *Jerusalem*. 'Tis the Opinion of many, that *Josiah* engaged rashly in this War; but the learned *Dr. Prideaux* (c) is of another Mind, and not without Reason; That from the Time of *Manasseh's* Reformation, the Kings of *Judah* were Homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*, and bound by Oath to adhere to them, and defend that Border of the Empire against all their Enemies, especially against the *Egyptians*: And in consequence of this Contract, *Josiah* was obliged to venture on this War. To this end the *Babylonians* had conferred upon him the antient Inheritance of the ten Tribes, though the Conquest thereof had been begun by *Tiglath-pileser*, and afterwards finished by *Salmaneser* and *Esar-haddon*. It is evident that *Josiah's* Reformation went over *Bethel*, *Samaria*, and all the Tribes, as well as *Judea*; and that *Megiddo*, where he fought, was in the Tribe of *Manasseh*, on the West, or this Side of *Jordan* (d); which Territories he was obliged to defend by the said Homage. *Herodote* (e) mentions this War, when he tells, That *Necos* King of *Egypt* fought with the *Syrians* at *Magdolo*, gained the Victory, and after the Battle seized the great City *Cadytis*. We see in 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 31, — 35. a plain Account of what *Pharaoh-nechob* did at *Jerusalem*; and that *Necos* is the Heathen Name of this *Egyptian* King; and *Cadytis*, which is near of Kin to *Kadesb*, *boly*, is very applicable to that City, hath been more fully insisted upon by others (f). The Death of so excellent a Prince was justly lamented by all his Subjects, as being the Beginning of all their Sorrows; for from his Death they had no Time of Prosperity, till after the Captivity. This was thoroughly seen by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who penned a Lamentation, now lost, upon this doleful Occasion (g); and which was distinct from the Book of *Lamentations* still extant in the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, which the Prophet wrote upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Not only this Prophet, but all the singing Men and Women spake of *Josiah* in their Sorrows: And it was mentioned long after this, by the Mourning of *Hadad Rimmon* in the Valley of *Megiddo* (h). This City was afterwards named *Maximianopolis* (i), and was near the Place where this pious Prince and great Reformer got his deadly Wounds.

After the Death of *Josiah*, the People of the Land took *Jehoahaz* his Son, who was also called *Shallum* (k), and made him King. He was unlike his Father, for he did that which was evil in the Sight of the Lord, and therefore was soon tumbled down from his Throne: For *Pharaoh-nechob* having defeat the *Babylonians* at the River *Euphrates*, and taken *Carchemish* (l), a great City in those Parts, which he secured with a good Garrison. On his Return to *Egypt*, hearing that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be King of *Judah* without his Consent, he sent for him to *Riblah* in *Syria*; where he put him in Chains, and sent him Prisoner to *Egypt*, where he died (m). Before his Captivity he reigned only three Months; which seem to be a Part of the last Year of *Josiah* (n), and therefore enter not into Chronology: And he seems to have been younger than *Jehoiakim* his Brother; for he was only twenty three Years old, when his Brother was twenty five (o), and yet the People of the Land chose him upon his Father's Death.

Jehoahaz being carried Prisoner into *Egypt*, *Pharaoh-nechob* made *Eliakim* King in his stead, changing his Name into *Jehoiakim* (p), and put the Land to an annual Tribute of an hundred Talents of Silver, and a Talent of Gold, (which amounts to fifty seven thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*) and then returned to his own Country. *Jehoiakim* when he began the Administration of the Kingdom, followed the evil Example of his Brother *Jehoahaz*, of his Grandfather *Amon*, and his Great-grandfather *Manasseh*; but despised the Reformation of his religious Father *Josiah*. The Body of the People, who never heartily liked Amendment of Life, acceded to the corrupt Inclinations of their present Sovereign. Wherefore the Prophet *Jeremiah* (q) went into the King's House, and there denounced Judgments against him and his Family, if he did not repent; and after that went into the Temple, and there spake to all the People (r) after the same Manner. The Priests who attended the Temple being offended with this Freedom, sought *Jeremiah* to put him to Death; but *Abikam* one of the chief Lords of the Council, so far befriended the Prophet, as he got him acquit by the Vote of the Princes, and of the Elders of the People then present. *Uriah*, another Prophet of the Lord, who had prophesied in the same Manner, did not so easily escape: For *Jehoiakim* sought

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(a) Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 6. ab init. (b) 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 29, 30. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20, — 25. (c) Connexion, Part 1. p. m. 52, & seqq. (d) Josh. xvii. 11. Judges, i. 27. (e) Lib. 2. cap. 159. (f) Jamieson's Spicilegia, cap. 2. p. 75. Prideaux's Connexion, Part 1. p. 57. (g) 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 25. (h) Zech. xii. 11. (i) Hieronymus. (k) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 1. 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 31. *Jerem.* xxii. 11. (l) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 6. (m) 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 3. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 3. *Jerem.* xxii. 11, 12. (n) *Jerem.* xxv. 3. (o) 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 31, 36. 1 *Chron.* iii. 15, 16. (p) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 2, — 4. (q) *Jerem.* xxii. (r) *Jerem.* xxvi.

sought to put him to Death ; and though he fled to *Egypt*, the King got him seized there, and brought him up to *Judea*, where he caused kill him with the Sword, and made his dead Body to be thrown into the Graves of the common People (a) ; which hastened on the Judgments of God against the King and the Land. In the third Year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon* finding, that on the King of *Egypt*'s taking *Carchemish*, all *Syria* and *Palestine* had revolted to him, took his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* into Partnership with him in the Empire, and sent him with an Army into those Parts (b). From hence the *Jewish* Computation of the Years of *Nebuchadnezzar* begin, so as the End of the third, or Beginning of the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*, was the first Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* (c) ; which was the twenty third, from the thirteenth of *Josiah*, in which *Jeremiah* began to prophesy (d) ; but by the *Babylonian* Account, the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* began upon his Father's Death, two Years after this. Both Computations being found in Scripture; this ought to be noticed for reconciling them.

In the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar* having defeated the Army of *Pharaoh-nechoh*, at the River *Euphrates*, and retaken *Carchemish* (e) ; where Vengeance was taken for the Death of good King *Josiah*, he marched towards *Palestine*, to recover these Provinces to the *Babylonish* Empire. On his Approach, the *Rechabites*, who according to the Institution of *Jonadab* their Father abstained from Wine, and had hitherto lived in Tents, retired for their Safety to *Jerusalem* (f). The same Year *Jeremiah* (g) prophesied of the coming of *Nebuchadnezzar* against *Jerusalem*, and of the Captivity of seventy Years that should ensue. But those Warnings having no Effect, so as to bring the People to Repentance; God commanded the Prophet to write in a Roll all the Words of his Prophecies which he had spoke, from the thirteenth of *Josiah* to that Time, when *Jeremiah* called *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*, a ready Scribe, who wrote all that God ordered (h), and went up and read it on the great Feast of Expiation, *September* tenth, in the Temple before the People. *Jeremiah* could not go himself, being shut up in Prison, but *Baruch* was sent to do it ; and he being afraid of the Threatnings contained in the Roll, the Lord comforted him (i), intimating, That though these Calamities should come upon the *Jews*, yet he should have his own Life for a Prey in all Places wheresoever he should go. In *November* thereafter *Nebuchadnezzar* laid Siege to *Jerusalem*, made himself Master of it ; and having taken *Jehoiakim* Prisoner, put him in Fetters to carry him to *Babylon*. But upon his Submission to become a Servant, and tributary to the *Babylonians* (k), *Nebuchadnezzar* marched from *Jerusalem* to prosecute his Victories against the *Egyptians*. But before he removed, he caused great Numbers of the *Jews* to be sent Captives to *Babylon* ; and particularly gave Orders to *Asphenaz* the Master of the Eunuchs (l), to carry off such of the Royal Seed and of the Nobility, as he found to be of the fairest Countenance and best Parts : Among whom were *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Misbael* and *Azariah* ; whereby was fulfilled the Word of the Lord spoken by *Isaiah* to *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* (m), above one hundred Years before. At the same Time also he carried away a great Part of the Vessels of the House of the Lord, to put them in the House of *Bel* his Idol at *Babylon* (n). The People being thus carried into Captivity, the Sons of the Royal Family and the Nobility being made Eunuchs and Slaves in the Palace of the King of *Babylon*, the Vessels of the Temple being taken thither, the King made a Tributary, and the whole Land brought into Servitude under the *Babylonians* ; from hence must be reckoned the Beginning of the seventy Years of the *Babylonish* Captivity foretold by the Prophet *Jeremiah* (o) ; and the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim* must be the first Year in that Computation. And therefore here ends this Period, from the building of *Solomon's* Temple, to the first Year of the Captivity. Only we may observe, that the *Scythians*, who had for twenty eight Years (p) held all the Upper *Asia*, comprehending the two *Armenia's*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis* and *Iberia*, were this Year driven out of it. The *Medes*, whom they had dispossessed of these Provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open Force ; but finding themselves unable to succeed this Way, they at length accomplished it by Treachery : For under the Covert of a Peace, they invited many of them to a Feast ; where having made them drunk (q), they slew them all. After which having subdued the rest, they recovered from them all they had lost, and again extended their Empire to the River *Halys*, which had been the antient Borders of it towards the West.

Having explained the sacred History, removed and answered the Questions that occur in the Chronology of that Time, and given a View of the Affairs of the World during this Period ; it now remains to account for the Years from the building of the Temple to the Beginning of the seventy Years Captivity. I have before (r) stated them at 408 Years, from the Year of the World 2936, to the Year 3344, or from the Year before the Birth of Christ 1014,

to

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606.

(a) Jerem. xxvi. 20, — 23. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 7. (c) Jerem. xxv. 1. Dan. i. 1. (d) Jerem. xxv. 3. (e) Jerem. xlvi. 1. (f) Jerem. xxxv. 6, — 11. (g) Jerem. xxv. (h) Jerem. xxxvi. (i) Jerem. xlv. (k) 2 Kings, xxiv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. Dan. i. 1, 2. (l) Dan. i. 3, — 8. (m) Isaiah, xxxix. 7. (n) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 2. (o) Jerem. xxv. 11, and xxix. 10. (p) Above, p. 207. (q) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 106. (r) Above, p. 172.

to the Year 606. The particular Enumeration of the Years, with the Scripture-texts to prove the same, here follow. *Solomon*, after the building of the Temple, reigned 37 Years (*a*), *Rehoboam* 17 (*b*), *Abijah* 3 (*c*), *Asa* 41 (*d*), *Jehoshaphat* 25 (*e*), *Jehoram* 8 (*f*), (but 4. of these being deduced, as included in his Father's Reign; there remain only 4 Years of his Reign to enter into Chronology) *Abaziah* 1 (*g*), *Athaliah* 6 (*h*), *Joash* 40 (*i*), *Amaziah* 29 (*k*), *Uzziah* 52 (*l*), *Jotham* 16 (*m*), *Abaz* 16 (*n*), *Hezekiah* 29 (*o*), *Manasseh* 55 (*p*), *Amon* 2 (*q*), *Josiah* 31, (in which 3 Months of *Jeoahaz's* Reign (*r*) are included) and *Jehoiakim*, before the Beginning of the Captivity, reigned 4 Years (*s*): Which being all put together, make up the Sum of this Period, as above expressed, to be 408 Years.

P E R I O D VI.

From the Beginning, to the End of the Babylonish Captivity, Jerem. xxv. 11, 12. and xxix. 10.

Containing the Space of 70 Years.

JEHOIAKIM, in stead of being amended by those sad Calamities before related, which by the Hand of God had been inflicted upon him and his Kingdom; rather became worse under them; and *Judah* and *Jerusalem* kept pace with him in Wickedness, notwithstanding *Jeremiah* the Prophet was constantly exhorting them to turn to the Lord their God, that their Destruction might be prevented. They having on the ninth Month proclaimed a Fast, to lament the Miseries they had suffered in taking *Jerusalem* the former Year, the Prophet sent *Baruch* again to read the Roll of the Prophecies and Warnings before them; which he did in the Chamber of *Gemariah* the Son of *Shaphan* the Scribe, this being the Room where, it seems, the King's Council used to sit, at the East Gate of the Temple. *Micaiah* the Son of *Gemariah* went straight to the Palace, and informed the King's Council; who sent for *Baruch*, and caused him sit down and read the Roll (*t*). Upon hearing it, and being told that it was all dictated by the Prophet, they were much afraid, and desired him to leave the Roll, and that he and *Jeremiah* might go and hide themselves, that none might find them; and went in, and informed the King of what had past. Whereupon the King sent for the Roll, and caused *Jebudi* read it to him: But after hearing three or four Leaves thereof, as he was sitting in his Winter-parlour, he cut it out with a Pen-knife, and cast it into the Fire before him on the Hearth, till the Roll was all consumed, tho' some of his Council advised him not to do it. This was an impudent Affront to the God of Heaven, whose Message this was. It declared that he was resolved to persist in his Sins, that he could not bear Reproof, and that he bore an Indignation at *Baruch* and *Jeremiah*; for he issued out an Order to apprehend them; but they had hid themselves, and could not be found. The Roll being burnt, another was writ from the Mouth of the Prophet, wherein was contained all that was in the former Roll, with the Addition of many like Words, concerning the Destruction of the Land of *Judah*, and the Ruin of *Jehoiakim* and his House.

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Nebuchadnezzar departing from *Jerusalem*, carried on for this Year the War against the *Egyptians*, with such Success as he drove them out of all *Syria* and *Palestine*, from the River *Euphrates* to the River of *Egypt* (*u*): Where the River of *Egypt* is not the *Nile*, but a small Rivulet in the Desert, that was a known Boundary between *Canaan* and *Egypt* (*x*). Towards the End of this Year died *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, the Father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had reigned twenty one Years (*y*). Whereupon *Nebuchadnezzar*, with a few Followers, made haste to *Babylon*, where he took possession of the whole Empire; which then contained *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria* and *Palestine*; over which he reigned forty three Years. In the seventh Year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the second Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* Account, and the fourth according to the *Jewish*, *Daniel* revealed to *Nebuchadnezzar* the Dream which he had forgot, and also interpreted it concerning the four Monarchies (*z*), the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Grecian* and *Roman*: Whereupon the Prophet was advanced to Honour, being made chief Ruler over the whole Province of *Babylon*, and chief Governor over the Wise-men; and at his Request, his three Companions, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach* and *Abed-nego*,

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(a) 1 Kings, vi. 1. with xi. 42. (b) 1 Kings, xiv. 21. (c) 1 Kings, xv. 2. (d) 1 Kings, xv. 10. (e) 1 Kings, xxii. 42. (f) 2 Kings, viii. 17. (g) 2 Kings, viii. 26. (h) 2 Kings, xi. 3. (i) 2 Kings, xii. 1. (k) 2 Kings, xiv. 2. (l) 2 Kings, xv. 2. (m) 2 Kings, xv. 33. (n) 2 Kings, xvi. 2. (o) 2 Kings, xviii. 2. (p) 2 Kings, xxi. 1. (q) 2 Kings, xxi. 19. (r) 2 Kings, xxii. 1. with xxiii. 31. (s) Jer. xxv. 1, 11, 12. (t) Jer. xxxvi. 9, — 32. (u) 2 Kings, xxiv. 7. (x) Gen. xv. 18. Josh. xv. 4. (y) Canon Ptolemaei. (z) Dan. ii.

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Ant. C.
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were also advanced to Posts of Honour. The same Year *Jeboiakim*, after he had served the King of *Babylon* three Years, rebelled against him (a); and refusing to pay him any more Tribute, renewed his Confederacy with *Pharaoh-nechob* King of *Egypt*. Whereupon *Nebuchadnezzar* sent Orders to all his Lieutenants and Governors of Provinces in those Parts to make War upon him; which brought upon him Invasions from every Quarter, the Bands of the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and other Nations subject to the *Babylonish* Empire harassing him on every Side. Thus they continued to do for three or four Years together, till in the eleventh Year of his Reign, all Parties joining together against him, they besieged him in *Jerusalem*; and having taken him Prisoner, 'tis like in some Sally or other, they slew him with the Sword, and cast out his Body without one of the Gates of *Jerusalem*, allowing it no other Burial, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* (b) had foretold, than that of an Ass; that is, to rot and be consumed in the open Air.

This Year died his Confederate, *Pharaoh-nechob* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned sixteen Years (c); and *Psamms* his Son succeeded in that Kingdom.

Jeboiakim being dead, *Jeboiachin* his Son reigned in his stead (d). He is also called *Jeconiah*, and *Coniah* (e). In *2 Kings*, xxiv. 8. 'tis said he was eighteen Years old when he began to reign; but in the *Chronicles* 'tis only eight. Which Difference may be reconciled, either, First, by granting that in his eighth Year he began to reign with his Father, who made him King as other Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* in Times of Trouble, and in his eighteenth Year he reigned alone; or, Secondly, he is in the *Chronicles* called a Son of eight Years when he began to reign, because this was the Year, not of his Age, but of the *Babylonish* Captivity, under which both he and his Father had been just so long; for from the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, to the first Year of *Jeboiachin*, are precisely eight Years. *Jeboiachin* doing evil in the Sight of the Lord, as his Father had done, this drew down a Declaration of God's Wrath against him by the Prophet *Jeremiah* (f). Which was executed: For after his Father's Death, the Servants of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or his Lieutenants and Governors of Provinces, continued to block up *Jerusalem*; and after three Months, the King of *Babylon* himself came in Person, and vigorously attacked the City. *Jeboiachin* finding himself unable to defend it, went out, with his Mother, his Princes and Servants, and delivered himself to the *Babylonian* (g). But he obtained no other Favour, than to save his Life: For he was carried to *Babylon* in Chains, where he continued shut up in Prison till the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, thirty seven Years after this. He is writ childless *Jer.* xxii. 30. not because he had no Children, for his Sons are named *1 Chron.* iii. 17. but, as the Prophet expresseth it in the Place cited, because *no man of his seed did prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah*: For though *Salathiel* his Son be one of our Lord's Progenitors (h), yet he seems to have lived and died in a mean Condition, among the Captives at *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar* having made *Jeboiachin* Prisoner, soon made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold, which *Solomon* king of *Israel* had made, in the temple of the Lord; and he carried away all the princes, with all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths, with the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people. And out of the rest of the Land he took seven thousand men of might, and of craftsmen and smiths one thousand, all that were strong and apt for war (i); besides three thousand and twenty three (k), which had been carried away the Year before out of the open Country. With the mighty Men of Valour *Nebuchadnezzar* recruited his Army, and the Artificers he employed in carrying on his Buildings at *Babylon*.

In this Captivity *Ezekiel* the Prophet, the Son of *Buzi*, of the House of *Aaron* was carried to *Babylon*; and from this Year he reckons throughout his Prophecies, as *Ezek.* i. 2. and xl. 1. The poorer Sort of the People being still left in the Land, *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Mattaniah* Son of *Josiah*, and Uncle of *Jeboiachin* King over them, taking of him an Oath of Fidelity; and changing his Name to *Zedekiah*, to signify the Justice of God, that would be inflicted if he violated what he had sworn to observe (l). *Zedekiah* reigned eleven Years in *Jerusalem*, but his Ways being as evil in the Sight of the Lord as any of his Predecessors, this drew down the Destruction of the City and Temple, and other Calamities with which his Reign ended.

Before *Nebuchadnezzar* came upon the Expedition last mentioned against *Jerusalem*, he was employed in settling a Peace between the *Medes* and the *Persians*. These Nations had been at War with various Success about the Boundaries of their Empire for five Years. In the sixth they engaged in a Battle; which they intended should be decisive: But while the Fortune of the Day seemed to hang in an equal Ballance, there happened an Eclipse, which overspread both Armies with Darkness; which was foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian*, according to *Herodote* (m).

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(a) *2 Kings*, xxiv. 1, — 5. (b) *Jer.* xxii. 18, 19. and xxxvi. 30. (c) *Herodotus*, lib. 2. cap. 159, 160. (d) *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 9. (e) *Jer.* xxii. 24, 28. (f) *Jer.* xxii. 24, — 30. (g) *2 Kings*, xxiv. 10, — 12. (h) *Matth.* i. 12. (i) *2 Kings*, xxiv. 13, — 16. (k) *Jer.* lii. 28. (l) *2 Kings* xxiv. 17. *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 10. (m) lib. 1. cap. 74.

The Competitors being frightened, desisted from fighting; and agreed to refer the Controversy to the Arbitration of two neighbouring Princes. The *Lydians* chose *Siennesis* King of *Cilicia*, and the *Medes*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom *Herodote* (a) calls *Labynetus* Tyrant of *Babylon*; who made up a Peace on Terms that *Astyages*, Son of *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, should take to Wife *Ariena* the Daughter of *Halyates* King of the *Lydians*. Of which Marriage, within a Year, was born *Cyaxares*, called in the Book of *Daniel*, *Darius* the *Median*. About the same Time *Astyages* gave his Daughter *Mandana* by a former Wife in Marriage to *Cambyses* the *Persian*, of whom next Year, being the last of *Jeboiakim*, was born *Cyrus*, the Founder of the *Persian* Monarchy, whose Life and Actions we shall hear of afterwards.

Zedekiah being settled on the Throne at *Jerusalem*, *Jeremiah* had in a Vision shewn unto him the Restauration, which God would give to them that were carried into Captivity with the Misery and Desolation that would befall them and their King, who were still in the Land, under the Type of two Baskets of Figs (b). The same Year God foretold to *Jeremiah*, xlix. 34,—39. the Confusion that he would bring upon *Elam* or *Persia*, a Kingdom lying Eastward beyond the River *Tigris*, and the Restauration he would give thereto. All which came to pass; for this Country was conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*; but afterwards joining with *Cyrus*, it helped to subdue the *Babylonians*; and *Sbushan* the chief City of that Province, became the (c) Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire. After the Departure of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea*, *Zedekiah* having settled himself in the Kingdom, the Kings of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Zidonians*, *Tyrians* and others, sent to congratulate him upon his Advancement, and to propose to him a League against the King of *Babylon*. Whereupon *Jeremiah*, by the Command of God, made him Yokes and Bands, and sent them by these Messengers to their Masters (d), to assure them that God had given all these Countries to the King of *Babylon*; that they should serve him and his son, and his sons son. If they obeyed him it should be well with them, and with their Land; but if otherwise, they should be consumed and destroyed. He spake to *Zedekiah* after the same Manner, which had that Influence on him, that he did not then join in that League: But when it was afterwards strengthened by the Accession of the *Egyptians* and other Nations, he joined in the Confederacy, to the Ruin of himself and of his Country.

Zedekiah, about the second Year of his Reign, sent *Elasah* the Son of *Shaphan*, and *Gemariah* the Son of *Hilkiah* to *Babylon*, on an Embassy to *Nebuchadnezzar*. By them *Jeremiah* the Prophet wrote a Letter to the *Jews* who had been carried Captives, warning them not to be deceived by the false Prophets, as if their Captivity were to be but for a short Time; for it was to continue seventy Years: And therefore they ought to build Houses, and provide for themselves in the Country whether they were carried, and seek the Peace thereof: For these who remained in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be so far from being able to effectuate any Restauration, that themselves would be consumed by Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, and the rest scattered over the Face of the Earth, as a Reproach among the Nations (e). And as to their false Prophets, he denounced a fearful Destruction against them; which was all accomplished; for *Nebuchadnezzar*, finding that they had disturbed the People by their vain Predictions, hindering them to make Settlements in the Places where he had planted them, caused these Prophets to be seized and roasted in the Fire. These Letters being read to the *Jews* of the Captivity, had good Effects upon some, but not upon the greater Part: For *Shemaiah* the *Nebelamite* wrote to *Jerusalem* complaining of *Jeremiah*; which being signified to the Prophet, he denounced a severe Punishment upon *Shemaiah* for the same.

In the fourth Year of *Zedekiah*, and fifth Month, *Hananiah* the Son of *Azur* of *Gibeon* (f), prophesied falsely in the Name of the Lord, that within two full Years, all the Vessels of the Lord, with *Jeconiah*, and all the Captives, should be returned to *Jerusalem*. Whereon *Jeremiah* by Commission from the Lord, told that God had not sent *Hananiah* to speak so, but that false Teacher made the People trust a Lie; and therefore he should be smitten and die. And accordingly he died in the seventh Month of that Year, two Months after his Prediction. The same Year *Jeremiah* had revealed to him the Prophecies which we have in the fifty and fifty first Chapters of his Book concerning the Judgments of God, which were to be inflicted upon *Chaldea* and *Babylon*, by the *Medes* and *Persians*; which *Jeremiah* wrote in a Book, and delivered it to *Seraiah* the Son of *Neriah* (g), the Brother of *Baruch*, who was then sent to *Babylon*, commanding him, when he should come thither, he should read the same, and bind a Stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the River, to signify, that so should *Babylon* sink, and never rise any more; which hath been since fully verified: For 'tis now about two thousand Years since *Babylon* hath been wholly desolate, as shall be afterwards observed.

The Book of *Baruch* is pretended by some (h) to have been writ at this Time; tho' if that Apocryphal Book consist with it self, it appears from *Baruch* i. 2. *In the fifth year, the seventh day of the month, at that time when the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire,* that

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(a) Herodotus lib. i. cap. 74. (b) Jer. xxiv. (c) Strabo lib. 15. p. 727. (d) Jer. xxvii. 3, — 17. (e) Jer. xxix. (f) Jer. xxviii. (g) Jer. li. 59, — 64. (h) Prideaux Connexion part 1. p. 72.

that the Book must be writ after the burning of *Jerusalem*, which was in the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*. *Jerom* rejects it wholly, and calls it *ψευδογραφον*, a false feigned Writing (a) of some Hellenistical *Jew*: And indeed there are just Reasons to reject it, not only because the Church of the *Jews* never received it; nor is it writ in *Hebrew*, but also because in *Baruch* i. 10. the Captives are said to send Money to *Jerusalem* to buy Burnt-offerings and Oblations, to be offered at the Altar of the Lord; when there was at that Time neither Temple nor Altar at *Jerusalem*; all these sacred Things being then burnt to Ashes by the *Babylonians*. In *Baruch* i. 11, 12. *Balthasar* is said to be the Son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whereas he was certainly his Grandson. And in *Baruch* iii. 4. he desires God may hear the Prayers of the Dead in *Israel*; which is superstitious, and contrary to the Stile of the sacred Scriptures.

Ant. C. 394. In the fifth Year of *Zedekiah*, which was the fifth of *Jehoiachin's* Captivity, and the thirtieth from the great Reformation made in the eighteenth Year of King *Josiah*, *Ezekiel* was called of God to be a Prophet among the Captives by the River *Chebar* (b). The same Year he had a Vision of the Cherubims and the Wheels, declaring the Mystery of Providence, with other Instructions and Revelations, from the first to the End of the seventh Chapter of his Book. In the sixth Year he was carried in a Vision to *Jerusalem*, and there saw the several sorts of Idolatry practised by the *Jews*, with the Judgments God would inflict upon them for these Abominations, as recorded from the eighth to the twelfth Chapter. But at the same Time God promised to the Captives who mourned for these Abominations, and kept themselves faithful to God's Service, *That he would be a sanctuary to them in a strange land, and bring them back again to the inheritance of Israel* (c). And all these Things he spoke to them of the Captivity.

About the same Time died *Cyaxares* King of *Media* (d), after he had reigned forty Years; and was succeeded by *Astyages* his Son. Also *Psamis* King of *Egypt* having reigned six Years, died in an Expedition he made against the *Ethiopians* (e); and *Apries* his Son, who in sacred Scripture is called *Pharaoh-hophra*, succeeded him, and reigned twenty five Years.

3358. Ant. C. 392. In the seventh Year of *Zedekiah*, God did both by Types and Words of Revelation shew unto *Ezekiel* the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, the Flight of *Zedekiah* by Night, the putting out of his Eyes, and his Imprisonment and Death at *Babylon*, with many Calamities that should be inflicted on the *Jews* for their Iniquities; which is the Subject of the twelfth Chapter of his Book; and what is contained in the seven following Chapters revealed to him the same Year, relates to the same Affairs. *Daniel* at this Time became so eminent in Righteousness, Piety, and Holiness of Life, that he is by God himself, in *Ezek.* xiv. 19, 20. equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, for having great Interest in Heaven by his Prayers for others; and yet if we reckon him at the Time of his Captivity a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, he will now be but thirty four at the utmost: But he employed the Vigour of his Age in the Service of God.

Ant. C. 390. *Zedekiah* having in the seventh Year of his Reign, sent Ambassadors to make a Confederacy with *Pharaoh-hophra* King of *Egypt*, whereby he broke the Oath of Fidelity he had sworn to *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, and rebelled against him (f), which drew on him a War, that ended in his Ruin and that of his Country. For in the ninth Year of *Zedekiah* (g), *Nebuchadnezzar* with a great Army marched against him; but on his coming into *Syria*, finding the *Ammonites* had entered into the same League with *Egypt*, he was in doubt which of them first to attack, the *Ammonites* or the *Jews*. Whereupon he committed the Decision of this Question to the Diviners, who upon using their heathenish Arts, of consulting with the Entrails of their Sacrifices, their Teraphim and their Arrows (h) determined for carrying on the War against the *Jews*. Therefore the *Babylonian* Monarch marched straight into *Judea*, and in a few Days took all the Cities of that Country; except *Lachish*, *Azekah* and *Jerusalem* (i). The *Jews* in those Places, and particularly at *Jerusalem*, under the terrible Apprehensions of a Siege, to make some shew of Reformation; resolved that every Man should let his Man or his Maid-servant, being an *Hebrew* or an *Hebrewess* go free (k): For it seems they had detained them without their Consent in Servitude beyond the seventh or sabbatick Year, contrary to the Law (l). In the tenth Day of the tenth Month of this Year, about the End of our *December*, *Nebuchadnezzar* laid close Siege to *Jerusalem* (m); in Memory whereof that Day is kept by the *Jews* for a Fast (n), even to this Time. The same Day this was revealed to *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, under the Type of a boyling Pot; and that Night his Wife died; and the Prophet was forbid to make any Mourning for her, to shew that the Loss of the holy City should be dearer than the Death of any Relation (o).

Ant. C. 389. In the Beginning of the tenth Year of *Zedekiah*, *Jeremiah* declared to this Prince by Commission from the Lord, that the *Babylonians* would certainly take the City, burn it with Fire

(a) Hieronymus in præfatione ad Jeremiam. (b) Ezek. i. 1, — 3. (c) Ezek. ix. 4. xi. 15, — 25. (d) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 106. (e) Idem, lib. 2. cap. 161. (f) Ezek. xvii. 15. (g) 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4. (h) Ezek. xxi. 19, — 24. (i) Jerem. xxxiv. 7. (k) Jer. xxxiv. 8, — 10. (l) Deut. xv. 12. (m) 2 Kings xxv. 1. (n) Zech. viii. 19. (o) Ezek. xxiv. 1, — 18.

Fire, make him Prisoner, and carry him to *Babylon*, where he should die (a). Wherefore *Zedekiah* put the Prophet in Prison (b); yet in this very Year, he purchased of *Hanameel* his Uncle's Son, a Field in *Anathoth*, to shew, that tho' *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be laid desolate, yet there should be a Restoration, when Lands and Possessions should be again enjoyed by the legal Owners, as in former Times. In the interim *Pharaoh-hophra* coming out of *Egypt* with a great Army to relieve *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* raised the Siege of *Jerusalem*, to march against him (c); but before he went, he sent to *Babylon* all the *Jews* he had there in his Camp, to the Number of eight hundred and thirty two Persons (d). *Jeremiah* being again set at Liberty, *Zedekiah* sent to enquire what should be the Event of the War; and to desire him to pray for him and the People. The Prophet answered, The *Egyptians* upon whom the *Jews* depended would certainly deceive them: Their Army would return into *Egypt*; and then the *Chaldeans* would renew the Siege, take the City, and burn it with Fire (e). But it being the general Opinion of the *Jews*, that the *Chaldeans* would not renew the War against them, every Man brought his Man and Maid-servant again into Subjection, contrary to the Engagement for Reformation before made. Wherefore *Jeremiah* proclaimed Liberty to the Sword, Famine and Pestilence to execute God's Wrath upon them (f). While the *Chaldeans* were absent from *Jerusalem*, *Jeremiah* intending to retire to *Anathoth*, the Place of his Nativity, to avoid the Siege, which he knew would be renewed, put himself on his Journey: But while he was passing the Gate of the City, the Captain of the Guard seized him, as a Deserter falling off to the *Chaldeans*; whereon he was put in Prison in a Dungeon, in the House of *Jonathai* the Scribe, where he remained many Days (g). On the Approach of the *Chaldean* Army, the *Egyptians* thought not fit to stand it; but retired again to their own Country, as had been foretold (h), leaving *Zedekiah* and the *Jews* to perish in that War they had drawn them into. Whereupon the Prophet *Ezekiel* reproached the *Egyptians* for being a staff of reed to those they had made to lean on them; and denounced the Judgments of God against them; which were executed in the War and Desolation for forty Years ensuing; and foretold, that they should become a mean and base People, having no more a King of their own to reign over them (i). All which came to pass; for at the End of forty Years, *Egypt* was made a Province of the *Persian* Empire; and hath been governed by Strangers ever since, being subject in several Ages to the *Macedonians*, *Romans*, *Saracens*, *Mamelukes*; and at this Day to the *Turkish* Empire.

Upon the Retreat of the *Egyptians*, *Nebuchadnezzar* returned, and renewed the Siege of *Jerusalem*. Whereupon *Zedekiah* sent for *Jeremiah* out of Prison (k), to enquire of him what Word there was from God concerning the present Posture of Affairs. To which there was no other Answer, but that *Zedekiah* was to be delivered into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*. Yet the King was prevail'd upon not to send the Prophet back to the Prison in the House of *Jonathai* the Scribe, a most noisom Place; but he was allowed to be a Prisoner in the King's Court, with an Allowance of a Portion of Bread out of the common Store, till the City was taken. *Zedekiah* further sent Messengers to *Jeremiah*, to enquire of the Lord concerning the present War. To which he answered, God would fight against the City, and smite it; both King and People should be delivered into the Hands of the *Babylonian*; those who continued in the City during the Siege, should perish by Sword, Famine and Pestilence; but those who would go out, and submit to the *Chaldeans*, should have their Lives for a Prey (l). At which Answer the Princes about the King were offended, and desired that *Jeremiah* should be put to death, because he weakned the Hands of the Men of War, and sought not the Welfare of the People, but their Hurt. Wherefore he was delivered into their Hands; and they threw him into a filthy Dungeon, where he sunk in the Mire. But *Ebedmelech* the *Ethiopian* intreated the King; and the Prophet was pulled out of the Dungeon by Cords, made soft under his Arm-pits with cast Clouts and Rags (m). *Zedekiah* once more sent for *Jeremiah* into the Temple, and secretly enquired what he should do: And the Prophet again told him, that if he would immediately deliver himself into the Hands of the King of *Babylon's* Princes, who commanded the Siege, he might save himself and the City; and seriously advised him to do it. But *Zedekiah* would not hearken to him, but sent him back to Prison, and after that appears no more to have consulted with him.

In the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*, God declared his Judgments against *Tyre*, for their insulting the calamitous State of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*: They should be delivered into the Hands of the same *Nebuchadnezzar*, as is fully described in the 26th, 27th and 28th Chapters of *Ezekiel*; and the *Egyptians* should not escape his avenging Hand (n). In the ninth Day of the fourth Month of this Year, *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Chaldeans* (o). *Zedekiah* and his Men of War broke through the Camp of the Enemy, endeavouring to make their Escape;

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but

(a) Jerem. xxxiv. 1, — 4. (b) Jerem. xxxii. 1, — 17. (c) Jerem. xxxvii. 5. (d) Jerem. lii. 29. (e) Jerem. xxxvii. 3, — 10. (f) Jerem. xxxiv. 11, — 17, — 22. (g) Jerem. xxxvii. 11, — 15. (h) Jerem. xxxvii. 7. (i) Ezek. xxix. xxx. (k) Jer. xxxvii. 17. (l) Jer. xxi. (m) Jer. xxxviii. (n) Ezek. xxix. (o) 2 Kings, xxv. 3, 4. Jer. xxxix. 2, — 10. and lii. 6, — 11.

but being pursued, he was taken in the Plains of *Jericho*, and carried to the King of *Babylon* at *Riblah* in *Syria*; who caused his Sons, and his Princes taken with him, to be slain before his Face, commanded this unfortunate Prince's Eyes to be put out, and then bound him in Fetters of Brass, and sent him to *Babylon*; where he died in Prison, and hereby fulfilled the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* (a), that he should be brought to *Babylon*, and yet should not see it. In the seventh Day of the fifth Month, which is towards the End of our *July*, *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of the Guards to the King of *Babylon*, came to *Jerusalem* (b); and after he had taken out all the Vessels of the House of the Lord, and gathered together all the Riches that could be found, either in the King's House, or in any other of the City, he did on the tenth Day of the same Month, at the Command of his Master, burn both the Temple and City to the Ground, overthrowing all the Walls, Towers and Fortresses belonging thereto; till he brought the whole to a perfect Desolation; and so it continued for fifty two Years together, till the Restoration from the Captivity. In memory of this Calamity, the *Jews* kept a Fast in the fourth Month, which falls in our *June*, for the taking of the City; and another Fast in the fifth Month, which falls in our *July*, for the Destruction of the Temple, which are mentioned *Zeck. viii. 19.* *Nebuzaradan* having destroyed the City and Temple, made all the People he found there Captives. Of these he took *Seraiah* the High-priest, who seems to have been the Father of *Ezra* (c), and *Zephaniah* the second Priest, and about seventy others of the principal Men of the Place, and carried them to *Riblah*, to *Nebuchadnezzar*; who caused them all to be put to death. Of the rest of the People he left the poorer sort to dress the Ground and the Vineyards, and made *Gedaliah* the Son of *Abikam* Governor over them; and carried away others to *Babylon*. But as to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* gave particular Charge to *Nebuzaradan* to look well to him, and do him no Harm (d). Therefore so soon as this Officer came to *Jerusalem*, he took the Prophet out of Prison; and having carried him as far as *Ramah*, he there gave him his Choice, whether he would go with him to *Babylon*, where he should be well look'd to, and maintained at the King's Charge; or remain in the Land: And the Prophet having chosen the latter, *Nebuzaradan* gave him Vi-ctuals and a Reward, and sent him back to *Gedaliah* the Son of *Abikam*, with a special Charge to be kind to him.

Here *Dr. Lightfoot* (e) doth place the Book of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. Every Day from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, to this Time, which was eighteen Years, might give occasion for such doleful Songs. The Book in the *Hebrew* hath no Title, but is named, as the Books of *Moses*, from the first Word, *Ес а н*, *How?* But the *Jewish* Commentators give it a Title from the Subject, *Дѣло нѣтъ*, *Lamentations*; and so do the *Greek*, and most other Translators. We have therein Expressions of Sorrow for the Destruction of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. Though *Jeremiah* foretold it, yet he was sincere when he protested he *did not desire that woful day*; but in the Prospect thereof, wished *his head were waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears*, to lament it. The Composition is not only poetical, but alphabetical, each Verse beginning with a several Letter of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, in the first, second and fourth Chapters; and in the third Chapter the first three Verses begin with *Aleph*, the next three with *Beth*, and so forward, as a Help to the Memory, the like being used in some of *David's* Psalms. The whole Book is of great use, to furnish the pious *Jews* in their Sufferings with spiritual Language to express their Grief, to preserve the Remembrance of *Zion* among their Children in *Babylon*, who had never seen it; to direct their Tears in the right Chancel, to mourn for Sin, to pour out their Heart to God; and to encourage their Hopes that God would yet return and have Mercy upon them: And may be of use to us, to affect us with godly Sorrow for the Calamities of the Church and People of God, as becomes those who are living Members of the same mystical Body.

Nebuchadnezzar being returned to *Babylon*, those *Jews* who for fear of the *Chaldeans* had hid themselves among Nations adjacent, or in Caves, Fields and Desarts, hearing that *Gedaliah* was made Governor of the Land, resorted to him; and he having sworn to protect them, they settled again in *Judea*, and gathered the Fruits thereof. But *Ishmael* the Son of *Netbaniah* came to him on a treacherous Design: For he being of the Seed Royal, reckoned to make himself King of the Land; and to accomplish this, he formed a Plot to kill *Gedaliah*, and seize the Government, *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites* being confederate with him. *Johanan* the Son of *Kareab* having notice of the Conspiracy, went and told *Gedaliah*, offering to kill *Ishmael*, and so to deliver the Governor from the Mischief intended (f). *Gedaliah* being of a kind Disposition, could not believe so bad a Thing, but still carried on a friendly Correspondence with his Adversary. Of which *Ishmael* taking the Advantage, in the seventh Month, which answers to our *September*, when most of the People were scattered to gather the Fruits of the Land, killed *Gedaliah*, and other *Jews* and *Chaldeans* with him, as they were

(a) xii. 13. (b) 2 Kings, xxv. 8, — 12. Jer. lii. 12, — 27. (c) Ezra, vii. 1. (d) Jer. xxxix. 11, — 14. and xl. 1, — 6. (e) *Chronica temporum & Ordo textuum*, p. m. 127. (f) Jer. xl. 7, — 16.

were eating and drinking together at *Mizpeh* (a). Next Day, hearing of eighty Men who were going with Offerings and Incense to the Place where the Temple had been, he slew them also, and threw their dead Bodies into a Pit; excepting ten of them, who promised him their Stores in the Field for the Redemption of their Lives. *Johanan* the Son of *Kareah*, and the rest of the Captains who were with him, hearing of this wicked Fact, armed immediately as many of the People as they could get together, and pursued after *Ishmael*; and having overtaken him at *Gibeon*, retaken all the Captives, among whom were the Daughters of King *Zedekiah*: But *Ishmael* himself, with eight of his Men, escaped to the *Ammonites*. This Murder of *Gedaliah* happened two Months after the Destruction of the City and Temple; for which the *Jews* observed a Fast (b) in the seventh Month, because it completed their Ruin. After this, *Johanan* the Son of *Kareah*, and the rest of the Officers and People who were with him, fearing the King of *Babylon* would take vengeance on the poor Remnant of *Judea* for the Murder of *Gedaliah*, whom he had made Governor of the Land, retired to *Mizpeh*, to flee into *Egypt*; and came to *Beth-lehem*, in their Way thither; where they consulted the Prophet *Jeremiah*, whom they carried with them, desiring him to enquire of God concerning their intended Journey (c): Who having considered the Matter ten Days, told them as an Answer from the Lord, That if they would tarry in the Land, all should go well with them, God would shew them Mercy; but if they would disobey the Word of the Lord, and go into *Egypt*, then the Sword and Famine would follow them thither, and they should there be destroyed. All this could not persuade them: They said this Answer was suggested by *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*; and in prosecution of their Design, they took all the Remainder of the People which *Nebuzaradan* had left under the Government of *Gedaliah*, Men, Women and Children, with *Jeremiah* and *Baruch*, and settled in *Egypt* (d); till all those Judgments God had threatened for their Disobedience there overtook them, to their utter Destruction.

The *Jews*, who went into *Egypt*, having settled at *Migdol*, at *Tahpanhes*, and at *Noph*, and in the Country of *Pathros* (e), that is, at *Magdalum* near the Red Sea, at *Daphne* near *Pelusium*, and at *Memphis* in the Country of *Thebais* (f), gave themselves wholly up to Idolatry, worshipping the Queen of Heaven, and other Heathenish Idols. The Prophet *Jeremiah* complained aloud of this Impiety; but this had no other Effect, than to draw from them an express Declaration that they would continue in their Idolatry: Wherefore the Prophet denounced Destruction against them by the Sword and by the Famine, whereby all the *Jews* dwelling in *Egypt* would be consumed, except a few that should escape to the Land of *Judah*: And as a Sign thereof it was foretold by the same Prophet, that *Pharaoh-hophra*, in whom they trusted, should be given into the Hands of his Enemies that sought his Life, as *Zedekiah* King of *Judah* was given into the Hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which came to pass about eighteen Years afterwards. There is no more Account of *Jeremiah* after this; it is probable that he died in *Egypt* about this Time, being then advanced in Age, having prophesied forty one Years, from the thirteenth of *Josiah*, to the Year after the Destruction of the Temple, and being much broken with the Calamities that he and his Country had endured. What some of the Antients have said of his being stoned to Death by the *Jews*, for his Warnings against their Idolatry, or of his being put to Death for his Warnings against *Pharaoh-hophra*, are but mere Conjectures.

The Captivity being completed, all the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* relating thereto, were fulfilled; particularly that of *Ezekiel* (g), wherein God's Forbearance to the House of *Israel*, is limited to three hundred and ninety Days, and his Forbearance of the House of *Judah*, to forty Days; a Day being there put for a Year. For from the Idolatry of *Jeroboam* in the first Year of his Reign, to the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple, are just so many Years; for if 390 be taken from the Year of the World 3362, in which this Captivity happened, we will run back to the Year 2972, in which *Jeroboam* (h) made Apostasy, and set up the Calves at *Dan* and *Beth-el*; and from the thirteenth Year of *Josiah*, in which *Jeremiah* began to prophesy (i), and to complain of the Sin of *Judah*, they being weary of that good King's Reformation, to this Captivity, are just forty Years; so that the Event exactly agrees to the Prediction in all Points. I know some learned Men give a different Beginning and Ending to these prophetick Years; but since what I have offered, makes the Prophecy to be so punctually accomplished, and agrees with the Opinion of the greater Number of Authors I have seen on the Subject, I insist no further upon it.

Nebuchadnezzar being returned to *Babylon* after the End of the *Jewish* War, out of the Spoils he had taken in that Expedition, made that golden Image to the Honour of *Bel* his God, which he set up and dedicated in the Plain of *Dura* (k). The Image was sixty Cubits high, and six Cubits broad. *Diodorus Siculus* (l) speaks of an Image of *Jupiter* at *Babylon*, of forty Foot in Length, and a thousand Talents in Weight, standing upright on his Feet; which may be the same with that in *Daniel*; for though sixty Cubits make ninety Foot,

I i i

yet

(a) Jer. xli. (b) Zech. viii. 19. (c) Jer. xlii. (d) Jer. xliii. (e) Jer. xliv. (f) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 27. (g) Ezek. iv. 5, 6. (h) See above, p. 176, and p. 215. (i) Jer. i. 2. (k) Dan. iii. (l) Lib. 2. cap. 9.

yet if we suppose the Idol stood on a Pedestal fifty foot high, the whole Height would be ninety Foot, and the golden Idol only forty Foot : And ninety Foot in Height, and six Cubits in Breadth, would never make the Figure proportionable to the Stature of a Man. Besides, a thousand *Babylonish* Talents, computed at eight hundred and seventy five Ounces each Talent (a), will amount to three Millions and a half *Sterling* Money ; but if we advance the Height of the golden Statue to be ninety Foot, without the Pedestal, the Sum will be incredible. *Nebuchadnezzar* having summoned all his Princes, Counsellors, Captains and other Officers, to adore this Image, and to be present at the Dedication thereof, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach* and *Abed-nego*, three captive *Jews* preferred to Posts of Honour in *Babylon*, were informed against, for refusing to worship the Image. They being called for, and with a holy Boldness refusing to be guilty of such Idolatry, they were thrown into a burning fiery Furnace, in which they were wonderfully preserved free of any Hurt by the Power of God : For by faith they quenched the violence of fire (b). The King being convinced of the Truth of the Miracle, called them out of the Furnace, gave Honour to the true God, and promoted those faithful Worthies in the Province of *Babylon*. *Daniel*, who was so eminently faithful to God, would never have complied more than those three ; but he seems at this Time not to have been accused.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty first Year of his Reign, according to the *Jewish* Account, which was the nineteenth with the *Babylonians*, and the second after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, came again into *Syria* ; where he laid Siege to *Tyre*, of which *Ithobaal* was then King (c) ; and it cost him hard Work for thirteen Years together, before he could be Master of it : For it was a strong wealthy City, of great Fame in those Times for Traffick and Merchandize, whereby several of its Inhabitants had made themselves great as Princes, for Riches and Splendor (d). While he lay at this Siege, *Nebuzaradan* the Captain of the Guards being sent out with a Part of the Royal Army, invaded the Land of *Israel*, (probably to revenge the Death of *Gedaliah*) and seized all the *Jews* he could meet with, who amounted to no more than seven hundred and forty five Persons (e) ; by which the Desolation of the Land appears to have been very great, and this completed it. By the by we may observe, that there are some things in the last Chapter of *Jeremiah*, particularly from the 29th to the 34th Verse, that seem not to have been writ by the Prophet himself, because the Facts there related were done after his Death, but they might have been added by *Ezra*, or some inspired Writer, to keep those remarkable Events in perpetual Remembrance. After this *Nebuzaradan* marched against the *Ammonites*, and having destroyed *Rabbah* their Royal City, and made great Desolation in their Country ; he carried their King, their Princes, and the chief of their Land into Captivity, as foretold *Jerem. xlix. 1, — 6. Ezek. xxv. 1, — 7*. And this was done by way of just Revenge, for the Part they had acted in the Murder of *Gedaliah* Governor of *Israel*. Also during the Siege of *Tyre*, the other neighbouring Nations ; that is, the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Zidonians*, seem to have been harassed and broken by the Excursions of the *Babylonish* Army ; whereby the Judgments were executed upon them, that are denounced in the 47th, 48th and 49th Chapters of *Jeremiah*, and in the 25th Chapter of *Ezekiel*.

In the fourteenth Year after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was the twenty fifth of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, were revealed unto the Prophet *Ezekiel* all those Visions and Prophecies, concerning the future State of the Church of God, and other Gospel-mysteries, which we have from the fortieth Chapter to the End of his Book.

The same Year, the Judgments that God had denounced by his Prophets against *Pharaoh-hophrah*, or *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, began to have their Accomplishment. For the *Cyrenians*, a Colony of the *Greeks* that had settled in *Africa*, having taken from the *Libyans* a great Part of their Land, the *Libyans* made a Surrender of themselves and their Country into the Hands of *Apries* for his Protection. Whereupon *Apries* sent a great Army into *Libya*, to make War against the *Cyrenians* (f) : Which being overthrown in Battle, were all cut to Pieces. The *Egyptians* being of opinion that *Apries* had lost these Men of Design, became so incensed that they revolted from him. *Apries* being informed, sent *Amasis* to appease the Revolters. But while he was speaking to them, they declared him their King ; which increased the Party. At which *Apries* being highly provoked, sent *Paterbemis*, another Officer in his Court, to bring *Amasis* to him : Which he not being able to accomplish, on his Return had his Ears and Nose cut off. This Injury, done to a Man of great Worth, so incensed the rest of the *Egyptians*, that they almost all joined the Revolters. Whereupon *Apries* was forced to flee into Upper *Egypt* ; where he maintained himself for some Years, while *Amasis* held all the rest of his Dominions.

While this was a-doing in *Egypt*, in the twenty sixth Year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the fifteenth after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself Master

(a) See Prideaux's Connexion, Part 1. p. m. 101. (b) *2 Chron. xi. 34.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 350.* (d) *Isaiah, xxiii. 8. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii.* (e) *Jer. lii. 30.* (f) *Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 161, 162. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 68.*

Master of *Tyre*, after a Siege of thirteen Years (a), and utterly destroyed the Place, that is, the City on the Continent, the Ruins whereof were afterwards called *Palæ-Tyrus*, or, *Old Tyre* : For *Nebuchadnezzar* made a Fort against it, cast up a Mount, and erected Engines to batter down its Walls (b) ; which could not be said of *Tyre* in the Sea. But before he took the City, the Inhabitants had removed most of their Effects into an Island about half a Mile from the Shore, and there built a new City. Therefore the King of *Babylon*, when he entered the Town he had so long besieged, found no Spoils there to reward his Soldiers ; which made him let his Anger fly, by razing the whole Buildings to the Ground, and killing all the Inhabitants that he found there. And his Army having served so long in the Siege, without wages, till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled, God by the Prophet *Ezekiel* (c) promised to him the Spoils of *Egypt*. Accordingly, the same Year, *Nebuchadnezzar* taking the Occasion of the intestine Divisions in that Country by the Revolt of *Amasis*, over-run the whole Land, from *Migdol* to *Syene* ; that is, from the one End of *Egypt* to the other ; reducing the Country to such a Desolation, as it did not recover in forty Years thereafter (d) : And having come to Terms with *Amasis*, he confirmed him as his Deputy in the Kingdom, and returned to *Babylon*. During this Ravage of the Land of *Egypt*, most of the *Jews* who had fled thither after the Murder of *Gedaliah*, fell into the Hands of the *Babylonians*. Many of them they slew, others they carried captive to *Babylon* ; scarce any escaped, but such as fled out of *Egypt*, and afterwards settled themselves in their own Land at the End of the Captivity, as had been foretold by *Jeremiah* (e).

A. M.
3377.
Ant. C.
573.
Reg. Neb.
32.

Nebuchadnezzar being gone out of *Egypt*, *Apries* creeping out of his Hiding-places, got towards the Sea-coasts ; where he hired an Army of *Carians*, *Ionians* and other Foreigners, and marched against *Amasis* (f), and gave him Battle near *Memphis* ; where *Apries* being vanquished, and taken Prisoner, he was carried to the City *Sais*, and there strangled in his own Palace. Hereby was accomplished the Prediction of *Jeremiah* (g), *Behold, I will give Pharaoh-hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, who seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy, that sought his life*. It is remarked of him by *Herodote* (h), that he used to boast that it was not in the Power of God himself to dispossess him of his Kingdom ; which is like his Pride spoke of in *Ezek. xxix. 9. The river is mine, and I have made it* : Yet he was thus tumbled down. For the first twenty Years of his Reign, he enjoyed a very prosperous Fortune, having many Successes against the *Sidonians*, *Tyrrians* (i), and other Nations : But when he turned a Tyrant, he made a miserable Exit. After the Death of *Apries*, *Amasis* became possessed of the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it forty four Years (k).

A. M.
3380.
Ant. C.
570.
Reg. Neb.
35.

Nebuchadnezzar being returned from *Egypt* to *Babylon*, had there the Dream of a wonderful great Tree, and the cutting down thereof : Which Vision, with its Interpretation, is fully recorded in the fourth Chapter of *Daniel*. This King being now at rest from all his Wars, applied himself to finish his Buildings at *Babylon*. *Semiramis* is said by some (l), and *Belus* by others (m), to have founded this City : But whoever laid the Foundation of it, *Nebuchadnezzar* made it great, and one of the Wonders of the World. It was remarkable, First, for its Walls, which were prodigious ; for *Herodote* (n) tells us, they were in thickness eighty seven Foot, in height three hundred and fifty Foot, and in compass four hundred and eighty Furlongs, (which make sixty of our Miles) in the Form of a Square, each Side being fifteen Miles in length, all built of large Bricks, cemented with Bitumen. On every Side there were twenty five Gates of Brasses, that is one hundred in all. Hence it is promised to *Cyrus*, 'That God would break before him the gates of brass' (o). The Walls were adorned with two hundred and fifty Towers. From the twenty five Gates went twenty five Streets, in straight Lines, to the opposite Gates, crossing each other at right Angles, and cutting the whole City into six hundred and seventy six Squares. The Country round was most fertile, to maintain so great a City ; but it was never fully inhabited. A second great Work, was the Temple of *Belus* ; where was a Tower of a Furlong on each Side, that is half a Mile in the whole Compass ; and consisted of eight Towers (p), one built over the other, like so many Stories one above another, each Story being seventy five Foot high ; which makes the perpendicular Height of the whole Tower to have been six hundred Foot. Therefore it is not without Reason that *Monsieur Bochart* (q) affirms it to have been the same that was built after the Confusion of Languages. Over the Top of the Tower was an Observatory ; by the Benefit of which the *Chaldeans* advanced their Skill in Astronomy above all other Nations : For when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*, *Calisthenes* the Philosopher found they had Astronomical Observations for a thousand nine hundred and three Years before that Time. *Nebuchadnezzar* enlarged this Temple,

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11. (b) Ezek. xxvi. 4, — 16. and xxviii. 8, — 10. (c) Ezek. xxix. 18, — 20. and xxx. 1, — 19. (d) Ezek. xxix. 13. (e) xlv. 27, 28. (f) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 163, 169. (g) xlv. 30. (h) Lib. 2. cap. 169. (i) Herodotus, lib. 2. cap. 161. (k) Herodotus, lib. 3. cap. 10. (l) Justin, lib. 1. cap. 2. (m) Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 1. (n) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 178 & seqq. (o) Isaiah, xlv. 2. (p) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 181. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. (q) Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 9. in fine.

Temple, by vast Buildings round it, of a Mile in Circumference, with several Gates of solid Brass leading into the Temple; wherein he put all the sacred Vessels which he carried from *Jerusalem* (a); and therein were also several Statues of massy Gold. There seems to have been the golden Image described in the third Chapter of *Daniel*, which hath been before (b) noticed, with other Images and sacred Utenfils of solid Gold; containing, as *Diodorus Siculus* (c) mentions them, five thousand and thirty Talents; which, with the great Image, amount, according to Dr. *Prideaux* (d), to above twenty one Millions *Sterling*; and we may suppose the Treasure and Utenfils much more, being a Collection of near two thousand Years. All this *Xerxes* took away, when in the Return from his *Grecian* Expedition he plundered this Temple of its immense Riches, and laid it in Rubbish, so as it was never repaired, as shall be afterwards observed. Near this Temple stood the old Palace of the Kings of *Babylon*, being four Miles in compass. Over against it, on the other Side of the River, was the new Palace (e); which *Nebuchadnezzar* built, being eight Miles in Circuit, surrounded with three Walls, one within another, and strongly fortified according to the Way of those Times. There were also hanging Gardens, so famous among antient Authors (f). They contained a Square of four *Plethra*, or four hundred Foot, on every Side; and were carried up aloft into the Air, in the Manner of several large Terraces, one above another, till the highest equalled the Walls of the City. The Ascent was by Stairs, ten Foot wide from Terraces to Terraces: And the whole Pile was sustained by vast Arches, one above another, strengthened by a Wall of twenty two Foot thickness. On the Top of the Arches were laid large flat Stones; over these, a Layer of Reed, mixed with Bitumen; over these, two Rows of Bricks, well cemented; over all, thick Sheats of Lead; and lastly, the Mould of the Garden so deep, as Trees, Plants and Flowers had room to take root. The whole was watered with an Engine, out of the River. And this Work of Vanity was done to gratify Queen *Amytis*; who having been educated in the woody Country of *Media* (g), desired to see something like it at *Babylon*. There were other Works of great Expence done in this City; as, a curious Bridge over a Branch of the River *Euphrates*, running through the Town from North to South. The Bridge was of a Furlong, or the eighth Part of a Mile, in length, and thirty Foot in breadth, framed with wonderful Art, to supply the want of a Foundation at the Bottom of the River, which was all sandy. The artificial Canals, the Banks of the River, and the artificial Lake made for draining in the Times of the Overflows, and an Obelisk, of a hundred and thirty five Foot in length, and twenty five Foot in breadth and thickness, were all prodigious Works (h). But to go on with the History:

At the End of twelve Months, after *Nebuchadnezzar's* last Dream, while he was walking in his Palace at *Babylon*, and probably in the uppermost Terraces of his hanging Gardens, from whence he might have a Prospect of the whole City, he proudly boasting of the Works he had done, said, *Is not this great Babylon which I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty* (i). But while the Words were yet in his Mouth, there came a Voice from Heaven to rebuke his Pride; which told him, that his Kingdom was departed from him; that he should be driven from the Society of Men, and for seven Years have his Dwelling with the wild Beasts of the Field. And immediately his Senses being taken from him, he fell into a distracted Condition, in which he continued for seven Years, living in the Fields, and eating Grass like Oxen, till his Hair was grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws. At the End of the seven Years, his Understanding returning to him, he was restored to his Kingdom, and to his former Honour. Whereon, being fully sensible of the Almighty Power of the God of Heaven and Earth, he praised him, *whose works are truth, and his ways judgment; and these that walk in pride he is able to abase*. (k). After this he lived only one Year and died, having reigned from the Death of his Father, according to the *Babylonish* Account forty three Years; but by the *Jewish* Computation, from his first coming into *Palestine* forty five Years, and was one of the greatest Princes that had reigned in the East for many Ages before.

Upon the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evil-merodach* his Son succeeded him in the *Babylonish* Empire. So soon as he was settled on the Throne, he released *Jehoiachin* King of *Judah* out of Prison (l), and promoted him to great Honour in the Palace, admitting him to eat Bread continually at his Table, and setting him before the other Kings and great Men of the Empire; and also gave him a daily Allowance for his Support, with an Equipage and all Things suitable thereto. *Jerom* (m) tells us, from an antient Tradition or Fable among the *Jews*, that *Evil-merodach* having had the Government of the *Babylonish* Empire during his Father's Distraction, administered it so ill, that so soon as the old King came to himself, he put him in Prison in the

(a) Dan. i. 2. (b) Above, p. 217. (c) Lib. 2. cap. 9. (d) Connection, p. 101. Part 1. (e) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. cap. 8. (f) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. cap. 10. Quint. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 5. (g) Berolus apud Joseph. contra Appionem, lib. 1. p. 1045. (h) Diod. Siculus, lib. 2. cap. 8, 11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11. Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 185, 186. (i) Dan. iv. 29. 30. (k) Dan. iv. 31, — 37. (l) 2 Kings xxv. 27, — 30. Jerem. lii. 31, — 34. (m) Hieronymus in Isai. xiv. 19. Tom. 5. fol. 26.

the same Place with *Jehoiachin*, who had been Prisoner thirty seven Years, where he contracted such Friendship with him, as was the Cause of the great Kindness he afterwards shewed him. The only thing that makes this Story probable, is, that since *Evil-merodach* carried so ill after his Father's Death, 'tis like he behaved no better before; for he was a very profligate and vicious Prince (a); for which Reason he is named, *Evil-merodach*; that is, the foolish *Merodach*. The same Year *Croesus* succeeded his Father *Alyattes* in the Kingdom of *Lydia* (b), and reigned there fourteen Years; and this Year was the 28th after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the 46th of the seventy Years Captivity.

Evil-merodach, who in the Canon of *Ptolemy* is called *Ilvarodamus*, having reigned two Years at *Babylon*, his Lusts and Cruelty made him so intolerable, that his own Relations conspired, and put him to Death, and *Neriglissar* or *Nericassolassar* (c) the chief Conspirator, his Sister's Husband, reigned in his stead. It seems that *Jehoiachin* did not out-live *Evil-merodach*; for 'tis said, *he did eat before him all the days of his life* (d). Hence some infer, That as a Favourite he was slain with him, which agrees with the Prediction in *Jeremiah*; xxii. 30. *He shall not prosper in his day*. Upon the Death of *Jehoiachin*, *Salathiel* his Son became the nominal Prince of the *Jews* (e), or Head of the Captivity at *Babylon*.

The same Year that *Evil-merodach* was slain, died *Astyages* King of *Media*; and to him succeeded his Son *Cyaxares* II. in the Government of the Kingdom, and *Cyrus* his Grandson, by his Daughter *Mandana* was set at the Head of the military Affairs. *Cyaxares* was at this Time forty one Years of Age; and *Cyrus* forty; for *Cicero* says (f), That *Cyrus* was forty Years of Age when he began to reign, and lived till he was seventy. *Neriglissar* on his Accession to the Empire at *Babylon*, made Preparations for a War against the *Medes*. *Cyaxares* called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his Assistance (g); and on his Arrival with an Army of thirty thousand *Persians*, made him General of the *Medes* also, and sent him with the joint Forces of both Nations, to make War against the *Babylonians*. This *Cyrus* was a very extraordinary Person for Wisdom, Valour and Virtue, and famous in sacred Scripture, not only as a Restorer of *Israel* out of the *Babylonish* Captivity (h), but also in being appointed for this Service by Name (i), more than a hundred Years before he was born, which was a Honour given to very few, except to our Saviour (k) and to *Josiah* King of *Judah* (l); 'tis therefore fit to take notice of a few Particulars concerning him. The Account *Herodote* gives of him, seems to be fabulous; the Sum thereof is (m), That *Astyages* having married his Daughter *Mandana* to *Cambyles* King of *Persia*: While she was with Child, he dreamed that a Vine grew out of her Belly, that spread it self over all Asia; which was interpreted, that the Child she should bring forth would subdue the Empire of the *Medes*. This so troubled the old King, that he resolved to destroy the Child. Accordingly when *Mandana* was delivered of *Cyrus*, he sent the Infant to *Harpagus* his Servant, with Orders to kill him. He gave the Child to his Shepherd to execute the cruel Orders. The Shepherd's Wife being at that Time brought to Bed of a dead Child, she caused her dead Infant to be exposed in the Woods, and the King's Grandchild to be educated instead of her own; which *Astyages* long after hearing, was so incensed, that he made *Harpagus* eat his own Son; who, in Revenge called in *Cyrus*, who dethroned his Grandfather. This Story is followed with some little Alteration by *Justin* (n), and after them by many others, perhaps because 'tis a little amusing. *Xenophon* gives a quite different Account in his *Cyropædia*. That Book is indeed rather a Model for educating a Prince, to teach him true Politicks, and to shew what he ought to be, than a just History: Yet the learned Author having lived long in the Court of *Cyrus* the younger, who descended from this *Cyrus*, might there learn the true Facts that are the Ground-plot and Foundation of his Work. He observes that *Cyrus* the Founder of the *Persian* Monarchy, was the Son of *Mandana*, the Daughter of *Astyages*, and of *Cambyses* King of *Persia*: That for the first twelve Years of his Life he staid in *Persia* with his Father, where he was educated after the *Persian* Manner in Hardship, Labour, and in all such Exercises, as would best prepare him for the Fatigues of War (o), in which he exceeded all his Contemporaries. The Name of *Persia* then extended only to one Province. Afterwards when it had the Empire of the East, the Name thereof reached much further; from the River *Tigris* on the West, to the River *Indus* on the East; and from the *Caspian* Sea to the North, to the Ocean on the South. *Cyrus* being twelve Years old, was sent for into *Media* by *Astyages* his Grandfather (p), with whom he continued five Years, where by his generous Behaviour, he so gained the Hearts of the *Medes*, as did afterwards tend to obtaining the Empire he erected. In the sixteenth Year of his Age, *Evil-merodach* being Abroad on a hunting Expedition, made an Inroad into the Territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Astyages* with his Forces to oppose him. There *Cyrus*

A. M.
3391.
Ant. C.
559.
Neriglissar
1.

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accom-

(a) Philostratus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. p. 1045. (b) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 6. (c) Canon Ptolemæi. (d) 2 Kings xxv. 29. (e) Ezræ Apocryphus lib. 4. cap. v. 16. (f) Cicero de divinatione, lib. 1. cap. 23. (g) Xenophon in Cyropædia, lib. 1. p. 22, 23, 38. (h) Ezræ i. (i) Isaiah xlv. 28. Isaiah xlv. 1. (k) Isa. vii. 14. (l) 1 Kings xiii. 2. (m) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 108, — 130. (n) Justin lib. 1. cap. 4, — 7. (o) Xenophon Cyropædia, lib. 1. p. 3. in Editione apud Wechelum 1596. quâ utor. (p) Idem, p. 8.

accompanying his Grandfather, behaved so well (a), that the Victory then gained was chiefly owing to his Valour. Next Year he went home to his Father in *Persia*, where he continued to the fortieth Year of his Life. At which Time being called to assist his Uncle *Cyaxares*, he marched with an Army of thirty thousand Men, as above-mentioned, and behaved himself so wisely, as in the Space of twenty Years, he made himself Master of the greatest Empire that had ever been erected in the East; which he established so, that it subsisted above two hundred Years, tho' his Successors were far from being possessors of his Virtue.

Neriglissar understanding that *Cyrus* was come with such an Army to assist the *Medes*, sent Ambassadors to the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, and other neighbouring Nations, to call them to his Aid (b), and drew them all into a Confederacy. The King of *Armenia*, who had to this Time lived in Subjection to the *Medes*, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up, refused any longer to pay his Tribute, or send his Auxiliaries to the War (c). To crush this Revolt, *Cyrus* marched with great Expedition, with the best of his Horse into *Armenia*, where he surprised the King, and took him, and all his Family Prisoners: And having planted Garrisons in the Country, came to Terms with the *Armenians* (d), so as receiving from him the Tribute and Auxiliaries he demanded, he restored him to his Kingdom, and returned to *Media*. Both Parties having been for three Years forming their Alliances, in the fourth Year of *Neriglissar*, Armies took the Field, and it came to a fierce Battle between them; wherein *Neriglissar* being slain (e), the *Chaldean* Army was put to the Rout, and *Cyrus* had the Victory. *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, upon the Death of *Neriglissar*, being next in Dignity to him, took the Command of the Vanquished, and made as good a Retreat as he could: But next Day *Cyrus* pursuing, overtook them at a Disadvantage, and entirely routed them, taking their Camp and all their Baggage, which he effected chiefly by the Assistance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had the Night before revolted to him. Whereupon *Cræsus* made the best of his Way to *Lydia*, having the Night before sent thither his Women, and the best of his Furniture. The Death of *Neriglissar* was a great Loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a very brave and excellent Prince, only he had to deal with *Cyrus*, whom God designed for the Empire of the East, and nothing was to withstand him. The Loss of this Prince appeared the greater, by the succeeding of his Son, whom *Josephus* calls *Labosfordachus* (f), who was given to all Manner of Wickedness, Cruelty and Injustice. Two Acts of Violence done by him against two of his principal Nobility, *Gobrias* and *Gadates* (g), did contribute very much to ruin the *Babylonian* Empire. The only Son of the former he slew at a Hunting to which he had invited him, for no other Reason, but that he had with Success thrown his Dart at a wild Beast, when himself had missed it; and the other he caused to be castrated, because one of his Concubines had commended him for a handsome Man. These Injuries done to those Men of Quality, drove them with the Provinces which they had governed, to revolt to *Cyrus*; and the whole Empire suffered by it. For *Cyrus* hereby penetrated into the very Heart of the Enemies Country, taking first Possession of the Province and Castles of *Gobrias*, and afterwards doing the same with these of *Gadates*. The *Chaldean* King endeavoured to be before him in revenging the Revolt of *Gadates*; but *Cyrus* put him to the Rout, and forced him to retire to *Babylon*; and after he had ravaged the Country, and shewed himself twice before the Walls of that City, and secured Fortresses on the Frontiers, he took up his Winter Quarters in *Media*, where he and *Cyaxares* consulted about the Operations of the War. *Cyrus* being gone from before *Babylon*, *Labosfordachus* gave himself a Loose to all his wicked and tyrannical Inclinations, by which he became so intolerable, that his own People (h) conspired against him and killed him, after he had reigned only nine Months. He is not mentioned in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, because his Father *Neriglissar* being killed in the Spring, the remaining nine Months of that Year, are reckoned to him, according to the Method of that Author.

After him succeeded *Nabonadius*, and reigned seventeen Years (i). He is called by *Berosus* (k), *Nabonidus*, by *Herodotus* *Labynetus* (l), and is the same with *Naboandelus*, as *Josephus* says (m), he was called by the *Babylonians*, and *Belsazzar*, the last Monarch of *Babylon* (n): For we find it foretold in *Jerem. xxvii. 7. that all nations shall serve him, viz. Nebuchadnezzar, and his son and his sons son.* Now *Evil-merodach* was the Son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Neriglissar* was not the Son of *Evil-merodach*, but his Sister's Husband. But *Belsazzar*, or *Nabonadius* was the Son of *Evil-merodach*, the Grandchild of *Nebuchadnezzar* the great; so the Prediction of *Jeremiah* was fulfilled: And thus the Bulk of Commentators and other Authors understand it. This *Belsazzar* hath the Character in *Xenophon* (o), of an impious Prince, which appears more certain from the Account given of him in *Daniel*, chap. v. But his Mother, whom *Herodote* calls *Nitocris* (p), was a Woman of a masculine Spirit, who while her

(a) *Xenophon Cyropædia*, p. lib. 1. 19. (b) *Idem*, lib. 2. p. 39. (c) *Idem*, p. 59. (d) *Idem*, lib. 3. p. 68. (e) *Idem*, *ibid.* (f) *Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12. p. 350.* (g) *Xenophon in Cyropædia*, lib. 4. p. 112. & lib. 5. p. 135. & seqq. (h) *Berosus apud Josephum contra Appionem* lib. 1. p. 1045. (i) Canon *Ptolomæi*. (k) *Apud Josephum* p. 1045. (l) *Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 77.* (m) *Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12. p. 350.* (n) *Dan. 5.* (o) *Cyropædia*, lib. 2. p. m. 192. (p) *lib. 1. cap. 185.*

her Son followed his Pleasures, took the main Burden of the Government upon her. *Cyrus*, after Consultation with *Cyaxares*, resolved to carry on the War, by taking Fortresses and important Towns, that by Degrees he might become Master of the *Babylonish* Empire; and thus they employed themselves for several Years. In the mean Time *Nitocris* did all she could to fortify the Metropolis, and perfect the Works that *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun at *Babylon*, but all this was to no Purpose, when the City was taken by Surprise.

In the first Year of *Belshazzar's* Reign, which was the thirty fourth after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Daniel* had revealed to him the Vision of the four Monarchies, and of the Kingdom of the *Messias*, which was to succeed them, as related in *Dan. vii.* In the third Year of the same Reign, which was the thirty seventh after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Daniel* saw the Vision of the Ram and the He-goat; whereby was signified the Overthrow of the *Persian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and the Persecution raised against the *Jews* by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, as more fully in *Dan. viii.* Where we find this was revealed to him at *Shushan* the Palace, in the Province of *Elam*, while he attended there, as a Minister of State, upon the King of *Babylon's* Affairs: Which shews *Shushan* then to have been in the Hands of the *Babylonians*. But about three Years after, *Abradates*, the Viceroy of *Shushan*, revolting to *Cyrus* (a), it was joined to the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*; and the *Elamites* came with the *Medes* to besiege *Babylon* (b), and *Elam* was restored to Liberty (c).

Ant. C.
553.
Belsh. 3.

Cyrus making great Progress in his Conquests, by taking Fortresses, Towns and Provinces from the *Babylonians*; to put a Stop thereto, *Belshazzar*, in the fifth Year of his Reign, went into *Lydia*, to King *Cræsus* his Confederate, and by his Assistance framed a formidable Confederacy against the *Medes* and *Persians*, and with his Treasure hired a numerous Army of *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Thracians* out of all the Nations of the Lesser *Asia*; over whom he appointed *Cræsus* to be General (d), sent him to invade *Media*, and then returned to *Babylon*. *Cyrus* having Intelligence of these Measures, made suitable Preparations to withstand the Storm. *Cræsus* was deceived into this War by the fallacious Oracles of the Heathens, which he frequently consulted, according to the idolatrous Customs of those Times. One of their Responses told him, That he should be in no Danger, till a Mule should reign over the *Medes*: Which he never understood of *Cyrus*, who had a *Mede* for his Mother, and a *Persian* his Father. Another Oracle told him, That when he passed the River *Halys*, he would overthrow a great Empire (e); which he took to be that of the *Persians*, and not his own. Being cheated by these and the like false Responses of Dæmons, he went on with the War, passed the River *Halys*, and took the City *Pteria* (f). But *Cyrus* engaged with him in Battle, and put his numerous Army to flight. Whereupon *Cræsus* returned to *Sardis*, and there dismissed his Auxiliaries, ordering them to attend him next Spring; little thinking he would presently stand in need of them. But *Cyrus* pursuing his Victory into *Lydia*, came upon him suddenly; and the *Persian* Camels so frightened the *Lydian* Horse, that the *Lydians* were all soon put to flight, and forced to retire into *Sardis*; where *Cyrus* immediately besieged them. While he lay at the Siege of this City, he celebrated the Funerals of *Abradates* Prince of *Shushan*, and *Panthea* his Wife. The Woman was very beautiful, and had been taken Prisoner by the *Persians* in a Battle against the *Babylonians*. *Cyrus* having treated her kindly, and kept her chastly for her Husband, the Sense of this Generosity drew *Abradates* into the Service of *Cyrus*: And he being killed in the War, his Wife flew herself out of Grief, upon his dead Body: And *Cyrus* took care (g) to have them both honourably buried; and a stately Monument was erected over them near the River *Pactolus*, which remained for a long Time. But the great Care of *Cyrus* was, vigorously to push on the Siege; which he did with that Success, that *Sardis* was taken before Succours could arrive; and *Cræsus* being made Prisoner, and in danger of Death by a Soldier, his Son, who from his Infancy had been dumb in spite of all Means of Recovery, seeing his Father in this Case, is said to have cried out, *Sir, do not kill Cræsus* (h)! This King being brought to *Cyrus*, was ordered to be burnt on a Pile of Wood. On the sight thereof, he minded a Conference he before had with *Solon*, a wise *Athenian* Philosopher, (who hearing him boast of his Riches and Prosperity, told him that no Man could be counted happy before Death) and thereupon cried out, *Solon! Solon! Solon!* Which being told to *Cyrus*, he allowed the captive Prince to repete the whole Story; and the compassionate Conqueror not only spared the Life of *Cræsus* (i), but also gave him a honourable Subsistence, and employed him as one of his chief Counsellors all his Life, and at his Death recommended to his Son *Cambyses* to follow his Advice. The taking of this City is placed by *Eusebius* (k) in the first Year of the fifty eighth Olympiad, which was the eighth Year of *Belshazzar*, and the forty first after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

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Ant. C.
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Belsh. 3.

Ant. C.
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Belsh. 8.

After this *Cyrus* continued some Time in the Lesser *Asia*, till he had brought the several Nations which inhabited it, from the *Egean* Sea to the Empire of the *Medes*, into through

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Sub-

(a) *Cyropædia*, lib. 6. p. m. 155. (b) *Isaiah*, xxi. 2. (c) *Jerem.* xlix. 39. (d) *Cyropædia*, lib. 6. p. 158. (e) *Herodot.* lib. 1. cap. 53, — 56. (f) *Herodot.* lib. 1. cap. 75, 76. (g) *Cyropædia*, lib. vii. p. 184, — 186. (h) *Herodot.* lib. 1. cap. 85. (i) *Ibid.* cap. 86, & seqq. (k) In *Chronico*.

Subjection. From hence he went into *Syria* and *Arabia*; where he did the same, and then
 A. M. 3410. marched into the Upper *Asia*; where having reduced the whole Country under his Obedience, he
 Ant. C. 540. marched to *Babylon*, as the only Place of the East which then held out against him. Having
 Belsh. 16. overthrown *Belsbazzar* in Battle, he shut him up in his Metropolis, and there besieged him for
 eight Years, after taking *Sardis*. This Siege proved a very difficult Work: For the Walls of *Ba-
 bylon* were high and impregnable, the Number of Men to defend them was very great, and they
 were furnished with all sorts of Provisions within for twenty Years (a); and the empty Ground
 within the City, both for Fruit, Tillage and Pasturage, was sufficient to furnish them for much
 more. Wherefore the Besieged mocked at *Cyrus's* Army from the Top of their Walls; yet
 he went on, and drew a Line of Circumvallation round the City, making the Ditch broad
 and deep; and by the help of Palm-trees, which grow in that Country to the height of a hun-
 dred Foot, he erected Towers higher than the Walls. But finding the City was not to be
 taken by an Assault, he endeavoured to starve it into a Surrender, and divided his Forces in-
 to twelve Parts, that each in his Month might guard the Trenches with less Fatigue. But
 Ant. C. 539. after two Years had been spent this Way, and nothing done, he fell on a Stratagem, which
 Belsh. 17. with little difficulty made him Master of the City. For finding that a great annual Festival
 was to be kept at *Babylon*, to the Idol *Sheshbath* (b), at which the People used to spend the
 whole Night in Revelling and Drunkenness, he sent a Party of his Men up the River *Euphra-
 tes*, that runs through the City, to the Canal that leads into a great Lake; where, by break-
 ing the Dam, he let so much of the River into the Lake, as the Chancel that entered the Town
 was fordable (c); in the mean time setting one Part of his Army where the River ran into
 the City, and the other where it came out, he ordered his Men to enter the Town by the
 Chancel of the River as soon as possible. *Gobrias* and *Gadates*, who were Guides to the *Medes*
 and *Persians*, finding the Gates upon the River open that Night, entered without any Oppo-
 sition, killed the Guards, and went straight into the Palace; where they slew the King, fight-
 ing for his Life, and those that were with him. Proclamation being made of Safety for Life
 to all such as should submit, and bring in their Arms, but of Death to such as should re-
 fuse, all yielded to the Conqueror; and *Cyrus* became Master of the City, which concluded
 his Conquests, after a War of twenty one Years. This Account, given by *Herodote* and *Xe-
 nophon*, of the taking of *Babylon*, exactly agrees with the holy Scriptures: For we find, *Dan. v.*
 that *Belsbazzar* made a feast for a thousand of his lords, for his wives, and for his concubines,
 drinking in the golden Vessels brought out of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and praising their Gods
 of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Wood and Stone. That very Night *Belsbazzar* was slain, and
Darius the *Mede*, that is *Cyaxares*, the Uncle of *Cyrus*, took the Kingdom; for *Cyrus* allowed
 him the Title of all his Conquests as long as he lived. That Night, divine Providence caused a
 Hand to write a Sentence upon the Wall, *MENE MENE TEKEL PERES UPHARSIN*; intimating,
*God hath numbred thy kingdom, and finished it: thou art weighed in the balances, and found
 wanting: thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.* The King saw the
 Appearance of the Hand; and being struck with Fear and Terror, called for his Wife-men and
 Magicians to read and interpret the Inscription. But none of them being able to do it, the
 Queen, who is supposed to have been *Nitocris* the Queen-Mother, caused send for the Pro-
 phet *Daniel*; who read and faithfully interpreted the Writing, as above expressed. That
 same Night was the Palace taken, and the King slain: For Candles were lighted before the
 Hand-writing appeared (d); and some Hours must have passed before the Magicians were
 called, and after them *Daniel*, who made the Interpretation, which was accomplished in the
 End of the Night, or Beginning of the next Morning.

In the taking of *Babylon* ended the *Babylonish* Empire, after it had continued, from the
 Reign of *Nabonassar*, who first founded it, two hundred and nine Years (e). And here end-
 ed the Power and Pride of this great City, fifty Years after the *Babylonians* had destroyed the
 City and Temple of *Jerusalem*; and many Prophecies of sacred Scripture were fulfilled: For
 it was foretold, That the Lord would stir up the *Medes* against *Babylon*; that *Elam* (or the
 Men of *Persia*) and *Media* should besiege it (f); that the kings of the *Medes* should execute
 the vengeance of God upon it, the vengeance of his temple (g); that her waters should be dried
 up, her sea and her springs made dry (h); that it should be taken in the Time of a Feast,
 while her princes, her wise men, her captains, and her rulers were drunk; that they should
 sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake (i); that the Lord would cut off from *Babylon* the name
 and remnant, the son and nephew (k), or, the son and grand-son; for the Hebrew Word *Neked*,
Gen. xxi. 23. is translated, *the son's son*, and may justly be so; and it appears from the above
 History, that *Evil-merodach* the Son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Belsbazzar* his Grand-son, were
 both cut off by violent Deaths, and the last of them in the taking of the City. It was also
 fore-

(a) Xenophon in *Cyropædia*, lib. 7. p. 190, — 192. (b) Athenæi *Deipnosophist*, lib. 14. cap. 17. (c) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 191. *Cyropædia* Xenophontis, lib. 7. p. 190, — 192. (d) *Dan. v. 8.* (e) Canon *Ptolemæi*. (f) *Isaiah*, xiii. 17. and xxi. 2. (g) *Jerem. li. 11, 27, — 30.* (h) *Jerem. l. 38.* and li. 36. (i) *Jerem. li. 39, 57.* (k) *Isaiah*, xiv. 22.

foretold, that *Babylon* should be *a possession for the bittern, and pools of water* (a): Which was fulfilled, when by breaking down the Banks at the Head of the Canal, the River was turned into the Lake. And no Care being taken afterwards to repair the Breach, all the Country on that Side was overflowed and drowned: The Breach became so wide, as to be irreparable, unless by a vast Expence; which none bestowed: And the Part of the River that went up to the City became so shallow, as to be unfit for Navigation. So that not one Word of these Predictions failed.

After the Death of *Belshazzar*, *Darius the Mede* is said to have taken the kingdom (b): For though all was gained by the Conduct and Valour of *Cyrus*, yet as long as his Uncle lived, he allowed him a joint Title: But the Power of the Army, and the Management of Affairs, being in the Hands of *Cyrus*, he only was look'd upon as the chief Governor of the Empire, which he founded; and therefore there is no notice taken of *Darius* in the Canon of *Ptolemy*: But after the Death of *Belshazzar*, who is there called *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus the Persian* is placed as his next Successor, as he really was. *Cyrus* having settled his Affairs in *Babylon*, went into *Persia* (c), to make a Visit to his Father and Mother, who were yet alive. On his Return through *Media*, he married the Daughter of *Cyaxares*, with whom he had the Kingdom of *Media* in Reversion, for she was her Father's only Child: And *Cyaxares* accompanied him and his new Wife back to *Babylon* where they divided the Empire into one hundred and twenty Provinces, over which they set so many Princes (d). Over these were appointed three Presidents, and of them *Daniel* was the first; to which his great Wisdom and long Experience in Affairs gave him a just Title; for he had now, from the second Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, been employed full sixty five Years as a prime Minister of State under several Kings of *Babylon*. This high Station stirred up so great Envy against him among the other Courtiers, that finding his Fidelity in the Management of publick Affairs unquestionable, they framed an impious Law, *That whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man, for thirty days, save of king Darius, should be cast into the den of lions*. The Terror of such a Death did not make *Daniel* omit so necessary a Duty, as Prayer to his God: Wherefore his Enemies prevailed to have him thrown into the Den. But God in a miraculous Manner delivered him: *Faith stopped the mouths of lions* (e); to encourage Believers at all Times to perform their Duty, whatever it cost them. The Mischief returned upon the Head of those who contrived it, and *Daniel* prospered as long as he lived. In the same first Year of *Darius the Mede*, *Daniel*, as in the ninth Chapter of his Book, reckoning that the seventy Years of *Judah's* Captivity were now drawing to an End, earnestly prayed that God would remember his People, and grant Restoration of *Jerusalem*. Whereupon he had Assurance given him, by the Angel *Gabriel*, not only of the Deliverance of *Judah* from their temporal Captivity, but also of a far greater Redemption God would give his Church, in their Freedom from Sin and Satan by the *Messiah*, to be accomplished at the End of seventy Weeks after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*; that is, at the End of four hundred and ninety Years; which Prophecy shall be afterwards more particularly explained.

Cyrus on his Return to *Babylon*, mustered all his Forces, which he found to be one hundred and twenty thousand Horse, two thousand sythed Chariots, and six hundred thousand Foot (f); of these he distributed as many into Garrisons, as were necessary for the Defence of the several Parts of his Empire, and marched with the rest in an Expedition into *Syria*, where he settled these Parts; and reducing all under his Power, as far as the *Red Sea*; and the Confines of *Ethiopia*. In the interim *Cyaxares* staid at *Babylon*, he is called in sacred Scripture *Darius the Mede*; and seems about this Time to have coined the famous Pieces of Gold called *Darics* which by reason of their Fineness, were for several Ages preferred before all other Coin, throughout all the East (g). *Suidas* (h) owns that they were before the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*; and there is no other famous *Darius* before him but this *Median*. They weighed two Grains more than one of our Guineas (i); and being all of the purest Gold, they may be reckoned worth twenty five Shillings of our Money. About two Years after this *Cyaxares* dying, the Parents of *Cyrus* being also dead in *Persia* (k), *Cyrus* himself took on him the whole Government of the Empire, over which he reigned, according to *Xenophon* seven Years (l). *Cicero* reckons (m), from his first coming out of *Persia* with an Army to assist *Cyaxares*, to his Death thirty Years; and *Ptolemy* (n), that from the taking of *Babylon*, when *Nabonadius* or *Belshazzar* was killed, to the Death of *Cyrus* were nine Years; so that *Xenophon*, and the Canon of *Ptolemy* do well agree.

In the first of these seven Years that *Cyrus* was sole Monarch of the Empire, he by a publick Decree gave Licence to the *Jews* to return again to their own Country, and to build a House to the Lord at *Jerusalem* (o). The Seventy Years Captivity, of which *Jeremiah* xxv. 11, 12. xxix.

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(a) Isaiah, xiv. 23. (b) Dan. v. 31. (c) *Xenophon* in *Cyropædia*, lib. 8. p. 225, — 232. (d) Dan. vi. (e) Heb. xi. 33. (f) *Cyropædia*, lib. 8. p. 233. (g) *Herodot.* lib. 4. cap. 168. (h) Sub voce *δαρειός* (i) *Prideaux* Connection, part 1. p. m. 129. (k) *Xenophon*, *Cyropæd.* lib. 8. p. 233. (l) *Ibidem* (m) *De Divinatione*, lib. 1. cap. 23. (n) Canon *Ptolemæi*. (o) *Ezra* i. 1, 2.

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Darii 3.

10. had prophesied, were just then expired. For the Captivity began in the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim* King of *Judah*, a Year and two Months before the Death of *Nabopolassar*; there- after *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty three Years, *Evil-merodach*; two Years, *Neriglissar*, four Years, *Nabonadius* or *Belsazzar* seventeen Years, and *Darius the Median*, two Years; to which if we add ten Months of the first Year of *Cyrus*, as sole Monarch at *Babylon*, and put the whole together, we shall find the seventy Years Captivity just expired in the ninth Month of the *Jewish* Year, which is the *November* of ours. All the Particulars agree with the holy Scriptures, and the Canon of *Ptolemy*, as hath been illustrated in the above History. 'Tis very like that the Decree in favours of the *Jews*, was obtained by the Prophet *Daniel*. He was a Person of the greatest Wisdom, Experience, and Authority in the Province of *Babylon*, next to the King; and being thoroughly acquainted with the holy Scriptures, and having a tender Concern for the Interest of the Church, and of his own Countrymen, as appears by his fervent Prayers (a), he might shew to *Cyrus* the Prophecies of *Isaiah* xlv. 28. xlv. 1. 13. where *Cyrus* is named for this Service, more than a hundred Years before he was born; and it seems implied in the Words of the Decree (b), *Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem which is in Judah*; and it is affirmed by *Josephus* (c), that this Emperor had seen these Predictions. Besides, in his late Expedition into *Syria* and *Palestine*, having viewed so large and so good a Country as that of *Judea* lying desolate, he might justly be moved with a Desire to have it repeopled: And who could be so proper again to plant a desolate Country as its former native Inhabitants? But whatsoever second Causes inclined him to it, the over-ruling Power of God, which turns the Hearts of Princes which Way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first Year of *Cyrus's* Monarchy over the East, he issued out his Royal Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the Return of the *Jews* into their own Country. And here ends this Period.

But before I go to another Chapter, I shall here give a short View of the Chronology of the several Periods from the Creation of the World to the Birth of Christ.

	Years.
1 From the Creation to the Deluge, in the Time of <i>Noah</i> , are, —	1656
2 From the Deluge to the Promise made to <i>Abraham</i> — — —	370
3 From the Promise, to the Deliverance out of <i>Egypt</i> — — —	430
4 From the Deliverance out of <i>Egypt</i> , to the building of <i>Solomon's</i> Temple	480
5 From thence to the Beginning of the Captivity — — —	408
6 The Years of the Captivity — — —	70
7 From the End of the Captivity, to the Beginning of the seventy Weeks, } <i>Daniel</i> ix. <i>Cyrus</i> reigned seven Years, <i>Cambyzes</i> eight, <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> , thirty six, <i>Xerxes</i> , twenty one, <i>Artaxerxes</i> seven, which make up }	79
8 From thence to the Birth of Christ 457 Years, the other 33 Years } contained in <i>Daniel</i> ix. 24. being the Time of our Lord's Life, — }	457
The whole comes to — — —	3950

Six of these Periods have been above demonstrated (d), the other two shall be proved in the Sequel of this History.

(a) Dan. ix. (b) Ezra i. 2. (c) Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 1. p. m. 357. (d) See above p. 20. 42. 81. 166. 210. 226.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Jews, from their Return out of the Babylonish Captivity, to the End of the Persian Empire, where the Affairs of that Monarchy are also explained.

CYRUS King of Persia having by remarkable Stratagems taken the City Babylon, and being established in the Government there, issued out his Decree for restoring the Jews unto their own Land, and rebuilding the Temple of God (a) at Jerusalem. They gathered together out of several Parts of the Kingdom, to Babylon, to the Number of forty two thousand, three hundred and sixty Persons, with their Servants, who amounted to seven thousand three hundred and thirty seven (b). Their chief Leaders were Zerubabel, the Son of Salathiel, the Son of Jehoiachin or Jeconias King of Judah, and Jeshua (c) the Son of Jehozadak the High-priest. Zerubabel, whose Babylonish Name was Shebshazzar (d), was made Governor of the Land (e), under the Title of Tirshatha, by Commission from Cyrus: But Jeshua was High-priest by lineal Descent from the Pontifical Family; for he was the Son of Jehozadak (f), who was the Son of Seraiah, that was High-priest when Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Temple burnt by the Chaldeans. Seraiah being then taken Prisoner by Nebuzaradan, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah in Syria, was there put to Death by him (g); but Jehozadak his Son being spared as to his Life (h), was only with the rest led Captive to Babylon, where he died before the Decree of the Restauration came forth; and therefore the Office of the High-priest was then in Jeshua his Son; and under that Designation he is named (i) next Zerubabel, among the first of those who returned. The rest were Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah (k), who were the prime Leaders of the People, and the chief Assistants to Zerubabel, in resettling them again in their own Land, and are by the Jewish Writers reckoned the chief Men of the great Synagogue. So they call the Convention of the Elders which they say sat at Jerusalem, after the Return of the Jews, and did there again re-establish all Affairs both of the Church and State.

When Cyrus issued out his Decree for re-building the Temple at Jerusalem, at the same Time he ordered all the Vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence (l). Nebuchadnezzar, on the burning of the former Temple, had brought them to Babylon, and placed them there in the Temple of Bel his God: From thence they were, according to Cyrus's Order, by Mithredath his Treasurer delivered to Zerubabel, who carried them back again to Jerusalem. All the Vessels of Gold and Silver that were at this Time restored, were five thousand four hundred; but all the Particulars are not enumerated in Ezra ix. 10; and the Remainder was brought back by Ezra in the Reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, many Years after. Not only these of Judah, but also several Israelites of the other Tribes took the Benefit of this Decree, to return again into their own Land (m); for some of them who were carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanezar and Esarhaddon, still retained the true Worship of God in a strange Land, and did not go into the idolatrous Usages and Impieties of the Heathen among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the Jews, when by a like Captivity they were brought into the same Parts. And some after all the Assyrian Captivities were left in the Land; for we find some of them still there in the Time of Josiah (n); and they suffered in the Babylonish Captivity as well as the Jews, till at length they were wholly carried away by Nebuzaradan (o), in the twenty third Year of Nebuchadnezzar. Many of them had long before

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(a) Ezra i. (b) Ezra ii. 64, 65. (c) Ezra ii. 2. (d) Ezra i. 8. 11. (e) Ezra v. 14. (f) 1 Chron. vi. 14. (g) 2 Kings xxv. 18, — 21. (h) Chron. vi. 15. (i) Ezra ii. 2. Hag. i. 12. & ii. 2. (k) Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7. (l) Ezra i. 7, — 11. (m) Tobit i. 10. 12. xiv. 9. (n) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. xxxv. 17, 18. (o) Jerem. li. 39.

fore left their Tribes for their Religion (*a*), and incorporating themselves with the Brethren of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, dwelt in their Cities, and there fell into the same Calamities with them under the *Babylonians*. And of all these, a great Number took the Advantage of this Decree, again to return and dwell in their own Cities. For both the Decree of *Cyrus*, as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, is by Name to all the People of *Israel* (*b*). And the Temple being built both for *Israel* and *Judah*, both had a Right to worship there; and therefore *Ezra*, when he returned in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (*c*), sent a Copy of the King's Decree, whereby that Favour was granted him, thro' all *Media*, where the ten Tribes were in Captivity, as well as thro' all *Chaldea* and *Assyria*, where the *Jews* were in Captivity; which plainly implies that both of them were included in that Decree, and that being a renewing of the Decree of *Cyrus*, both must be understood of the same Extent. And we are told in sacred Scripture, that after the Captivity (*d*), some of the Children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* dwelt in *Jerusalem* as well as those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. And, finally, it appears from several Texts of the New Testament (*e*), That some of the ten Tribes were still in Being among the *Jews*, even to the Time of their Dispersion, on the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*; tho' then all were comprehended under the Name of *Jews*, which after the *Babylonish* Captivity became the general Name of the whole Nation, as that of the *Israelites* was before. This solves the Difficulty which ariseth from the Difference that is between the general Number, and the Particulars of these that returned upon *Cyrus's* Decree; for the general Number both in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (*f*), is said to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the Particulars, as reckoned up by their several Families in *Ezra*, amounts only to twenty nine thousand, eight hundred and eighteen, and in *Nehemiah* to thirty thousand one hundred and eighty nine. The Meaning of which is, that only the Tribes of *Benjamin*, *Judah* and *Levi*, are reckoned by their Families in both these; the rest, being of the other Tribes of *Israel*, are numbred by their gross Sum; which makes the gross Sum so much exceed the Particulars in both the Computations. Besides, as Mr. *Pool* well observes (*g*), the Catalogue in *Ezra* differs in some Numbers and Names from that in *Nehemiah*, which might proceed partly from this, That several Names were given to one and the same Person, and partly because many Changes might happen in the same Families between the Time of the first making of this Catalogue in *Ezra*, and the making of it new, so many Years after the former by *Nehemiah*.

Of the twenty four Courses of the Priests that were carried away to *Babylon*, only four returned (*h*); which were, the Courses of *Jedaiah*, *Immer*, *Pashur* and *Harim*, making up the Number of four thousand two hundred and eighty nine Persons: The rest either tarried behind, or were extinct. However, the old Number of Courses, as established by King *David*, were still kept up; for of the four Courses that returned, each subdivided themselves into six, taking the Names of those that were wanting. Hence it is, that after this *Mattathias* is said to have been of the Course of *Joarib* (*i*), and *Zacharias* of the Course of *Abias* (*k*); though neither of these Courses were of the Number of such as returned. 'Tis a common Saying among the *Jews* (*l*), that only the Bran, that is, the Dregs of the People returned to *Jerusalem* at the End of the Captivity, but all the fine Flour staid behind at *Babylon*. 'Tis certain, that notwithstanding the several Decrees that had been granted by the Kings of *Persia*, for the Return of the *Jews* into their own Land, there were a great many who waved taking any Advantage of them, continuing still in *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and other Eastern Provinces where they had been Captives: And it is most likely, that those were of the best and richest of the Nation who did so; for when they had got Houses and Lands in those Parts, it cannot be supposed that such would be very forward, to leave these good Settlements, to replant a Country that had lyen many Years desolate. 'Tis certain that many staid behind, who never returned again to their own Land; and if we guess of their Numbers by the Family of *Aaron*, they must have been many more than they who settled again in *Judea*. Hereby it came to pass, that during all the Time of the second Temple, and for a great many Ages after, the Number of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, *Assyria* and *Persia*, became so great, that they were all along thought to exceed the Number of the *Jews* in *Palestine*, even in those Times when that was best inhabited by others.

Those who made this first Return into *Judea*, arrived there in the Month *Nisan*, the first of the *Jewish* Year, which answers to Part of *March* and Part of *April* in our Kalendar; for the second Month of the next Year is said to be the second Year after their Return (*m*); and therefore at that Time they must have been a whole Year in the Land. As soon as they came thither, they dispersed themselves according to their Tribes, into their several Cities (*n*), and there betook themselves to rebuild their Houses, and again manure their Lands, after they had now (from the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Flight of the Remainder of the People into

(a) 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. xxxi. 6. (b) Ezra i. 3. Ezra vii. 13. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 5. (d) 1 Chron. ix. 3. (e) Luk. ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7. (f) Ezra ii. 64. Nehem. vii. 66. (g) Pool's Annot. in Ezra, ii. 2. (h) Ezra, ii. 36, — 39. (i) 1 Maccab. ii. 1. (k) Luke, i. 5. (l) Talmud Babyl. in Kiddishim apud Pridcaux, Part 1. p. 136. (m) Ezra, iii. 8. (n) Ezra, ii. 1, 70. and iii. 1. Nehem. vii. 62.

into *Egypt* upon the Death of *Gedaliah*) lie desolate and uncultivated two and fifty Years, according to the Number of the Sabbatical Years, which they had neglected to observe. For according to the *Mosaic* Law (a), they ought to have left their Lands fallow every seventh Year: But among other Commands of God, they had also neglected this; and therefore God made the Lands lie desolate, without Inhabitants or Cultivation (b), till it enjoyed the full Number of its Sabbaths that it had been depriv'd of: Which tells us how long the *Jews* had neglected the Law of the Sabbatical Year; for 'tis certain the Land was desolate only fifty two Years, that is, from the Death of *Gedaliah* until the End of the seventy Years Captivity, in the first Year of the Empire of *Cyrus*. Now, fifty two Sabbatical Years make fifty two Weeks, or fifty two Times seven Years, which amounts to three hundred and sixty four Years, which carries up the Computation to the Beginning of the Reign of *Aśa*. Therefore from that Time, the *Jews* having neglected to observe the Sabbatical Years, till they had deprived the Land of fifty two of them; God made the Land lie desolate, without Cultivation or Inhabitants, just so many Years, till he had restored to it that full Rest which the Wickedness of its Inhabitants, contrary to the Law of their God, had denied it.

On the seventh Month, which is called *Tisri*; all the People, who had returned to their several Cities, gathered together at *Jerusalem* on the first of that Month (c); and celebrated the Feast of Trumpets. This Month began about the Time of the Autumnal Equinox, and was formerly the first Month of the Year, till it was changed (d) at the Time of the coming of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For that happening in the Month *Abib*, afterwards called *Nisan*, for this Reason that Month had the Honour given it from thence to be reckoned among the *Israelites* for the first of the Year in all Ecclesiastical Matters. Before this *Tisri* was counted the first (e), because from thence did commence, as was thought, the Beginning of all things; it being the general Opinion among the Antients, that the World was created and first began at the Time of the Autumnal Equinox. And for this Reason, the *Jews* do still, in their *Æra* of the Creation of the World, as well as in that of Contracts, compute the Beginning of the Year from the first of *Tisri*; and all their Bills and Bonds, and all their other civil Contracts, are dated among them according to the same Computation. From this Month also they began all their Jubilees and Sabbatical Years (f). Therefore their Ecclesiastical Year began from *Nisan*, and their Festivals were reckoned according to it; but their Civil Year was still reckoned from *Tisri*: The first Day of that Month was their New-year's Day; and for the more solemn Celebration of it, this Feast of Trumpets seems to have been appointed.

On the tenth Day of the same Month, when the High-priest made Atonement for all the People of *Israel*, was the great Day of Expiation; and on the fifteenth Day (g) began the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted till the twenty second inclusively. During all these Solemnities, the People staid at *Jerusalem*, employing all that Time, to the best of their Power, to set forward the Restoration of God's Worship again in that Place. Towards which end, all who had Riches contributed according to their Abilities: And the Free-will-offerings made on this Occasion, besides a hundred Vestments for the Priests, amounted to sixty one thousand Drams of Gold (h), and five thousand Pounds; or (as in the *Hebrew*) *Mina's* of Silver; which in all comes to seventy five thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*: For every Dram of Gold is worth ten Shillings in our Money; and every *Mina* of Silver nine Pounds *Sterling*; for it contained sixty Shekels (i), and every Shekel of Silver is worth in our Money three Shillings. Upon this Fund they began the Work; and a great Sum it was, to be raised by so small a Number of People, on their first Return from the Captivity; especially if they were only of the poorer Sort, as the Rabbins say. But it must be supposed, that these Offerings were made by the whole Nation of the *Jews*; that is, by those who staid behind at *Babylon*, as well as those who actually returned: For all having an equal Interest in the Temple, and in the daily Sacrifices there offered, which were in behalf of all, 'tis very reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it; and especially, since as long as the Temple stood, every *Jew* annually paid half a Shekel (that is, about eighteen Pence of our Money) towards its Repair (k), and the Support of the daily Service in it, into what Part soever they were dispersed over the World.

The first Thing they did (l), was, to restore the Altar of the Lord for Burnt-offerings. This stood in the middle of the inner Court of the Temple, exactly before the Porch leading unto the holy Place; and hereon were made the daily Offerings of the Morning and Evening Service, and all other Offerings, ordinary and extraordinary, made to God by Fire. It was a large Pile, built all of unhewn Stones, thirty two Cubits (that is, forty eight Foot) square at the Bottom. From thence rising one Cubit, it benched in one Cubit; from thence, being thirty Cubits square, it did rise five Cubits, and benched in one Cubit; and from thence, being

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(a) Levit. xxv. 2, — 4. (b) Levit. xxvi. 34. & Chron. xxxvi. 21. (c) Ezra, iii. 1, — 6. (d) Exod. xii. 2. (e) Chaldee Paraphrase on Exod. xii. 2. (f) Levit. xxv. 9. (g) Levit. xvi. 29, 30. and xxiii. 27, 30. Numb. xxix. 7, 12. (h) Ezra, ii. 69. (i) Ezek. xlv. 12. (k) Exod. xxx. 13, — 15. (l) Ezra, iii. 3.

twenty eight Cubits square, it did rise three Cubits, and benched in two; from whence it did rise one Cubit, which was the Hearth upon which the Burnt-offering were burned, and the benching in of two Cubits breadth was the Passage round it, on which the Priests stood when they attended the Fire, and placed the Sacrifices on it. So this Hearth was a Square, of twenty four Cubits, or thirty six Foot, on every Side, and one Cubit high, all made of Brass; and from hence it was called the *brazen Altar* (a). But it is not to be conceived that the whole Altar was made of solid Brass: For to make up so big a File all of that Metal, would cost a vast Sum of Money; and if it were so made, it would be against the Law (b), commanding, wherever they made an Altar, other than the portable Altar of the Tabernacle, they should make it of Earth, or else of unhewn Stone; and it would be also impracticable for the Use intended, because if it were all of Brass, the Fire continually burning upon the Top of it, would so heat the whole, and especially that Part next the Hearth, that it would be impossible for the Priests to stand on it, when they were to officiate, and offer the Sacrifices, especially when they were to do so bare-footed.

Ant. C. 534. The Zeal of the Jews for the Temple being that which had brought most of them back into Judea, the rebuilding thereof was what they had their Hearts most intent upon; and therefore, having employed the first Year (c) in preparing Materials, and contracting with Carpenters and Masons for the Work, in the second Year (d) they laid the Foundation of the House with great Solemnity. For Zerubabel the Governor, and Joshua the High-priest, being present with all the Congregation, the Trumpeters blew the Trumpets, and the Musicians sounded their Instruments, and Singers sung, *to give thanks to the Lord; for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever towards Israel*: And all the rest of the People shouted for Joy while the first Stones were laid. Only the old Men (who had seen the Glory of the first Temple, and had no Expectations that this which was now a-building, by a few poor Exiles, lately returned to their Country, could ever equal that which had all the Riches of David and Solomon, two of the wealthiest Princes of the East, expended in erecting it) wept at the Remembrance of the old Temple; while others rejoiced at the laying the Foundations of the new. Indeed the Difference between the former Temple, and that which was now a-building, was so great, that God himself tells the Prophet Haggai (e), that this latter, in comparison of the former, was as nothing, so far did it come short thereof. This is not to be understood in respect of its Bigness; for the second Temple was of the same Dimensions with the first, being built upon the same Foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same Length and Breadth.

But the Glory of Solomon's Temple was not in the Temple it self, far less in the Bigness thereof; for that alone was a small Pile of Building, as containing no more than one hundred and fifty Foot in Length, and one hundred and five in Breadth, taking the whole together from out to out. The main Grandeur and Excellency of it consisted, First, in its Ornaments and Workmanship, being every where exceeding curious, and its Overlayings vast and prodigious; for the overlaying of the Holy of Holies only, which was a Room of thirty Foot square, and thirty Foot high, amounted to six hundred Talents of Gold (f); which comes to four Millions three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. Secondly, in its Materials. Solomon's Temple was all built of new large marble Stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful Manner; whereas the second Temple was mostly of such Stones only as were digged out of the Ruins of the former. Thirdly, in its Out-buildings. For the Court in which the Temple stood, and that without it, called, *The Court of the Women*, were built round with stately Buildings and Cloisters; and the Gates entring thereunto, were very beautiful and sumptuous. The outer Court was a large Square, encompassing all the rest, of seven hundred and fifty Foot on every Side, surrounded with a most stately and magnificent Cloister, sustained by three Rows of Pillars on three Sides, and by four on the fourth. But I have spoke more fully of Solomon's Temple in a former Part (g) of this Work. All the Out-buildings then lay in Rubbish, without any Prospect of a speedy Reparation; and there could be no such Ornaments or Materials in this new Temple as there were in the former. In process of Time indeed all the Out-buildings were restored, and such Ornaments and Materials added, on Herod the Great's repairing of it, as after that the second Temple came in some Measure nearer to the former in external Splendor, though never equal to it.

But still, the extraordinary Marks of divine Favour, which were the main Honour of the first Temple, were wholly wanting in the second: Particularly, First, *the Ark of the Covenant*, which was a small Chest or Coffer (h), three Foot nine Inches in Length, and two Foot three Inches in Height; in which were put the two Tables of the Law, and there was nothing else in it when it was brought into Solomon's Temple (i). The original Volume of the Law, written by Moses's own Hand, Aaron's Rod, and the Pot of Manna, seem to have been in a Coffer or Coffers (k) at the Sides of the Ark. The Author of the Book of Cozri justly remarks, That

(a) 1 Kings, viii. 64. (b) Exod. xx. 24, 25. (c) Ezra, iii. 7. (d) Ezra, iii. 8—13. (e) ii. 3. (f) 2 Chron. iii. 8. (g) Above, p. 172. (h) Exod. xxv. 10,—22. (i) 1 Kings, viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10. (k) Deut. xxxii. 26. Exod. xxv. 33. Numb. xvii. 10. See Prideaux's Connection, Part I. p. 145,—151.

That the Ark, with the Mercy-seat and Cherubims, were the Foundation, Root, Heart and Marrow of the whole Temple, and of all the *Levitical* Worship therein performed: And therefore; had there nothing else of the first Temple been wanting in the second, but the Ark only; this alone would have been Reason enough for the old Men to have wept, when they remembered the first Temple, in which these were. 'Tis true, that Defect seems to have been supplied in some Measure; for in the second Temple (*a*) there was also an Ark made, of the same Shape and Dimensions with the first, and put in the same Place. But though it was there substitute in its stead, (as there was need that there should be such an one, for the Service that was annually performed before on the great Day of Expiation) yet it had none of its Prerogatives or Honours conferred upon it; for there were no Tables of the Law, no *Aaron's* Rod, no Pot of Manna in it, no Appearance of divine Glory over it, no Oracles given from it. The first Ark was made and consecrated by God's Appointment, and all those Prerogatives and Honours given to it by him: But the second being appointed and substituted by Men only, to be in the Place and Stead of the other, could have none of them; and the only Use that was made of it, was, to be a Representation of the former on the great Day of Expiation, and to be a Repository of the holy Scriptures.

A second Thing wanting in the second Temple which was in the first, was, the *Shechinah*, or the divine Presence, manifested by a visible Cloud resting over the Mercy-seat. This Cloud did first appear there when *Moses* consecrated the Tabernacle; and was afterwards, on the consecrating the Temple by *Solomon*, translated thither, and there did continue in the same visible Manner, till that Temple was destroyed; but after that it never appeared more. Its constant Place was directly over the Mercy-seat (*b*); but it rested there only when the Ark was in its proper Place, and not when it was in Movement from Place to Place, as it often was during the Time of the Tabernacle.

A third thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, is the *Urim* and *Thummim*. What this was the Scripture hath no where explained any further, than that it was something which *Moses* did put into the Breast-plate of the High-priest. This Breast-plate was a Piece of Cloth doubled, of a Span square; in which were set, in Sockets of Gold, twelve precious Stones, bearing the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* engraven on them; which being fixed to the Ephod or upper Vestment of the High-priest's Robes, was worn by him on all solemn Occasions (*c*), with the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Among a Variety of Opinions (*d*), which learned Men have advanced on this Point, which do rather perplex than explain it, it appears safest to hold that the Words *Urim* and *Thummim* meant only the divine Vertue and Power given to the High-priest, who wore this Breast-plate after his Consecration, of obtaining an oraculous distinct Answer whenever Counsel was asked of him; and that the Words, *Urim* and *Thummim*, were given to signify the *Clearness* and *Perfection* which these Answers carried with them. For they were not like the Heathen Oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifest, nor such as did ever fall short of Perfection, either of Fulness in the Answer, or certainty in the Truth thereof. The Priest was to ask Counsel of God in difficult and momentous Cases, relating to the whole State of *Israel*. In order thereto, the High-priest did put on his Robes, and over them the Breast-plate, in which the *Urim* and *Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God, to ask Counsel of him. But he was not to do this for any private Man, but only for the King and the President of the *Sanhedrim*, for the General of the Army, or for some other great Prince or Governor of *Israel*, and not for private Affairs, but for such only as related to the publick Interest of the Nation in Church or State. The Place where he presented himself before God, was before the Ark of the Covenant, not within the Veil of the Holy of Holies (for thither he never entred but once a Year, on the great Day of Expiation) but without the Veil in the holy Place: And there standing, as hath been already described, with his Face turned directly towards the Ark and the Mercy-seat, on which the Divine Presence rested, he proposed the Matter probably with solemn Prayer and Invocation of the Name of God; and directly behind him, at some Distance, without the holy Place, perhaps at the Door (for further no Layman might approach) stood the Person in whose Favour the Counsel was asked, whether it were the King, or any publick Officer of the Nation, and there with all Humility and Devotion expected the Answer that should be given. But how the Answer was given, hath made the Dispute. To me the learned Dr. *Prideaux's* (*e*) Opinion seems most plausible, and best to answer the Question; namely, That when the High-priest appeared before the Veil, to ask Counsel of God, the Answer was given him by an audible Voice, as an Earnest of God to be manifested in the Flesh (*f*); which Voice was from the Mercy-seat that was behind the Veil. There *Moses* went to ask Counsel of God (*g*) in all Cases, and from thence he was answered. In the same Way God did afterwards communicate his Will to the Governors of *Israel* as of-

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(*a*) Lightfoot, of the Temple, Chap. 15. (*b*) Levit. xvi. 2. (*c*) Exod. xxviii. 15, — 30. Levit. viii. 8. (*d*) See *Prideaux's* Connection, part 1. p. 151. (*e*) Ibid. part 1. p. m. 155. (*f*) Dr. Patrick on Numb. vii. 89. (*g*) Exodus xxx. 22. & xxx. 6. Numb. vii. 89.

ten as he was consulted by them, only with this Difference, that whereas *Moses*, thro' the extraordinary Favour granted to him, had immediate Access to the Divine Presence, and God did speak to him (a), as it were *face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend*. No other was admitted thither to ask Counsel of God, but through the Mediation of the High-priest (b), who in his stead asked Counsel for him by *Urim* and *Thummim*; and when he presented himself in the due Manner, according to the Prescription of the divine Law, God gave him an Answer in the same Manner as he did unto *Moses*, that is, by an audible Voice from the Mercy-seat. For in many Instances recorded in Scripture (c), of God's being consulted this Way, the Answer in every one of them, except two (d), is ushered in with, *The Lord said*. When God was consulted by *Urim* and *Thummim* in the Camp, the Answer seems to have been after another Manner; for it appears by Scripture, that either the High-priest, or one deputed by him, went with the Armies of *Israel* to the Wars; and carried with him the Ephod and Breast-plate, to ask Counsel of God in all difficult Emergencies. Thus *Phinehas* went to the Wars against the *Midianites*, with the holy Instruments (e), that is, with the Ephod and Breast-plate; which, say the Rabbins, were put into an Ark or Coffer made on Purpose for it, and carried by the *Levites* on their Shoulders, as the other Ark was; and of this they understand that Text, where *Saul* says to *Abiah* the High-priest, *Bring hither the ark of the Lord* (f); which could not be the Ark of the Covenant then at *Kirjath-jearim*; but it seems the Priest anointed for the Wars had a Tent in the Camp on Purpose, erected for his Use, in which a Part was separated by a Veil in the same Manner as the Holy of Holies was in the Tabernacle; and when he asked Counsel of God in the Camp, he appeared there before the Veil, in the same Manner as before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle; and the Answer was given him from behind it, tho' no Ark nor Mercy-seat was there. Tho' this Way of asking divine Counsel was frequently used during the standing of *Moses's* Tabernacle, and probably continued long after; yet we find no Instance of it in the Scripture during the whole Time of *Solomon's* Temple: And 'tis most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second Temple; for both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell us as much (g). Hence is that Saying among the Jews, *That the Holy Spirit spake to the Children of Israel during the Tabernacle by Urim and Thummim, under the first Temple by the Prophets, and under the second by Bath-kol*; by which the Jews mean a Voice from the Clouds, like that in *Matth. iii. 17. Matth. xvii. 5. 1 Pet. i. 17*.

A fourth Thing wanting in the second Temple which was in the first, was the holy Fire which came down from Heaven upon the Altar (h), first at the consecrating of *Aaron* and his Sons to the Priesthood, and afterwards at the consecrating of *Solomon's* Temple (i), and was constantly fed Night and Day without suffering it ever to go out; and with this all the Offerings made by Fire were offered. For using other Fire *Nadab* and *Abihu* were consumed by Fire from the Lord. This was never restored after the Captivity, instead thereof they had only common Fire in the second Temple.

A fifth Particular wanting in the second Temple, that was in the first, was the Spirit of Prophecy; but this was not wholly deficient during all that Time, for the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi* lived after the second Temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their Death, which the Rabbins say happened all in one Year, the prophetick Spirit wholly ceased from among them, as is owned by the *Jewish Seder Olam* at the Foot of the Page (k).

Besides, there was a sixth Thing wanting, that is, the holy anointing Oyl, which was made by *Moses* for anointing and consecrating (l) of the King, the High-priest, and all the sacred Vessels made Use of in the House of God; and for this Use it was commanded to be kept by the Children of *Israel* throughout their Generations; and therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy Place. And as the original Copy of the Law was placed there, on the right Side of the Ark of the Covenant; so perhaps the Vessel containing this Oyl was placed on the other Side of it, and there kept till the first Temple being laid in Ashes, that also was destroyed with it. Every King was not anointed, but only the first of the Family: But every High-priest was anointed at his Consecration, and so was the Priest who went in his stead to the Wars. The Vessels and Utensils were the Ark of the Covenant, the Altar of Incense, the Shew-bread Table, the golden Candlesticks, the Altar of Burnt-offerings, the Laver, and all other Vessels belonging to them. As they were actually thus anointed at the first erecting of the Tabernacles by *Moses* (m); so if any of them were decayed, destroyed or lost, they could, as long as this anointing Oyl remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new

(a) Exod. xxxiii. 11. (b) Numb. xxvii. 21. Judges xx. 28. (c) Judges i. 1, 2. Judges xx. 18. 23. 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. & xxiii. 2. 4. 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. & v. 19. 23. (d) 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. (e) Numb. xxxv. 6. (f) 1 Sam. xiv. 18. (g) Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65. (h) Levit. ix. 24. (i) 2 Chron. vii. 1. (k) Seder Olam Zuta ex versione Genebrardi, Eo tempore cessavit prophetia ab Israel, ipse est annus ter millesimus-quadringscentus quartus, & mortui sunt Haggai, Zecharia & Malachi. Hinc & ultra arrige aurem tuam, & audi verba sapientum. p. m. 140. Seder Olam Rabba, cap. 30. p. m. 122. Huc usque prophetæ per S. Spiritum vaticinati sunt; hinc deinceps inclina aures tuas, & verba sapientum audi. (l) Exod. xxx. 22. — 33. (m) Exod. xl.

new ones in their Room, of the same Virtue and Holiness with the former. But this Oyl being wanting in the second Temple; there was a Defect of Sanctity in all things else belonging to it: For tho' on the Return from the Captivity, and rebuilding the Temple, the *Jews* did anew make these holy Vessels and Utensils, put them all in their former Places, and applied them to their former Uses; yet thro' want of this Oyl to consecrate them, these were defective of that Holiness in the second Temple they had under the first; and their High-priest who did officiate in that Temple was no other Way consecrate, than by putting on his Vestments.

The Trial of Adultery by the Waters of Jealousy also ceased, under the second Temple, as we shall have Occasion to shew afterwards (a); and other miraculous Instances of the divine Presence were removed. Upon the whole, all these, and many other Particulars of the Glory of the first Temple, being wanting in the second; there was Reason enough for the *antient men who had seen the first temple, to weep with a loud voice (b)* at the rebuilding of the second. But all these Wants and Defects were abundantly repaired, when *the desire of all nations, the Lord whom they sought (c)*, came into this his Temple, even when Christ our Saviour, the truest *Shechinah* of the Divine Majesty, honoured it with his Presence; and in this Respect, *the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former*. And the Prophecies foretelling this Event had their Accomplishment. To go on with the History:

The *Samaritans* being informed, that the *Jews* began to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem* (d), came thither, expressing a great Desire to be admitted to worship God at the same Temple, offering to join with them in building of it; and telling them, That ever since the Days of *Ezra-baddon* King of *Assyria*, they had worshipped the same God as they did. But *Zerubabel*, *Jeshua*, and the rest of the Elders of *Israel* made Answer to them, that they not being of the Seed of *Israel*, to whom *Cyrus's* Commission only was given, had nothing to do in building a Temple to their God with them. The Reason of this Answer was, that the *Jews* saw that the *Samaritans* intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an ensnaring Design to be admitted among them, that they might do them Mischief. Besides, they were not of the same Religion; for tho', from the Time they had been infested with Lions in the Days of *Ezra-baddon*, they had worshipped the God of *Israel*, yet it was only in Conjunction with their other Gods (e), whom they worshipped before; and since they at the same Time worshipped false Gods, in this respect they were Idolaters; and this was Reason enough for the true Worshipers of God to have no Communion with them. At which Answer the *Samaritans* being incensed, did all they could to hinder the Work; and tho' they could not alter the Decree of *Cyrus*, yet they prevailed by Bribes and under-hand Dealings with his Ministers and other Officers, to put Obstructions to the Execution thereof (f), so as for several Years the Building was delayed: Which the *Jews* resenting as it deserved, this became the Beginning of that bitter Rancour that hath ever since been between them and the *Samaritans*; and this being improved by other Causes, came at length to such a Height, as nothing was more odious to a *Jew* than a *Samaritan*, of which we have several Instances in the Gospel; and so it still continues: For even to this Day, a *Cuthean* (that is a *Samaritan*) in their Language, is the most odious Name; and that which in the Height of their Anger, by way of Infamy and Reproach, they bestow upon Christians, whom they abominate.

The Work of the Temple being retarded by these deceitful Means, seems to be the Cause that *Daniel* in the third Year of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, gave himself to fasting and mourning for three Weeks together (g). On the twenty fourth Day of the first Month of that Year, he saw a remarkable Vision concerning the Succession of several Kings, the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and the Conquests of the *Romans*, contained in the three last Chapters of his Book: And by what is written in the Conclusion of the last of these, he seems to have died soon after. Indeed his great Age makes it not likely that he could have lived much longer; for the third Year of *Cyrus* being the seventy third of his Captivity, if we suppose him eighteen Years old at his carrying to *Babylon*, he must at this Time have been in the ninety first Year of his Age, which was a length of Years given to few in those Days. He was a very extraordinary Person both in Wisdom and Piety, and was favoured of God, and honoured of Men beyond any that lived in his Time. His Prophecies concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, and other great Events in after Times, are the clearest and fullest of all we have in the Holy Scriptures; in so much that *Porphyry* (h), a Heathen, in his Objections against our Religion, contends that these Predictions must have been written after the Facts were done; and the *Jews* do not reckon him to have been a Prophet, placing him only among the *Hagiographa* (i). Tho' *Josephus*, one of the most antient Writers of that Nation, counts him justly among the greatest of the Prophets, and says (k), *That he had familiar Converse with God, and did not only foretell future Events as other Prophets, but also determined the Time when they should come to pass; and whereas other Prophets foretold evil Things, and thereby drew on them the*

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Ill-will

(a) Chap. V. (b) Ezra iii. 12. (c) Malachi. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 7. (d) Ezra. iv. (e) 2 Kings xvii. 32. 33. (f) Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 2. (g) Dan. x. 1, — 5. (h) Vide Hieronym. in proemio ad comment. in Danielum. (i) Hieron. præfat. in Danielum. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ill-will both of Princes and People ; Daniel was a Prophet of good Things to come, who by the good Report which his Predictions carried with them reconciled to himself the good Will of all Men ; and the Event of such of them as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough Belief of their Truth. But what proves the Point is, that our Saviour acknowledged Daniel to be a Prophet, and styles him so in the Gospel (a). Daniel's Wisdom reached not only to Things divine and political, but also to several Arts and Sciences. He had Skill even in Architecture ; for *Josephus* (b) tells of a famous Edifice built by him at *Susa* in the Manner of a Castle, which he says remained to his Time, and was finished with such wonderful Art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this Edifice was the Place where the *Persian* and *Parthian* Kings used to be buried ; and for the sake of the Founder, the keeping thereof was committed to one of the *Jewish* Nation even to his Days. The Copies of *Josephus* now extant, do indeed place this Building at *Ecbatana* in *Media* ; but *Jerom*, who gives the same Account from *Josephus*, placeth it at *Susa* in *Persia* (c), which seems to have been the true reading at that Time ; for the Scripture tells us that *Daniel* had sometimes his Residence there ; and the common Tradition for many Ages past, is, That *Daniel* died in that City, now called *Tuster* (d), where they shew his Monument even to this Day. Part of the Book of *Daniel* is originally wrote in the *Chaldean* Language, that is, from the fourth Verse of the second Chapter, to the End of the seventh Chapter, where the Prophet treats of *Babylonish* Affairs : All the rest is in the *Hebrew*. In the vulgate Edition, there is added after the 23d Verse of the third Chapter, the *Song of the three Children* ; and at the End of the Book, the *History of Susanna, Bel, and the Dragon*. But these Additions were never received into the Canon of the inspired Writings by the *Jewish* Church, nor are they extant in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee* Languages ; nor is there any Evidence that they ever were so. *Jerom* (e) gives the *History of Bel and the Dragon* no better Title than that of the Fables of *Bel and the Dragon*. By the Death of *Daniel* the *Jews* lost a powerful Advocate in the *Persian* Court, which gave their Enemies greater Occasion to succeed in their Designs against them. But tho' they prevailed to divert these Encouragements given by *Cyrus* to carry on the Work of the Temple, yet they could not put an open Stop thereto : So that as far as the *Jews* of themselves were able they still carried it on, in which they were helped by the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* (f), not only in furnishing them with Masons, Workmen and Artificers ; but also in bringing the Cedars which *Cyrus* had ordered them out of the Forrest of Mount *Libanus*, from thence to *Joppa* by Sea, from which Place they were carried by Land to *Jerusalem* : For the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being wholly given to Traffick and Navigation, did very little addict themselves to Olive-yards, Vineyards, or Tillage of Ground ; neither had they any Territory for either, but were furnished by their Neighbours for Money or Exchange of Goods, with Corn, Wine or Oyl, and chiefly by the *Jews* (g) ; and therefore they readily assisted with their Mechanicks and Shipping, to be supplied with other Necessaries. Wherefore as by their Help *Solomon* had built the first Temple, so by their Assistance the *Jews* were enabled to build the second.

Ant. C. 530. In the seventh Year after the Restoration of the *Jews* out of *Babylon*, died *Cyrus*, their great Benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the Command of the *Persian* and *Median* Armies, thirty Years, from his taking of *Babylon* nine Years (h), and from his being sole Monarch of the East, after the Death of *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Median*, his Uncle (i), seven Years ; being at the time of his Death seventy Years old. He was a Prince of great Vertue, and eminent Parts, who had founded the Empire of *Persia*, and extended its Limits, according to *Xenophon* (k), to the *Red* Sea on the East, to the *Euxin* on the North, to *Cyprus* and *Egypt* on the West, and to *Æthiopia* on the South. Authors give very different Accounts of his Death ; for *Herodote* (l), *Justin* (m), and *Valerius Maximus* (n) tell us, That making War on *Tomyris* Queen of *Scythia*, he defeated a Part of her Forces, and killed her only Son : That she being bent upon Revenge, assaulted him suddenly with a great Army, whereby she defeated the *Persians* with a great Overthrow ; and *Cyrus* being found among the Dead, she caused his Head be struck off, and thrown into a Hogshead of Blood, saying, *Satiate thy self with that which thou long thirsted for*. But the Account that *Xenophon* (o) gives, seems more probable, That after having given his Advice to his Friends and Children, he died in his Bed, as fortunately as he lived, leaving the Empire in Peace to his Son ; and was buried at *Pasdagarda*, in *Persia* ; where his Monument, according to *Strabo* (p), continued to the Time of *Alexander* the Great.

Ant. C. 529. § 2. *CAMBYSES* succeeded his Father *Cyrus*. He is in sacred Scripture (q) called *Ahasuerus*. As soon as he was settled on the Throne, the Enemies of the *Jews* knowing him to be of a Temper fit to be wrought upon for doing Mischief ; in stead of opposing the *Jews* in building the

(a) Matth. xxiv. 15. (b) Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. (c) Comment. in Daniel. viii. 2. (d) Benjaminis Itinerarium (e) Hieronym. in proœmio ad Danielen, & in præfat. ad Dan. (f) Ezra iii. 7. (g) Acts xii. 20. (h) Canon Ptolemæi. (i) Xenophontis Cyropædia, lib. 8. (k) Ibid. p. m. 238. (l) Lib. 1. cap. 214. (m) Lib. 1. cap. 8. (n) Lib. 9. cap. 10. (o) Cyropædia, lib. 8. p. 233, — 238. (p) Lib. 15. p. 730. (q) Ezra, iv. 6.

the Temple by under-hand Dealings with the Ministers of the Court, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed the King himself to put a Stop to the Work. But it seems he had so much Respect to the Memory of his Father, that he could not be induced publickly to revoke his Decree; though otherwise he defeated in a great measure the Design thereof, by several Discouragements which he put upon it: So that the Work went but heavily on all his Reign.

Soon after *Cambyfes* came to the Throne, he resolved on a War against the *Egyptians*, by reason of some Offence taken against *Amasis* their King. The most probable Account thereof is, That *Amasis* had subjected himself to *Cyrus*, and become his Tributary, but did withdraw his Obedience from his Successor. For carrying on this War, *Cambyfes* made great Preparations by Sea and Land (a). For the Sea-service he engaged the *Cypriots* and the *Phænicians* to help him with their Fleets: For the War by Land, besides his *Persian* Forces, he hired a great Number of Auxiliaries, from *Greece*, *Ionia* and *Æolia*, who were the Strength of his Army. He had also great Assistance from one *Phanes*, an *Halicarnassean*; who being a Commander of some *Greek* Mercenaries in the Service of *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, on some Disgust, revolted to the *Persian*, and gave him such Direction in his Affairs, as did very much tend to the Success of this Expedition: For by his Advice, *Cambyfes* contracted with an *Arabian* King, who lay next the Borders of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish him Water while he passed the Defarts between these two Countries; which accordingly was brought him on Camels Backs, without which he could never have marched his Army that Way. On his Arrival on the Borders, he found *Amasis* newly dead, and *Psammenitus* his Son and Successor drawing together a great Army to oppose him. To open his Passage into the Country, it was necessary to take *Pelusium*, this being a Key to *Egypt* on that Side. But the Place being strong by Nature and Art, furnished with a sufficient Garrison of Men, was like to give him a great deal of Trouble. For preventing whereof, 'tis supposed by the Counsel of *Phanes*, he placed on the Front of his Army a great Number of Cats, Dogs, Sheep (b), and other of those Animals which the *Egyptians* reckon as Deities: And the *Egyptians* not daring to throw a Dart or shoot an Arrow that Way, for fear of wounding some of those sacred Creatures, he easily made himself Master of the Place. By this time *Psammenitus* came up with his Army; and a bloody Battle ensued, wherein the *Egyptian* Army was routed, and the greater Part of them cut to Pieces. After this *Cambyfes* reduced the City *Memphis*; and finding *Psammenitus*, his Prisoner, endeavouring to raise new Troubles, he forced him to drink Bulls Blood, whereby that Prince ended his Life. Hereupon all *Egypt* submitted to the Conqueror. The *Libyans*, *Cyrenians* and *Barceans*, hearing of his Success, sent Ambassadors to make their Submissions to him. From *Memphis* he went to *Sais*, where the *Egyptian* Kings were buried, and there caused the Body of *Amasis* to be digged out of its Grave, and after all manner of Indignities done to it, burnt it to Ashes.

Next Year he designed Expeditions against the *Carthaginians*, *Hammonians* and *Ethiopians*: But the *Phænicians* refusing to assist him against the first, as being a Colony descended of themselves, he bent his Mind against the *Ethiopians*, because they had mocked and maltreated his Ambassadors. Accordingly leaving the *Grecian* Auxiliaries to keep the Country in awe, he marched in a mad Humour his *Persian* Army, unfurnished with Necessaries for such an Expedition. On his coming to *Thebes* in Upper *Egypt*, he detached fifty thousand Men to go against the *Hammonians*, to destroy their Country, and burn the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. These, after several Days March, by a strong Wind blowing from the South, as they were at Dinner, were all overwhelmed with a mighty Torrent of Sand (c). Mean time *Cambyfes* went on, till his Army, in these Defarts wanting all manner of Provisions, had ate their Horses, and were beginning to cast Lots to eat one another. Then he thought it high Time to march back to *Memphis* with the Remainder of his Army; where he found the *Egyptians* rejoicing, because they had found the Bull *Apis* (d), their God. He conceiving they mocked him for his bad Success, commanded *Apis* to be brought into his Presence; and laughing at such a foolish Deity, wounded him with his Sword on the Thigh, ordered the Priests to be whipped, and the People who observed such Solemnities to be killed. The poor Beast languished and died in the Temple, and was buried privately by his Admirers: And the *Egyptians* (e) say, that after this wicked Fact, *Cambyfes* was still troubled with Madness. But the former Actions of this Prince, as well as those after it, shewed him to be no very wise Man. For having with him a Brother, the only Son of *Cyrus*, besides himself, by the same Mother, whom *Herodote* calls *Smerdis*; because he was the only Person in the Army who could draw the Bow which *Cambyfes*'s Ambassadors had brought out of *Ethiopia*; therefore he sent him home to *Persia*, and there caused him to be put to Death. He killed one of his Sisters, because she pitied the Fate of her Brother *Smerdis*; though she was his Wife, and then big with

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(a) Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 1, — 19. (b) Polyæni Stratag. lib. 7. p. m. 485. (c) Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 25, — 28. (d) Of the Egyptian Idolatry, see Hist. Propag. Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 241, — 258. (e) Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 29.

Ant. C1
528.
Cambyfes
2.

Ant. C2
529.

Ant. C3
525.
Cambyfes
5.

child to him. To shew his Dexterity in Archery, he shot a Son of *Prexaspes*, his chief Favourite, through the Heart. He caused several of his principal Followers to be buried alive, without any Cause on their Part deserving such a cruel Death; and committed many other wild Acts; mentioned more fully by *Herodote* (a). At last, returning from *Egypt* to *Persia*, as he was mounting his Horse, at *Ecbatana* in *Syria*, his Sword falling out of the Scabbard, gave him a Wound in the Thigh (b), of which he died, having reigned seven Years five Months.

§ 3. THE remaining seven Months of the eighth Year was the Reign of the Magian, who by *Herodote* (c) is called *Smerdis*, but in the sacred Scripture (d), *Artaxerxes*. As soon as he had usurped the Kingdom, on the Death of *Cambyzes*, the *Samaritans* wrote a Letter to him, setting forth, That the *Jews* were rebuilding their City and Temple at *Jerusalem* (e): That they having been always a rebellious People, there was Reason to suspect, that as soon as they had finished that Work, they would withdraw their Obedience from the King, and pay no more Toll nor Tribute; which might give occasion for all *Syria* and *Palestine* to revolt also, and the King to be excluded from any Portion on that Side of the River *Euphrates*. And for the Truth of what they had informed him as to the rebellious Temper of that People, they referred him to the Records of his Predecessors, wherein they desired Search might be made concerning this Matter. Enquiry being made into the Records, concerning the Behaviour of the *Jews* under the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Empires; and it being found in them with what Valour they had long defended themselves, and with what Difficulty they were at last reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*; an Order was issued forth prohibiting them from proceeding any further with the Work of the House. So it wholly ceased till the second Year of *Darius* King of *Persia*, for about the Space of two Years. *Smerdis* the Usurper being soon after this discovered not to be the true *Smerdis*, the Brother of *Cambyzes*, as he pretended, but an Impostor, a Magian, who had his Ears cut off for some Crime (f) in the Reign of *Cyrus*; *Otanes*, a noble *Persian*, with six other of the Nobility, entered into the Palace, and killed the Usurper, with his Brother *Patizithes*, the Contriver of the whole Plot.

§ 4. THESE seven Princes, who had slain these Impostors, entering into a Consultation among themselves about settling the Government, on the sixth Day came to this Agreement; *Ant. C.* *521.* *Darii I.* That the Monarchy should be continued in the same Manner as it was settled by *Cyrus*; and that for determining which of them should be King, they should meet on Horseback next Morning, against the rising of the Sun, at an appointed Place near the Suburbs of the City *Susa*; and he whose Horse should first neigh, should be Monarch (g). By this Method they seemed to refer the Determination to the Sun, the great Deity of the *Persians*. *Oebares*, Groom to *Darius*, one of the seven Princes, being informed of what was agreed on, tied a Mare to the Place where they were to meet, and brought his Master's Horse to cover her. When the Princes came, *Darius's* Horse minding the Mare, ran, and neighed; and it straight thundered: Whereupon he was immediately saluted King by the rest; and after the Adorations usual among the *Persians* to their Sovereigns, they placed him on the Throne. He was the Son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian*, of the Royal Family of *Achæmenes*, who had followed *Cyrus* in all his Wars, and was at that time Governor of the Province of *Persia*, and so continued many Years after his Son's Advancement to the Throne:

The Empire of *Persia* being thus restored and established by the Wisdom and Valour of these seven Princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary Favours and Privileges under their new King: For they were to have Access to his Presence at all convenient Times, and their Advice was to be first had in all weighty Affairs. In a Word, they were the prime Assistants of the Government, and under this Character we find mention made of them both in the Book of *Ezra* (h) and of *Esther* (i).

Though by the Death of *Smerdis* the Usurper, his Edict which prohibited the building of the Temple was now at an End; yet the *Jews* neglecting to resume the Work, God for this Reason smote the Land with Barrenness (k). But in the second Year of *Darius*, they being by the Prophet *Haggai* informed of the Cause of this Judgment, and exhorted to their Duty for averting it, they betook themselves again to prepare to carry on the Work. On the first Day of the sixth Month (l), which answers to about the middle of our *August*, the Word of the Lord came to *Zerubabel* the Son of *Salathiel*, Governor of *Judea*, and to *Josbua* the Son of *Jozadak*, the High-priest, concerning this Matter; and on the twenty fourth Month, being excited thereby, they arose, with all the Remnant of the People, to obey the Voice of the Lord, and applied themselves with all Diligence to provide Stone, Timber, and other Materials for carrying on the Building. To encourage them to go on vigorously, on the twenty first Day of the seventh Month, which is about the Beginning of our *October*, another Message came from God to them, by the same Prophet (m), not only assuring them of the divine Presence to make the Work prosper in their Hands, but also promising, that the Glory

(a) Lib. 3. cap. 30, — 40. (b) Ibid. cap. 64. (c) Ibid. cap. 65. (d) *Ezra*, iv. 7. (e) *Ezra*, iv. 7. — 24. (f) *Herodot.* lib. 3. cap. 67, — 80. (g) Ibid. cap. 80, — 88. (h) vii. 14. (i) i. 14. (k) *Haggai*, i. 6, — 11. and ii. 16, — 19. (l) *Haggai*, i. 1, — 15. (m) *Haggai*, ii. 1, — 2.

of the latter House should be greater than the Glory of the former; which was accomplished when Christ our Lord came to his Temple: In all other Respects the latter Temple was as nothing in comparifon of the former, as hath been already (a) observed.

In the eighth Month of the fame Year, the Word of the Lord came by *Zechariah* (b) the Prophet, exhorting the *Jews* to Repentance, and promising them Mercy and Favour on their Obedience. On the twenty fourth Day of the ninth Month, which is about the Beginning of our *December*, the *Jews* having been busy from the twenty fourth Day of the fixth Month in preparing Materials for the Temple, put their Hands again to the building. Whereupon the Prophet *Haggai* (c) promised them a Deliverance from that Barrenness of the Land with which it had been smitten, and plentiful Increase of all its Fruits for the future; and also delivered unto *Zerubabel* a Message from God of Mercy and Favour unto him.

In the Beginning of the next Year, which was the third of *Darius* according to the *Babylonian* and *Persian* Account, but the second according to the *Jewish*, the *Samaritans*, understanding that the building of the Temple went on again, notwithstanding the Stop they had procured to be put to it in the last Reign, betook themselves again to their old malicious Practices for obstructing the Work (d), and to that End applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made chief Governor or Prefect of all the Provinces of *Syria* and *Palestine*, (which was one of the twenty Prefectures, mentioned by *Herodote* (e), into which he had lately divided his whole Empire) complaining against the *Jews* as to this Matter, and suggesting that they proceeded herein without Authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the King. Whereupon *Tatnai*, accompanied with *Sethar-boznai*, who seems then to have been Governor of *Samaria*, came to *Jerusalem*, to take account of what they were doing. But *Tatnai* being a Man of Temper and Justice, after he had viewed the Building, did not proceed rashly to put a Stop to it; only enquired of the Elders of the *Jews*, by what Authority they had gone on with it: And they having produced to him the Decree of *Cyrus*, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, but first wrote Letters to the King to know his Pleasure concerning it, where he fairly stated the Case, and requested that Search might be made among the Records of the Kingdom, whether there were any such Decree granted by *Cyrus* or no, and that the King would be pleased to signify to him what he would have done therein. Whereupon Search being made, and the Decree being found among the Rolls, in the Royal Palace at *Ecbatana* in *Media* (f), (now called *Taurus*) where *Cyrus* was when he made it, the King confirmed the same: For having lately married two of the Daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Aristona* (g); to fortify his Title to the Crown, he thought himself concerned to do every thing that might tend to support the Honour and Veneration due to that great Prince; and therefore ordered his Royal Decree to be drawn, wherein Recitement of the Decree of *Cyrus* being made, he commanded it in every Particular to be observed, and sent it to *Tatnai* and *Sethar-boznai* to see it fully put in execution; decreeing, *That whosoever should alter the same, or put any Obstruction to it, should have his House pulled down, and that a Gallows being made of the Timber thereof, he should be hanged thereon.* On the twenty fourth Day of the eleventh Month, that is about the Beginning of our *February*, the Prophet *Zechariah* had a Vision made unto him, contained from the seventh Verse of the first Chapter to the ninth Verse of the sixth Chapter of his Prophecies, to express the Mercy that God would shew to his People in the Restoration of *Zion*, and the Vengeance he would execute upon those who oppressed her.

About the Beginning of the fourth Year of *Darius*, his Decree confirming that of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* was brought to *Jerusalem*. In the Beginning of the former Year, *Tatnai* sent to the King about it; and less than a Year's Time cannot be well allowed for the Dispatch of such an Affair, especially if we consider that *Shushan* in *Persia*, where the King then resided, was at such Distance from *Judea*, that the Journey of a Messenger thither would take up three Months Time. *Ezra* was four Months in coming to *Judea* from *Babylon* (b), which was a Quarter of the Way nearer. And the Rolls having been searched at *Babylon*, and at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, for *Cyrus's* Decree; and when found, the same being brought to *Shushan*, where a new Decree was ordered to confirm it, the Dispatch of all these Affairs, in so great a Court, might well take this Time. When *Tatnai* and *Sethar-boznai* found how strictly the King required Obedience, they durst not but act in conformity to it (i). And from that time the building of the House went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three Years thereafter: For by virtue of this Decree, the *Jews* were not only fully authorised to go on with the building, but were also furnished with Expences for it out of the Taxes of the Province. This had been granted by *Cyrus*, but was rendred ineffectual by the *Samaritans*; and the *Jews* being then very poor, the Work went slowly on, till now being helped by the Bounty of *Darius*, they applied to it with great Diligence, and soon brought it to a

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(a) Above, p. 230, — 234. (b) i. 1, — 6. (c) ii. 10, — 23. (d) *Ezra*, v. 3, — 17. (e) *Lib.* 3. cap. 89 (f) *Ezra*, vi. 1, — 12. (g) *Herodot.* lib. 3. cap. 88. (h) *Ezra*, vii. 9. (i) *Ezra*, vi. 13.

Conclusion. The publishing of this Decree at *Jerusalem* may be reckoned the thorough Restoration of the *Jewish* State : And from the thorough Destruction of it, in the burning of the City and Temple at *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, to this Time, are just seventy Years. Therefore the Prophet *Zechariah* (a) observes, that to this fourth Year of *Darius* they had observed Fasts seventy Years ; which are to be reckoned from the Destruction of their City, and the driving of their People out of the Land on the Murder of *Gedaliah*, to this Time. But this is not the Term of the seventy Years Captivity prophesied of in the twenty-fifth Chapter of *Jeremiah* ; which began with the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, when their Captivity commenced, and ended with the first Year of *Gyrus*, when their Deliverance began. But so remarkable was the Restoration now completed, just seventy Years after their Temple and City were burnt, and their People all dispersed, that *Zechariah* (b) assures them, that *their fasts of the fourth, of the fifth, seventh and tenth months should be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts*. The first of these Fasts was observed on the tenth Day of the tenth Month, because then *Nebuchadnezzar* laid Siege to *Jerusalem*, in the ninth Year of *Zedekiah* (c) ; the second was on the ninth Day of the fourth Month, because on that Day the City was taken (d) ; the third on the tenth Day of the fifth Month, because then the City and Temple were burnt by *Nebuzaradan* (e) ; and the fourth of these Fasts was on the third Day of the seventh Month (f), because on that Day *Gedaliah* was slain, and the Remainder of the People were dispersed, and driven out of the Land, which completed the Desolation thereof. But now the Lord allows the Prophet to signify to the *Babylonish Jews*, that it was not necessary any longer to observe these Fasts. When the Restoration of their State was completed, the Reason for them ceased. We may also observe, that from the nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* Account, (which was the seventeenth according to the *Babylonish* Account) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed (g), to the fourth Year of *Darius Hystaspes*, when the *Jewish* State was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy Years, according to the Canon of *Ptolemy* (h). So here the sacred and prophane Chronology exactly agree.

In the Beginning of the fifth Year of *Darius*, happened the Revolt of the *Babylonians*, which cost him a Siege of twenty Months (i) to reduce them. To make their Provisions last the longer, the *Babylonians* agreed to cut off all unnecessary Mouths among them ; and therefore, drawing together all the Women and Children, they strangled them all, excepting only that every Man was allowed to save one of his Wives whom he loved best, and one Maid-servant to do the Work of the House. Hereby was signally fulfilled what the Prophet *Isaiah* (k) foretold concerning them : *These two things shall come to thee, in a moment, in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood ; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments*. In what greater Perfection could these Miseries come, than when they executed the same with their own Hands ? In many other Particulars did God inflict Vengeance on this wicked City, which was often foretold by the Prophets ; and the *Jews* were as often warned to come out of that Place, that they might not be involved in its Ruins (l). Particularly, the Prophet *Zechariah* (m), two Years before these Calamities, sent a Call from God, to warn the Daughter of *Zion* that dwelt in *Babylon* to flee out of it : And we may suppose that many of the *Jews* came out of it before the War began. *Darius* having lain before *Babylon* one Year and six Months, and all Means of taking it proving ineffectual, towards the End of the sixth Year of his Reign he became Master of the Place by a Stratagem of *Zopyrus*, one of his chief Officers. For he having cut off his Nose and Ears, and mangled his Body all over with Stripes, fled in this Condition to the Besieged ; where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel Usage of his Master *Darius*, he grew thereby so far into their Confidence, as at length to be made Commander in chief of their Forces : Which Trust, after some Defeats to Parties of the *Persians*, he at last made use of to deliver the City to his Master, which could scarce have otherwise been taken, the Walls being so strong and high, and the Place furnished with Provisions for so many Years. *Darius* being Master of *Babylon*, he took away all its hundred Gates (n), and beat down its Walls, from two hundred Cubits, to fifty Cubits high ; and the City was given as a Spoil to the *Persians*, once their Servants, according to the Prophecy of *Zechariah* (o). He impaled three thousand of the Inhabitants most guilty of the Revolt, and pardoned the rest. But by reason of the Destruction they had made of their Women and Children in the Beginning of the Siege, he was obliged to send for fifty thousand of the weaker Sex out of the other Provinces of the Empire, without which the Place must soon become depopulate for want of Propagation. Here it is to be observed, that the Punishment of *Babylon* kept pace with the Restoration of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to *Jeremiah* xxv. 12, 13. *It shall come to pass, when seventy years*

(a) i. 1, — 15. (b) viii. 19. (c) 2 Kings, xxv. 1. (d) 2 Kings, xxv. 3, 4. (e) Jer. lii. 12. (f) Jer. xli. 1. (g) 2 Kings, xxv. 8. (h) Vide Canonem Ptolemæi ad calcem Peravi in rationario temporum. (i) Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 150, — 160. Justin, lib. 1. cap. 10. Polyani Stratagemata, lib. 7. p. m. 494. (k) Isaiah, xlvii. 9. (l) Isaiah, xlviii. 20. Jer. i. 8. and li. 6, 9, 45. (m) ii. 6, — 9. (n) Jer. li. 58. (o) ii. 9.

years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans : — and I will bring upon that land all that I have pronounced against it. Accordingly when the Restoration of Judah began, in the first Year of Cyrus, then began Babylon's Punishment, in being conquered, and subjected to the Persians, in the same Manner as they had formerly subjected the Jews ; and when the Restoration of the Jews was completed, and their Temple built, in the fourth Year of Darius, then was the Devastation of Babylon in a great measure completed also. At the same time the City was brought under, the Country was destroyed by an Inundation, caused by turning the River in order to take the Place : Thereby, as the Scripture (a) foretold, it became a possession for the bittern, and pools of water ; and the sea shall come upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Under which Miseries it languished a while, and at length, according to the Words of Jeremiah, ended in a perpetual Desolation.

In the seventh Year of Darius, which is the sixth in the Jewish Account, and on the third Day of the twelfth Month, called Adar, the building of the Temple at Jerusalem was finished (b), and the Dedication of it was celebrated with great Solemnity and Joy. This Work was twenty Years a-doing ; for so many were elapsed from the second of Cyrus, when it was first begun, to the seventh of Darius, when it was fully finished. The next Month after the Dedication, which was the Month Nisan, the first of the Jewish Year, the Temple being now made fit for all Parts of divine Service, the Passover was observed in it on the fourteenth Day of that Month (c), according to the Law of God, and solemnized by all the Children of Israel who were then returned from the Captivity, because, says Ezra (d), the Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria [that is, of Darius I. for having taken Babylon, he was really King of Assyria] unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of the God of Israel.

The Samaritans still carrying on their former Spite and Rancour against the Jews, gave them new Trouble on this Occasion. The Tribute of Samaria had been assigned, first by Cyrus (e), and afterwards by Darius (f), for the Reparation of the Temple at Jerusalem, and furnishing the Jews with Sacrifices, that Oblations and Sacrifices might be there daily offered up for the King and the Royal Family (g). This was a Matter of great Regret and Heart-burning to the Samaritans, and was the Source and true Origin of all the Oppositions which they had made against them : For they thought it an Indignity, to be forced to pay these Tributes to the Jews ; and therefore they, by Bribes and other under-hand Dealings, prevailed with the Ministers of State, and other Officers to whose Charge this Matter belonged, during the latter Part of the Reign of Cyrus, and all the Time of Cambyses, to put a Stop to this Assignment, and did all they could wholly to quash it (h). But the Grant being renewed by Darius (i), and the Execution of it so strictly enjoined, as hath been before related, the Tribute was from thence annually paid till this Year. But now, on pretence that the Temple was finished, though the Out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many Years thereafter, they refused to allow the Jews any longer to levy the Tribute (k), alledging the End ceased, now that the Temple was done. To right themselves, the Jews sent Zerubabel the Governor, and Ananias, with two other principal Men among them, to complain to Darius of the wrong done them, by detaining his Royal Bounty, contrary to the Edict he had made. The King, on hearing the Complaint, issued out his Royal Order to his Officers at Samaria, commanding them to take effectual care that the Samaritans obey his Edict, in paying their Tribute to the Temple at Jerusalem, as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, to give the Jews any Cause to complain of their Failure therein. And after this, we hear of no more Opposition nor Contest concerning this Matter, till the Time of Sanballat, which was many Years afterwards.

As to the other Undertakings of Darius Hystaspes, I shall offer but a short Account of them, because I design afterwards a Digression concerning the Affairs of Greece, and have now the History of the Jews mainly in view. Darius, after the Reduction of Babylon, made great Preparations for a War against the Scythians (l), who inhabited those Countries between the Danube and the Tanais. His Pretence for it was, to be revenged on them for invading Asia, and holding it in subjection twenty eight Years in the Time of Cyaxares the first King of Media, a hundred and twenty Years before this. In order to this Expedition having drawn together an Army of seven hundred thousand Men (m), he marched with them to the Thracian Bosphorus ; and having passed over it in a Bridge of Boats, he brought all Thrace into subjection, and then marched to the Ister or Danube, where he appointed his Fleet, consisting mostly of Ionians and Grecians dwelling in Asia, to come to him. There he passed over another Bridge of Boats, into the Country of the Scythians ; where having for three Months Time pursued them,

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(a) Isaiah, xiv. 23. Jerem. li. 42. (b) Ezra, vi. 15, — 18. (c) Ezra, vi. 18, — 22. (d) vi. 22. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 1. (f) Ibid. cap. 4. (g) Ezra, vi. 9, 10. (h) Ezra, iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 2. (i) Ezra, vi. 6, — 12. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4. (l) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 1. in edit. Lond. 1679, quæ uxor. (m) Justin, lib. 2. cap. 5.

Ant. C.
515.
Darii 7.

Ant. C.
514.
Darii 8.

them, through desert and uncultivated Countries, into which they drew him by their Flight, on purpose to harass and destroy his Army, he was glad at last to return with one half of his Men, having lost the rest in this rash and ill projected Undertaking : And had not the *Ionians*, by the Persuasion of *Histiæus*, Prince or Tyrant of *Miletus*, contrary to the Opinion of *Miltiades* and others, staid with the Fleet to afford him a Passage back, the King and the rest of the Army must have perished also. Being returned to *Asia*, he wintered at *Sardis*, to refresh his broken Forces, and resetttle his Affairs in those Parts : And fearing *Histiæus*, Prince of *Miletus*, to whom he had given the Territory of *Myrcinus*, on the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, for his Services, would enterprize some Matter of Moment in his Absence, he carried him along with him when he marched home to *Susa*, in the tenth Year of his Reign.

Ant. C. *Darius* being desirous to enlarge his Dominions to the East, he thought it proper first to make a Discovery of them. To which end having built a Fleet of Ships at *Caspaturus*, a City on the River *Indus*, so far up as the Borders of *Scythia*, he gave the Command thereof to *Scylax* (a), a Grecian of *Caria* ; who according to his Orders, sailed down to the Mouth of that River, and returned by the Streights of *Babelmandel* up the *Red Sea*, in the thirtieth Month after his setting out from *Caspaturus* : He landed in *Egypt*, at the same Place from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* formerly sent out his *Phœnicians* to sail round the Coasts of *Africa*, which seems to have been the Port now called *Sues* ; and then travelled to *Susa*, to give the King an Account of his Voyages and Discoveries. After this *Darius* entred *India* with an Army, and brought all that large Country under him, making it the twentieth Prefecture of the Empire (b) ; from whence he yearly received a Tribute of three hundred and sixty Talents of Gold, being one for every Day in the *Persian* Year. The Money was paid according to the Standard of the *Enboic* Talent, which is near the same with the *Attic*, and so amounts to one Million ninety five thousand Pounds *Sterling* of our Money.

The *Tyrians*, after the taking of their City by *Nebuchadnezzar*, had been reduced to a State of Servitude, under which they groaned seventy Years. This Term being expired, *Darius* restored them to their former Privileges, and to have a King of their own, in consideration of the Services they had done him in his naval Wars. By this he accomplished the Prediction of the Prophet *Isaiah* (c). But when the *Tyrians* recovered their Power and Riches, they became proud, and were able afterwards to make a greater Stand against *Alexander* the Great, than all the *Persian* Empire besides.

Ant. C. In the twentieth Year of *Darius's* Reign, 502 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, *Aristagoras* the Son of *Malpagoras*, Son-in-law and Cousin to *Histiæus* Prince of *Miletus*, to whom *Darius* 20. he had committed the Government of his Country during his Absence at *Susa* (d), with private Advice from his Father-in-law, formed a Design to make all *Ionia* revolt from the *Persians* ; and to make them stick closely together, he restored all the Cities to their Liberties. He went to *Lacedæmon*, to engage that City to his Interest ; but they rejected his Offers. But the *Athenians*, being at that Time offended with the *Persians*, for promising to support *Hippias* the Son of *Pisistratus*, late Tyrant there, whom they had expelled, gave *Aristagoras* a more favourable Reception, engaging to assist him. The War being declared, the *Ionians*, with their Allies the *Athenians*, sailed to *Sardis* ; which they took (e). The Houses being mostly of Cane, were very combustible ; so as one of them being set on Fire by a Soldier, the Flames spread, till the whole City was consumed, except the Castle, to which *Artaphernes* the *Persian* retired, and defended himself. Among other Houses, the Temple of *Cybele* was destroyed ; for which reason the *Persians* pretend they afterwards demolished the Grecian Temples. The *Persians* and *Lydians* gathering their Forces, repulsed the *Ionians*, and overthrew them with a great Slaughter : Whereupon the *Athenians* hoisted their Sails to return home, and would not concern themselves any further in the War. But their having engaged so far gave rise to the War between the *Persians* and *Greeks*, which was carried on for several Generations to the incredible Loss of both, and at last ended in the Destruction of the *Persian* Empire. *Darius*, on hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and the Share the *Athenians* had therein, from that Time vowed a War against *Greece* ; and that he might not forget it, he caused one of his Attendants, when he was set at Dinner, call, Sir, remember the *Athenians*. He having called *Histiæus*, alledged, That though *Aristagoras* was at the head of the Revolt, he was at the bottom of the whole : But *Histiæus* dealt so cunningly, as not only to make *Darius* believe his Innocency, but that the whole Cause of the Revolt was, that he was not at home to have hindred it ; but if the King would send him to his own Country in *Ionia*, he would not only appease these Combinations, but also make other Nations tributary to him : Whereupon he got Liberty to leave *Susa*, and return to *Ionia*. Upon his coming, his Plots and Correspondence by Letters were all discovered to the *Persians* ; and himself being defeated, and chased from Place to Place, was at last taken Prisoner ; and *Artaphernes* and *Harpagus*,

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(a) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 44. (b) Id. lib. 3. cap. 94, 95. (c) *Isaiah*, xxiii. 15, 17. Hieronymus in *Isaiam*, lib. 6. cap. 23. (d) Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 30. (e) Ibid. cap. 101, — 108.

two *Persian* Generals, sent him straight to *Sardis* to be crucified (a), without waiting for any Orders from their Court. Having embalmed his Head, they sent it to *Darius*; who expressed Displeasure at the Authors of his Death, and caused his Head to be honourably buried, as a Man that had merited much from him. As to *Aristagoras*, He finding his Affairs in *Asia* in a bad Posture, sailed for the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*; where he seized on the Territory of *Myrcinus*, which *Darius* had formerly given to *Histiæus* his Father-in-law: But the next Year thereafter, while he besieged the City, he was slain by the *Thracians* (b), and his whole Army cut in Pieces. The *Persians* having prevailed with the *Cypriots* and other Allies of the *Ionians* to abandon them, and return to their former State, attacked *Miletus*, the Head of the Confederacy, by Sea and Land, took it, and utterly destroyed it; and in a short Time the rest of the Cities were reduced to their former Yoke. Thus ended the *Ionian* Revolt, in the twenty seventh Year of the Reign of *Darius*, 495 Years before the Birth of Christ.

Ant. C.
495.
Darii 27.

Then *Darius* sent *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobrias*, a young *Persian* Nobleman, who had lately married one of his Daughters, to command in chief the maritime Parts of *Asia*, with Orders to invade *Greece*, and revenge him on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, for burning of *Sardis*. When this General arrived at the *Hellepont*, he marched with his Land-forces through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his Fleet to coast it by Sea, that they might be near, and act in Concert with one another. On his Arrival in *Macedon*, the Country dreading so great a Power, submitted to him; but the Fleet, as they were doubling the Cape of Mount *Athos*, met with such a Storm as destroyed three hundred Ships, and above twenty thousand of their Men. At the same Time *Mardonius* lying in a Camp not well secured, the *Thracians* broke in upon him in the Night Time, and slew a Number of his Men: By which Losses he was obliged to march back again into *Asia*. *Darius* before he would make any further Attempt upon the *Grecians*, sent Heralds to demand Earth and Water (c), which was the Form whereby the *Persians* tried who would submit to them. Several of the *Grecian* Cities yielded to the Heralds, as was required; but when they came to *Athens* and *Sparta*, they threw one of them into a Well, and the other into a deep Pit, bidding them fetch Earth and Water thence (d), tho' they repented of this when they came to a cooler Temper, as a Violation of the Law of Nations. *Darius* recalling *Mardonius*, sent *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* a *Persian* to revenge his Cause on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*. These Generals rendezvoused in *Ionis*, an Army of three hundred thousand Men, and six hundred Ships on the Coast, with which they invaded *Greece*, under the Guidance of *Hippias* late Tyrant of *Athens*. In the Plains of *Marathon* they were encountred by *Miltiades*, lately Prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, with ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand *Platæans*, and overthrown by this small Number with a great Slaughter, and forced to sail back to *Asia* with Disgrace. *Justin* (e) says, *The Persians lost in this Expedition two hundred thousand Men by Sword or Shipwreck; and among them Hippias the Exciter of the War, the Gods of his Country taking Revenge upon him.* But *Herodote* (f), who lived nearer that Time than any Historian extant, tells, *That there were only six thousand and forty Persians slain in the Field of Battle, and of the Athenians one hundred and ninety two.* *Darius*, when he heard of this Defeat, was now old, yet resolved to carry on the War in Person, with greater Vigour against the *Athenians*. But after he had made Preparations for three Years, the *Egyptians* revolted; and before he could settle his Affairs at Home, and have all Things in Readiness for these Expeditions abroad, he was seized with Sickness and died, when he had reigned thirty six Years, from the Creation of the World 3464, before the Birth of Christ 486 Years. He had Abundance of Success in all his Undertakings, excepting these against the *Scythians* and *Grecians*; and he not only restored, and thoroughly settled the Empire of *Cyrus*, after it had been much shaken by *Cambyses* and the *Magians*, but also added many large and rich Provinces to it, especially these in *Judea*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and the Isles of the *Ionian* Sea: And what renders him more considerable, he was a Prince of Clemency, Wisdom, and Justice, and hath the Honour to have his Name recorded in holy Writ, as a Favourer of God's People, a Restorer of his Temple (g) at *Jerusalem*, and a Promoter of his Worship there. For all which God was pleased to make him his Instrument, and to bless him with a numerous Issue, and a long Reign.

Ant. C.
493.
Darii 29.

Ant. C.
490.
Darii 32.

§ 5. UPON his Death *Xerxes* his Son ascended the Throne. While his Father lived there was a Controversy between him and his elder Brother *Artabazanes*, who pleaded that he was the eldest Son; and therefore, according to the Custom of all Nations, ought to be preferred in the Succession before the younger. To this *Xerxes* replied, That he was the Son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, the first Founder of the *Persian* Empire; and therefore claimed in her Right to succeed to his Father: And he added, That it was true *Artabazanes* was the eldest Son of *Darius*, but he was the eldest Son of the King; for *Artabazanes* was born while his Father was only a private Person, and therefore could claim no more but to be Heir to his private

Ant. C.
485.
Xerxis I.

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(a) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 30. (b) Id. lib. 5. in fine. (c) Idem, lib. 6. cap. 48. (d) Idem, lib. 7. cap. 133. (e) Justin, lib. 2. cap. 9. (f) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 117. (g) Ezra v. and in Prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.

private Fortunes. Hereon *Xerxes* was declared Successor to the Throne, tho' not so much by the Strength of his Plea, as by the Influence which his Mother *Atossa* had over the Inclinations of *Darius* (a), who was governed in this Matter by her. The friendly and amicable Manner in which this Contest was managed was very remarkable; for during the whole Time it lasted, all the Marks of entire Affection passed between the two contending Brothers (b), as mutual Feasting, and sending Gifts. The one did not insult, and the other did not express any Discontent upon the Determination, but wished his Brother Joy in the Throne; and without diminishing his Affection, ever after adhered to his Interest, and at last died fighting in the *Grecian* War for his Service, which is an Example rarely to be met with, when so great a Prize as that of a Crown is at Stake.

Xerxes employed the first Year of his Reign in carrying on Preparations (c) for the Reduction of *Egypt*, which his Father had begun; he confirmed to the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* (d) all the Privileges granted them by his Father, especially that of having the Tribute of *Samaria* for furnishing them with Sacrifices for the divine Worship in the Temple.

Ant. C. 484. *Xerxis* 2. In the second Year of his Reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having thoroughly subdued these Revolters (e), he reduced them under a heavier Yoke of Servitude than they were acquainted with before; and towards the End of that Year, having made *Achæmenes*, one of his Brothers, Governor, he returned to *Susa*; where, upon the Advice and Instigation of *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobrias*, he resolved on a War with *Greece*, and in order thereto, made great Preparations for three Years together over all the Provinces of the *Persian* Empire. He entered into a League with the *Carthaginians*; whereby it was concluded, That while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should invade these of the *Grecian* Name in *Sicily* and *Italy*. Thus, as was foretold by the Prophet *Daniel* (f), by his strength, and through his great riches he shall stir up all against the realm of *Grecia*; all the West under the Command of *Hamilcar*, and all the East under his own. In the fifth Year of his Reign he set out from *Susa*, to begin the War; and having marched as far as *Sardis*, he wintered there.

Jeshua the Son of *Josadak*, High-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, died in the fifty third Year of his Priesthood, and *Joiakim* his Son succeeded (g) him in that Office.

Ant. C. 480. *Xerxis* 6. In the sixth Year of *Xerxes* Reign, he passed his Army over the *Hellepont*, in seven Days Time, on two Bridges of Boats (so great was their Number) to invade *Greece*. But the various Events of this War wherein this great Prince was most unfortunate with his vast Army, I shall discourse of in another Part of this History, when I come to the Affairs of *Greece*: Mean Time we may remark, that *Josephus* (h) tells us of a Band of *Jews* that was in *Xerxes's* Army; and for this quotes some Verses of the Poet *Chærilus*, tho' these be questioned by some learned Criticks (i), yet 'tis very probable, that when *Xerxes* called all the other Nations in the *Persian* Empire to follow him to the War, the *Jews* did also bear a Part in the Expedition.

Before *Xerxes* abandoned the *Greek* Cities, making Haste towards *Persia*, that he might get as far as he could from his conquering Enemies, he omitted not to give Orders to burn and demolish all the Temples of the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* (k), which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting that only of *Diana* in *Ephesus*, which alone escaped the general Devastation. This he did not so much from a Displeasure to the *Asiatick* *Greeks*; for he did the same in every other Place he came to, destroying all Images that came in his Way through his whole Expedition: But it proceeded mainly from his Zeal for the *Magian* Religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous Profelyte by the famous *Zoroastres* (l). For that Sect expressed a great Detestation against worshipping God by Images, because, says *Cicero* (m), *God cannot be included within Walls; all things are open before him, and the whole World is his Temple*. To keep *Xerxes* firm to their Party, not only several Doctors of the *Magians*, but also *Ostanes* himself, then the *Archi-magus* (n) or great Patriot of the whole Sect, accompanied him as his Chaplains wherever he marched, and by their Instigation all these Temples were destroyed. On his Return towards *Susa*, *Xerxes* passed thro' *Babylon*, and there made the same Desolation of the Temples as he had done in *Greece*, and other Parts of *Asia* (o) as it may be supposed on the same Principle, that is Zeal for the *Magian* Religion, and his Aversion to that of the *Sabians*, who worshipped God by Images, which the *Magians* abhorred. For the *Babylonians* were all *Sabians*, and indeed the first Founders of this Sect; for they first brought in the Worship of the Planets, and afterwards that of Images, and from thence propagated it to all other Nations where it obtained. For this Reason the *Magians* having them in Abhorrence above all other *Sabians*, easily prevailed with

(a) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 2, 3. (b) Justin, lib. 2. cap. 10. Plutarch. *περὶ φιλαδελφίας* (c) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 2, — 6. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 5. (e) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 7. (f) Daniel xi. 2. (g) Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 5. (h) Joseph. contra Appionem, lib. 1. (i) See Prideaux, Connect. part 1. p. 234. Ufferii Annales, pag. m. 95. (k) Strabo lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de legibus, lib. 2. cap. 26. Hieronym. in Esaiam, cap. 37. (l) Of him, and of the Persian Idolatry, see the Propagation of Christianity, cap. 2. vol. 1. p. 116, — 130. (m) De legibus, lib. 2. § 26. (n) Diogenes Laertius in proœmio, Suidas in voce μάγος. (o) Strabo, lib. 16. p. m. 738. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 29.

with *Xerxes* to take *Babylon* in his Way to *Susa*, on Purpose to destroy all the Temples they had there, and perhaps to recruit himself with the Spoils, after the vast Expence he had been at in the *Grecian War*. For the Wealth and Treasures of these Temples were very great, being the Collection of the Riches of many People for a great many Ages. By the pillaging and demolishing all the idolatrous Temples at *Babylon*, was fully completed what the Prophets *Isaiab* and *Jeremiah* had fortold long before (a), *That Babylon is fallen, and all the graven images of her Gods he hath broken to the ground. I will punish Bel at Babylon; and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up; the days come that I will do judgments upon the graven images of Babylon. Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her Images are broken in pieces.* For when *Xerxes* destroyed all the Temples in *Babylon*, he took from them all their Treasures which they had been devouring, and pulling down all the Images that were in them, broke them to Pieces, converting the Gold and Silver of which they were made to all these common Uses he had Occasion for.

Xerxes finding no Hopes to retrieve the Losses he had sustained in *Greece*, spent the Remainder of his Time in *Persia*, where he abandoned himself to Luxury, Ease, and all Manner of Vice; acting some cruel Tragedies on the House of *Masistes* his Brother, and upon others, minding principally how to gratify his Lusts and Pleasures, and so did grow into Contempt with his People. This encouraged *Artabanus* the Captain of his Guards, and one who had been long in prime Favour and Authority with him, to conspire against him; and having drawn *Mithridates* his Chamberlain, and one of his Eunuchs into the Plot, by his Means got into his Chamber, and there slew him while he slept in his Bed (b): Then going to *Artaxerxes* his third Son, acquainted him that his Father was killed, and accused *Darius* his elder Brother as the Murderer, telling him he had done it, to make Way to the Throne, and that he would next cut him off to secure himself in it; and therefore it was needful to look to himself. *Artaxerxes* being then young, believing all this to be true; and being irritated thereby, he went immediately to his Brother's Apartment, and there, by the Assistance of *Artabanus* and his Guards, slew him; which he did, as he was informed, by Way of just Revenge of the Death of his Father, and for his own Safety, being deceived by the Craft of the Traitor who excited him. The next Heir was *Hystaspes* the second Son of *Xerxes*, but he being absent in *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governor, *Artabanus* took *Artaxerxes*, as being next at Hand, and put him on the Throne; but with a Design to let him sit no longer, than till he had formed a Party strong enough to seize it for himself. For he having been long in great Authority, had made many Creatures; and he had seven Sons, all Men of robust Bodies, and advanced to great Dignities in the Empire; and his Confidence put his Ambition on this Design: But while he was hastening it to a Conclusion, *Artaxerxes* having got a full Discovery of the whole Plot by the Means of *Megabyfes*, who had married one of his Sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter Plot, whereby he killed *Artabanus*, and arrested his Sons before their Treason was ripened for Execution. Thus he secured himself in the Possession of the Kingdom, which he held forty one Years. *Xerxes* reigned twenty one Years, and was killed in the Year of the World 3436, before our Saviour's Birth 464.

§ 6. *ARTAXERXES* being fixed upon his Throne, was by the *Greeks* called *Μακροχειρ*, and by the *Latins* *Longimanus*, by reason of the more than ordinary Length of his Hands; for they were so long, that on his standing upright he could touch his Knees with them. He had several Difficulties to struggle with; for though *Artabanus* was dead, he had left behind him seven Sons now at Liberty, and many Partizans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his Death, whereon a fierce Conflict ensued between them, and those who stood by *Artaxerxes*, in which many noble *Persians* were slain. But at length *Artaxerxes* having prevailed, cut off all those who were concerned in the Conspiracy; and especially he took signal Revenge (c) of every one of those who had any Hand in the Murder of his Father, and particularly on the Eunuch *Mithridates* who had betrayed him, whom he caused to be put to Death by cruel Torments. He had more Difficulty with his Brother *Hystaspes* Governor of *Bactria*, who levied an Army against him, and in the first Battle stood his Ground. But *Artaxerxes* having the far greater Part of *Persia* at his Devotion, drew together a much stronger Army, and utterly overthrew his Brother in a second Battle (d). Then he removed all these Governors of Cities and Provinces, of whom he had the least Suspicion, and put in their Places such as he had a thorough Confidence in, managing his Affairs so as to establish himself in the Affections of his People, which is the great Interest of Princes.

Having settled himself in the full Possession of the whole *Persian Empire*, he appointed a solemn Rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the City *Shushan* or *Susa* with Feasting and solemn Shews for one hundred and eighty Days (e): On conclusion of which he made a solemn Feast to all great and small that were at *Shushan*, for seven Days; and

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Artax. 3

(a) *Isaiab* xxi. 9. *Jer.* li. 44. 47. 52. *Jer.* l. 2. (b) *Diodor. Siculus*, lib. ii. cap. 69. *Justin* lib. iii. cap. 1. Ctesias fragmen. in annexis ad *Herod.* p. 646. (c) *Ctesias* ibidem. (d) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. ii. cap. 71. (e) *Esther*, i. 3, 4.

Vashti the Queen made the like Entertainment for the Women. On the seventh Day, the King's Heart being merry, he commanded *Vashti* to be brought, with the Crown on her Head, to shew to the Princes and People her Beauty: But she refused to come. The King being incensed, called his Counsellors to take Advice with them about it; who fearing this might be of ill Example over the whole Empire, to encourage Women to disobey their Husbands, advised the King to put away *Vashti* for ever from him, to give her Royal State to another, and that every Man should bear rule in his own House (a); which was agreed to, and a Decree concerning it registred among the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. After this, Orders were given out over the whole Empire, for gathering together to the Palace at *Shushan* four Virgins in every Province, that out of them one might be chosen whom the King should best like to be Queen in stead of *Vashti*.

At the time when this Collection of Virgins was made, there lived at *Shushan* a certain Jew named *Mordecai* (b), of the Descendants of those who had been carried captive to *Babylon* with *Jeconiab* King of *Judah*, and, by his Attendance at the King's Gate, seems to have been one of the Porters at the Royal Palace. He having no Children, bred up *Hadaassah* [that is, *Esther*] his Uncle's Daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young Woman being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other Virgins on this Occasion, and was carried to the Royal Palace, and there committed to the Care of *Hegai* the King's Chamberlain, who was appointed to have the Custody of those Virgins; whom she pleased so well by her good Carriage, as he shewed her Favour before all the other Virgins under his Care, assigning her the best Apartment of the House, and providing her first with those things necessary for her Purification: Wherefore she was one of the first that was called to the King's Bed. The King was so well pleased with her, that he often called her by Name, which he used not to do but to those only of his Women whom he most delighted in. From this Time she seems to have had the Name of *Esther*; for it is of a *Persian* Original, and the Signification thereof is not now known.

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460.
Artax. 15.

It is most probable, that it was this *Esther* who was afterwards Queen to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*: For *Josephus* (c) positively tells it was so; and the *Septuagint*, through the Book of *Esther*, where the *Hebrew* Text hath *Abasuerus*, translate it *Artaxerxes*; and the Apocryphal Additions to that Book every where call the Husband of *Esther*, *Artaxerxes*; who could be no other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*: For there are many Circumstances related concerning him, both in Canonical and Apocryphal *Esther*, which can by no means be applicable to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; and the extraordinary Favour and Kindness which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the Jews, beyond all the other Kings who reigned in *Persia*, first in sending *Ezra*, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, to repair their broken Affairs in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, cannot be accounted for on any other Reason, but that he had in his Bosom such a powerful Advocate as *Esther* to sollicite for them; and 'tis no way agreeable to the Character of *Hamestris* Queen to *Xerxes*, Predecessor to *Longimanus*, that she should be the *Esther* spoken of in sacred Scripture, notwithstanding the Similitude of their Names. For we find that this *Hamestris*, having some Jealousy or Prejudice at the Wife of *Masistes*, Brother to the King her Husband, and having got her into her Power, she caused her Breasts, Tongue, Nose, Ears and Lips to be cut off, and thrown to Dogs before her Face; and sent her home thus mangled to her Husband's House. *Masistes* being highly exasperated at this barbarous Usage, made haste to get together all his Family, Servants and Dependents, and march to *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governor, purposing there to make War against the King. But *Xerxes* suspecting the Matter, sent a Party of Horse after him; who overtaking him on the Road, cut him off, with his Wife, Children, and all that belonged to him, as is more fully related by *Herodote* (d). And the same Author (e) tells, that the said *Hamestris* caused fourteen Boys, of the best Families in *Persia*, to be buried alive, as a Sacrifice to the infernal Gods. By which Acts it appears that *Hamestris* was a cruel Heathenish Woman, most unlike to *Esther* a Jewess; the happy Instrument by whom God was pleased in so signal a Manner to deliver his People from that utter Destruction that was designed against them. To go on with our History:

The *Egyptians* being very impatient of a foreign Yoke, rebelled against *Artaxerxes*, making *Inarus* Prince of the *Libyans* their King; and called in the *Athenians* to their Assistance. *Artaxerxes* being informed of this Revolt, raised an Army of three hundred thousand Men, whom he committed to the Conduct of *Achæmenides*, one of his Brethren (f): But the *Athenians* having defeated the *Persian* Fleet at Sea, landed their Army; and having joined the *Egyptians*, defeated the *Persians* at Land with a great Slaughter. *Achæmenides* himself being killed, the remainder were besieged in *Memphis* for three Years, till at length they were succoured by those sent for their Relief.

In the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* obtained of this King and of his chief Counsellors

(a) *Esther*, i. 11, — 22. (b) *Esther*, ii. 5, — 17. (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.* (d) *Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 107, — 113.* (e) *Idem, lib. 7. cap. 114.* (f) *Ctesiz Fragmenta, p. 647.*

a very ample Commission, for his Return to *Jerusalem*, with all of his Nation who were willing to accompany him, giving him full Authority there to restore and settle the State, to reform the Church of the *Jews*, and to regulate and govern both according to their own Laws (a). This extraordinary Favour not having been likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary Means, seems to have been granted at the Solicitation of *Esther*, who was now the best beloved of the King's Concubines, tho' not yet advanced to the Dignity of a Queen. For it was usual for the Kings of *Persia*, on some particular Occasions, to allow their Women to ask Favours (b): And upon some such Occasion 'tis probable *Esther*, at the Direction of *Mordecai*, asked this of the King. This *Ezra* was of the Descendents of *Seraiah* the High-priest, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar* when he burnt the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*. Tho' he seems not to have been his immediate Son, because of the Distance of Time in which *Ezra* lived; yet he might have come of *Seraiah* in a straight Line. Thus *Azariah* is said to have been the Son of *Meraioth*, though there were six between them (c). As *Ezra* was a very holy Man, so he was also very learned, being particularly well skill'd in the holy Scriptures; and therefore he is said to have been a ready scribe in the law of God; for which he was so eminent, that *Artaxerxes* takes particular notice of it in his Commission (d). He began his Journey from *Babylon* on the fifth Day of the first Month, called *Nisan*, which might fall about the middle of our *March*; and having halted at the River *Abava* till the rest of his Company were come up to him, he there in a solemn Fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine Protection, and on the twelfth Day set forward to *Jerusalem* (e); where they all safely arrived on the first Day of the fifth Month (f), having spent four Months in their Journey from *Babylon* thither. On his Arrival at the Temple, he delivered for the Service thereof all the Offerings that had been made to that end by the King and his Nobles, and by the rest of the People of *Israel* who staid behind, which amounted to one hundred Talents of Gold, and six hundred and fifty Talents of Silver; also twenty Basons of Gold, of a thousand Drams or *Darics*, (which Dr. *Prideaux* (g) computeth to be the Value of one of our *Jacobus's*) and silver Vessels one hundred Talents: And then having communicated his Commission to the King's Lieutenants and Governors through all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he betook himself to execute the Contents thereof, whereby he was fully impowered to settle both the Church and State of the *Jews* according to the Law of *Moses*, and to appoint Magistrates and Judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and that not only with Imprisonment and Confiscation of Goods, but also with Banishment and Death (h). All this *Ezra* did faithfully perform for the Space of thirteen Years, till *Nebemiah* arrived with a new Commission from the *Persian* Court for the same Work.

Esther growing further still in the King's Favour, and gaining his Affection beyond all the rest of his Women, in the tenth Month of this Year he did put the Royal Crown upon her Head, making her Queen in stead of *Vashti*, and then made a solemn Feast for his Princes and Servants, which was called *Esther's Feast*; and in honour of her, at the same time made a Release of Taxes to the Provinces, and gave Donatives and Presents to all that then attended according to the Grandeur of his Royal Estate. This gave *Ezra* the greater Encouragement under her Patronage to go on with the Work of reforming and settling the Church and State in *Judea* and at *Jerusalem*, which he had then undertaken.

From the Beginning of *Ezra's* entring on this Work, in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, commenteth the seventy Weeks, contained in that excellent Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*, which we have in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, from the 24th to the twenty seventh Verse. *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.* Many learned Men having writ at large upon this Prediction; a few Remarks may suffice at the Time to set it in a true Light. First, It is to be observed, that the Prophecy relates especially to the *Jews*; for it expresseth the Time that was determined upon the People of *Daniel*, (that is, the *Jews*) and upon the holy City, (that is, *Jerusalem*) the whole of which was *seventy Weeks*; for this

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(a) *Ezra*, vii. (b) *Herodot.* lib. 9. cap. 108. (c) Compare *Ezra*, vii. 3. with 1 *Chron.* vi. 7, 8, 9. (d) *Ezra*, vii. 11, 12. (e) *Ezra*, viii. 31. (f) *Ezra*, vii. 9. (g) *Connection*, Part 1. p. 261. (h) *Ezra*, vii. 25, 26.

was the Time God had foreordained upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar People, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy City : After the Expiration of which, an End being put to the *Mosaic* OEconomy, they should be no longer God's peculiar People ; and the Worship which he had established at *Jerusalem* being to be abolished, that City should be no longer a holy City unto him.

Secondly, These seventy Weeks are Weeks of Years; a Day being put for a Year (a), and a Week for seven Years. Among the *Jews*, there were Sabbatical Years (b), whereby their Years were divided into Weeks of Years. So that every one of the Weeks in this Prophecy contains seven Years, and the whole seventy Weeks, or seventy times seven Years, contain four hundred and ninety Years ; at the End whereof this determined Time expired.

Thirdly, This was accomplished at the Death of Christ : For then the *Jewish* Church and Worship at *Jerusalem* being abolished, and the Christian Church and Worship succeeding in their stead, then the Time determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's peculiar People, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy City being fully expired, from thence began the Kingdom of the *Messiah* ; and in stead of the *Jews*, all Nations of the World were called thereunto, and in stead of *Jerusalem*, every Place through the whole Earth where God should be worshipped in Spirit and Truth was made holy unto him. Then therefore the seventy Weeks have their Ending, and all the Events in this Prophecy were then by the Death and Resurrection of Christ accomplished. He who was the most *holy*, harmless, undefiled, and separate from Sinners, was then *anointed*, being fully qualified, as our *Prophet*, *Priest* and *King*. He did *finish transgression, make an end of sins, and reconciliation for iniquity*. He died to satisfy the Justice of God fully for our Sin, to pardon, blot out, mortify and expiate all Kinds and Sorts of Sin, and to reconcile us to God. He *brings in everlasting righteousness*. He hath provided this Righteousness for us who are unrighteous and guilty Sinners, he hath merited it by his Death, he offers it in the Gospel, and applies it by working Faith in us by his Holy Spirit. This is everlasting Righteousness ; for our Redeemer, *Jehovah* our Righteousness, is an everlasting Father : It is from Everlasting in the Counsels of God, and it will be everlasting in its Consequences and Blessings. He hath sealed up the vision and prophecy : He hath accomplished all the prophetic Visions in the *Old Testament* which concern the *Messiah*, and hath answered them to a title.

Fourthly, The End of these Weeks being thus fixed at the Death of Christ, this doth necessarily determine us where to place the Beginning of them, even 490 Years before. Therefore the Death of Christ, as most learned Chronologers (c) agree, falling in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4746, in the *Jewish* Month *Nisan*, at the Time of the Passover ; if we reckon 490 Years backwards, this will lead us up to the Month *Nisan*, in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4256, which was the same Month and Year in which *Ezra* had his Commission (d) from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, to return to *Jerusalem*, and there to restore the Church and State of the *Jews*, *Nisan* being the first Month in the *Jewish* Kalendar. Or thus : From the Year of the Creation of the World 3492, which was the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the Year from the Creation of the World 3982, in which Christ suffered Death (e), are just 490 Years. Again, if we reckon by Dr. *Ussher's* Calculation of Years of the World, from 3546, wherein the Decree was given, to 4036, when our Lord died, intervene 490 : So that though the learned Primate differ from us in fixing the Date of this Prophecy, yet his Calculation of Years, whether by the *Julian* Period, or by the Years of the World (f), confirms our Opinion. Upon the whole, by any of these Calculations, the seventy Weeks begin with this Decree of *Artaxerxes* to restore and build *Jerusalem*, and end with Christ's Death.

Fifthly, These Weeks must have their Beginning from the Date of the Commission granted to *Ezra*, because they are pinn'd down thereto by an express Character in the Text, *Dan. ix. 25. From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem* : Thence have the seventy Weeks their Beginning ; and to incite us the more to observe it, he introduceth it with this Preface, *Know therefore and understand*. To restore and to build *Jerusalem*, is not to be understood literally, but figuratively, for restoring the State of the *Jews*, as well political as ecclesiastical, and the resettling of both according to the Law of *Moses* ; for the doing whereof, the Commission given to *Ezra* was very full, which he did accordingly execute.

Sixthly, The Beginning of the seventy Weeks, from the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the Decree was given to *Ezra* to restore and build *Jerusalem*, and ending them with the Death of Christ, does well agree with the Chronology of the *Jews* and other Nations, as is already proved ; and the Particulars may appear from the Chronological Tables of *Helvici* or Mr *Talents*, Dr. *Owen's Prolegomina*, or Exercitations prefixed to the first Volume of his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (g), and others : And since it so exactly corresponds with

(a) Ezek. iv. 6. (b) Levit. xxv. 8. (c) Scaliger, de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Usserius in annalibus sub anno J. P. 4746. Strauchii brevarium chronologicum. Helvici Theatrum, &c. (d) Ezra, vii. 8, 9. (e) See Helvici's Chronological Tables. (f) Vide Usserii Annales, in editione Genev. 1722, p. 105 & 594. (g) p. 187.

with this Calculation, it cannot agree with the Beginning and End of these Weeks at any other Period of Time, as is at large demonstrated by the learned Dr. Prideaux (a), whom the curious Reader may consult.

As to the particular Division of the Time in these seventy Weeks: *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, there are seven weeks: and the street shall be built again, and the wall [or ditch] in troublous times; that is, Forty nine Years shall be employed in restoring and establishing the Church and State of the Jews.* And accordingly, from the Commandment or Decree given by Artaxerxes Longimanus to Ezra to restore and build Jerusalem, in the seventh Year of the said King's Reign, to the ending and perfecting of it by Nehemiah (b), in the last Act of his Reformation, were forty nine Years, as shall afterwards appear, the Work being hindered and delayed so long, by the Opposition made by the Samaritans and other Enemies abroad, and by false Brethren at home. And at the same Juncture of Time where the Restoration of the Jewish Church and State ended, there the holy Scriptures of the *Old Testament* conclude also. After these seven Weeks, or forty nine Years, if we reckon sixty two Weeks, or 434 Years more, this will lead us down to the coming of the Messiah: For the Words of the Prophecy are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks (c); that is, There shall be seven Weeks for completing and finishing the Work for which the Decree was granted, and from thence sixty two Weeks more to the coming of the Messiah here intended, that is, to the time of his first Appearance in the Ministry of the Gospel: For if we reckon, from the Year of the Julian Period 4256, when the Decree was given, sixty nine Weeks, or 483 Years, this will lead us down to the Year of the Julian Period 4739, which was the Year in which our blessed Lord began the Ministry of the Gospel (d); and in three Years and a half more, that is, in the midst of the Week, the Messiah was cut off, and thereby did confirm the Covenant, fulfilling the End of the ceremonial Law, with all the Sacrifices, and making them of no more Use. Then follows the last Part of the Prophecy: And the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, — and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. — And for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate. This, as our Lord (e) says, is the abomination spoken of by Daniel the prophet, even the Roman Armies that should invade Judah as a Flood, and by a terrible consuming War should bring utter Ruin upon it, consummating the same in an absolute Destruction of the Inhabitants of the Land; all which did accordingly come to pass, as we shall afterwards hear. Sir John Marsham (f) is here justly to be blamed, for explaining this whole Prophecy without any Regard to our Lord Jesus, and terminating the whole in the Persecution raised against the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. He is followed by the Author of *The Grounds of the Christian Religion* (g); but his Notion is overturned by the Grounds we have already insisted upon: Only I fear it be a wilful Mistake in that learned Author, to throw up such a Prediction, which our Lord (b) himself hath applied to *New Testament* Times. But what hath been advanced, may suffice at the time to shew that this illustrious Prophecy is accomplished in our blessed Lord Jesus, who is the Messiah promised in the *Old Testament*. To go on with the History:*

Ezra having found in the second Year of his Government, that many of the Jews had taken strange Wives contrary to the Law; and that many of the Priests and Levites, as well as other Men in Judah and Benjamin, had transgressed in this Matter; after he had by Fasting and Prayer deprecated the Wrath of God for this crying Sin, he caused Proclamation to be made, that all the People of Israel, who had returned from the Captivity, might gather themselves together at Jerusalem, under the Penalty of Excommunication and Forfeiture of all their Goods: And when they were met, he made them sensible of their Folly, and engaged them in a Covenant and Promise before God to depart from it, by putting away their strange Wives, and all such as were born of them, that the Seed of Israel might not be polluted with such an undue (i) Commixture. And thereon Commissioners were appointed to examine into this Matter, and to cause every Man to do according to the Law. They sat down the first Day of the tenth Month, to examine this Affair, and made an End by the first Day of the first Month; so that in three Months Time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Months of the Jewish Year, a thorough Reformation was made of this Transgression; which three Months answer to January, February and March in our Year. This makes it evident that the Books of Moses were then extant, and that Ezra could not have altered them; for Ezra himself in the third Chapter of his Book, 2, — 5. does almost in express Terms affirm that Jeshua the Son of Josedek and Zerubbabel brought with them the Writings of Moses from Babylon, in the first Year of Cyrus; and we find in Ezra vi. 18, — 21. that they offered Sacrifices, and kept solemn Feasts according to the Law of Moses. Moreover when these Precepts concerning

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(a) Connexion, Vol. I. p. m. 269, — 289. (b) Nehem. xiii. 23, — 31. (c) Dan. ix. 25. (d) Helvici Theatrum, p. m. 84. (e) Matth. xxiv. 15. (f) Canon Chronicus, Sæc. 18. p. m. 614, — 620. (g) See Scheme of Literal Prophecy, printed 1726, p. 163, — 192. (h) Matth. xxiv. 15. (i) Ezra ix. and x.

Marriages were so plainly broken by the *Jews*, expressly against the Law of *Moses*, in which Transgression their *Princes and rulers were chief*, *Ezra* ix. 1, 2. wherein the Affection of their Wives, and the Interest of their Families was nearly concerned, which would oblige them to examine all the Copies of the Law which *Ezra* could offer; yet we find that they were so far from opposing *Ezra's* Command in this Matter, that they confessed their Trespasses, and abandoned the strange Wives they had taken with their Children.

About this Time *Bigthan* and *Teresb* (a), two Eunuchs in the Palace, entered into a Conspiracy against the Life of King *Artaxerxes*. 'Tis probable they were of these who had attended Queen *Vashti*, and being now out of their Office, by degrading their Mistress, they took Disgust so as to resolve to revenge themselves on the King; of which *Mordecai* having got Knowledge, he made Discovery thereof to Queen *Esther*, and she in *Mordecai's* Name to the King; whereon Enquiry being made into the Matter, and the whole Treason laid open, the two Traitors were both crucified for it, and the History of the whole entered on the publick Records and Annals of the Kingdom.

Megabyzus and *Artabazus*, who were appointed by *Artaxerxes* to command in the Egyptian War (b), drew together into *Cilicia* and *Phenicia*, an Army of three hundred thousand Men for that Expedition; but wanting a Fleet, they tarried most of this Year while it was preparing, carefully instructing their Soldiers in the Art of War, which contributed not a little to the Victory which they afterwards obtained. Next Year the Persian Fleet commanded by *Artabazus* being ready, sailed for the Nile; and at the same Time *Megabyzus* marched the Army by Land to *Memphis*, raised the Siege of that Place, joined the Besieged, and gave Battle to *Inarus* with his *Egyptians* and *Athenian* Auxiliaries, whom he overthrew with a great Slaughter, which chiefly fell upon the *Egyptian* Revolters; for about this Time the Auxiliaries capitulated upon Terms to return home; which the *Persians*, having experienced their Valour, easily granted. The Remains of the vanquished Army retired to a Place of Safety, and the rest of the *Egyptians*, after this Blow, submitted all to the Conquerors, and returned to the Obedience of *Artaxerxes*.

Joachim the High-priest of the *Jews* being dead, was succeeded by *Eliashib* his Son (c), who bore that Office forty Years.

Haman an *Amalekite* of the Posterity of *Agag* King of *Amalek* in the Time of *Saul* (d), growing to be the chief Favourite of King *Artaxerxes*, all the King's Servants were commanded to pay Reverence to him, and bow before him. All of them obeyed the royal Order, except *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who sitting in the King's Gate, according to his Office, paid not any Reverence to (e) *Haman*. At which he was exceeding wroth; but scorning to lay Hands on one Man only, resolved in Revenge of this Affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole Nation. And for accomplishing this Design he called together his Diviners to find out what Day would be most lucky for putting of it in Execution; who did determine for the twelfth Month called *Adar*; wherein he went to the King, and told him there was a certain People dispersed all over his Empire, who did not observe his Laws, but followed Rites of their own, different from those of other People, to the Disturbance of the good Order of his Kingdom, and that it was not for the King's Profit that they should be suffered, proposing that they should be extirpated out of the whole Empire of *Persia*. To which having obtained the King's Consent, with an Order that on the thirteenth Day of *Adar* following, it should be put in Execution; he called the King's Scribes to write the Decree, which was accordingly writ and sent to all the Provinces of the Empire, commanding the King's Lieutenants, Governors, and all other Officers in every one of them, to kill and cause perish all *Jews*, both young and old, little Children and Women in one Day, even on the thirteenth of *Adar* following, and to take the Spoil of them for a Prey. Which Day being full eleven Months after the Date of the Decree, seems to have been directed by the special Providence of God, that so long a Time intervening, there might be Leisure enough to take proper Measures to prevent the Mischief intended. A Difficulty being like to arise from those who had the Management of the King's Treasury, because the destroying so great a Number of the King's Subjects, as the *Jews* over the Empire were, must necessarily cause a great Diminution of the publick Taxes; *Haman* offered ten thousand Talents of Silver of his own Money to compensate that Loss; which Sum, if computed by *Babylonish* Talents, amounts to two Millions, one hundred and nineteen thousand Pound Sterling Money, but if by *Jewish* Talents it will be above twice as much. A prodigious Sum for a private Man to be Owner of! Which shews the greatness of his Riches, and also of his Malice against the *Jews*, that he would give so great a Price to have Revenge on them. But the King's Favour remitted him the Money (f), and granted him all his Desire without it. We are not to wonder that private Men had then such vast Riches; there are Instances to be given of greater Sums in such Hands in ancient Times as in *Pythias* the *Lydian*, *Marcus Crassus* the

(a) *Esther* ii. 21, — 23. (b) *Diod. Siculus* lib. 11. cap. 75, — 78. *Ctesias* Frag. in annexis ad *Herodot.* pag. 647, 648. (c) *Nehem.* xii. 10. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 11. cap. 5. p. 452. (d) 2 *Sam.* xv. (e) *Esther* iii. 2, — 9. (f) *Esther* iii. 9, — 12.

the *Roman*, what *Alexander* found in the Treasures of *Darius*, what the *Roman* Generals carried in their Triumphs from conquered Provinces, and others of that Kind, mentioned in ancient Histories (a). But at length the Mines which furnished this Plenty, especially these of *Opbie*, and of the Southern *Arabia*, being exhausted, or the Trade to them interrupted, together with the Burnings of Cities and great Devastations of Countries, by the Irruption of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, with other barbarous Nations in the West; and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the East; in after Ages, having destroyed a great Part of the Gold and Silver, which the World before abounded with; this brought in a great Scarcity of both in latter Times, which the Mines of *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Brasil* have not as yet been able fully to repair.

'Tis not easy to find a Reason for *Mordecai*'s refusing to pay this Respect to *Haman*, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his Nation to that Destruction, which it had like to have drawn upon them. Whether he declined it under a Notion that it was idolatrous Prostration; or if because *Haman* being an *Amalekite*, he looking on that whole Race as under the Curse of God (b), did not think himself obliged to pay him Honour, I shall not determine: But on whatever Cause *Mordecai* refused it, this provoked *Haman* to obtain the Decree for the utter Extirpation of the *Jewish* Nation. When *Mordecai* heard that the Decree was passed, he made great Lamentation, as did all the *Jews* at *Shushan* with him, and putting on Sacloth, he sat in this mournful Garb without the King's Gate, which being told *Esther*, she sent to him to know what was the Matter; and *Mordecai* acquainted her with the whole State of the Case, and sent her a Copy of the Decree, commanding her further to go to the King, and make Supplication to him, that the Ruin of her Nation might be prevented. She at first excused her self, as in the fourth Chapter of the Book of *Esther*; but afterwards *Mordecai* caused tell her, that the Decree extended to the whole Nation of the *Jews*; and if it came to Execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her People; that Providence seemed to have advanced her of Purpose for this Work, and if she refused to act her Part, then Deliverance should come some other Way, but she and her People should perish. Whereon *Esther* desired *Mordecai* that he and all the *Jews* then in *Shushan* would fast three Days, and offer up Supplications to God to prosper her Undertaking; which being done, on the third Day *Esther* put on her Royal Apparel, and went in to the King, where he was sitting upon his Throne, in the inner Part of the Palace; and as soon as he saw her, he shewed her Favour, holding out the golden Scepter, and she touching the Top of it, had thereby her Life secured: When the King asked what was her Petition? She only desired that the King and *Haman* might come to a Banquet that she had prepared. Upon their coming, she asked only that they might come next Day to the like, her Intention being to endear her self the more to him, and to dispose him the better to grant the Petition that she was to make. *Haman* being proud of the Honour he conceived done him, and withal grieved to see *Mordecai* sitting at the Gate of the King's Palace, still refusing to bow unto him, complained to his Friends of the Affront offered him. Whereupon they advised him to cause a Gallows to be made, fifty Cubits high, and next Morning to ask the King to have *Mordecai* to be hanged thereon. But that Morning (c) the King awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself to Sleep; he called for the Book of the Records and Chronicles of the Kingdom, and caused them to be read; wherein finding an Account of the Conspiracy of *Bigthan* and *Teresb*, and that it was discovered by *Mordecai* the *Jew*, the King enquired what Honour had been done to him for this Service: And being told nothing had been done for him; he asked who was in the Court? And being answered *Haman* was there (he being come to prosecute his Design against *Mordecai*) he ordered him to be called; and asked what should be done to the Man whom the King delighted to honour? *Haman* thinking this designed for himself, gave Advice that the Royal Apparel that the King used to wear, the Horse the King rode upon, and the Crown-Royal which was set on his Head, should be delivered to one of the King's most noble Princes; to array the Man, to bring him on Horseback through the City, proclaiming before him; *Thus shall it be done to the Man whom the King delights to honour*. All which the King ordered *Haman* to do to *Mordecai*; whereon he returned to his House, lamenting that he had been forced to pay so signal Honour to his Enemy, which his Friends declared to signify that he should surely fall before him. While they were talking, one of the Queen's Chamberlains came to *Haman*'s House, to hasten him to the Banquet; and seeing the Gallows which had been set up the Night before, fully informed himself of the Design for which it was prepared. When the King and *Haman* sat down to the Banquet, the King asked again of *Esther* what was her Petition (d); promising it should be given even to the Half of the Kingdom; whereon she said, *If it please the King, let my Life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request; for we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain and perish. The king answered, Who is he, and where is he, that durst presume in his heart to do so? And Esther said, The adversary is this wicked Haman. And*

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(a) See *Prideaux's Connect.* part I. p. 311, 312. (b) *Exod.* xvii. 14. & *Sam.* xv. 2, 3. (c) *Esther* vi. (d) *Esth.* vii.

at the same Time laid the whole Plot open to the King. Whereon the King rose in great Wrath from the Banquet, and walked out to the Palace-Garden; which *Haman* perceiving he fell down before the Queen on the Bed where she sat, to supplicate for his Life; in which Posture the King having found him on his Return, spoke out before him in great Passion, and said, *Will he force the queen also before me in the house?* At which Words the Servants presently covered his Face, as was then the Custom to condemned Persons: And the Chamberlain who had that Day called *Haman* to the Banquet, acquainting the King of the Gallows which he saw prepared for *Mordecai*, the King said, *Hang him thereon*; which was accordingly done; and all his House, Goods and Riches were given to Queen *Esther* (a), who appointed *Mordecai* to be her Steward to manage the same; and the King took him into Favour, appointing him to be Keeper of the Signet as *Haman* had been before.

But still the Decree for the Destruction of the *Jews* remaining in its full Force, the Queen petitioned the King a second Time to put away this Mischief from them. But according to the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* (b), nothing being to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the King's Name, as this Decree procured by *Haman* had been, it could not be recalled. All therefore the King could do in Compliance with her Request, was, to give the *Jews* by a new Decree such a Power to defend themselves against all such as should assault them, to render the former Decree ineffectual, which was done in as strong Terms as *Esther* and *Mordecai* could devise, and written by the King's Scribes, just two Months and ten Days after the former; wherein the King granted to the *Jews* in every City of the *Persian* Empire, full License to gather themselves together, and stand for their Lives, to destroy, slay and cause perish all the Power of the People that should assault them, with their little ones and Women, and take the Spoil for a Prey. This Decree being written in the King's Name, and sealed with his Seal, Copies thereof were drawn out, and special Messengers were dispatched with them into all the Provinces of the Empire. The thirteenth of *Adar* drawing near, by Means (c) of these different and disagreeing Decrees, a War was commenced between the *Jews* and their Enemies all over the *Persian* Dominions. But the Rulers of the Provinces, and the other Officers of the King knowing in what Power *Esther* and *Mordecai* were then with him, thro' Fear of them so favoured the *Jews*, as they prevailed every where against those who rose up against them, and slew of their Enemies seventy five thousand Persons; and in the City *Shushan*, on that Day, and the next, eight hundred more (d), among whom were the ten Sons of *Haman*, whom by a special Order from the King they caused all to be hanged, perhaps on the same Gallows on which their Father *Haman* had been before. The *Jews* being thus delivered from this dangerous Design, which threatened them with no less than utter Extirpation, made great Rejoicing for it on the two Days following, that is on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the Month *Adar*: And by the Order of *Esther* and *Mordecai*, these two Days, with the thirteenth, were set apart to be observed in Commemoration thereof (e), the thirteenth as a Fast, and the other two as a Feast, both of which the *Jews* observe every Year even to this Time. The first they call the Fast of *Esther*, and the other the Feast of *Purim*, from the *Persian* Word *Purim*, signifying *Lots*. This Feast is the *Bacchanals* of the *Jews*, which they celebrate with all manner of Rejoicing and Mirth, indulging themselves in all manner of luxurious Excess, especially in drinking of Wine even to Drunkenness. This is the last Feast of the Year among them; for the next that follows is the Passover, which always falls in the Middle of the Month which begins the *Jewish* Year.

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Artax. 19. *Ezra* continued in his Government of *Judea* (f), till the End of the nineteenth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; and by Virtue of the good Hand of God upon him, and the Powers granted him by the King, he reformed the whole State of the *Jewish* Church, according to the Law of *Moses*, in which he was well instructed. The two chief Things he had to do were, to restore the Observance of the *Jewish* Law, according to the antient approved Usages, which had been in Practice before the Captivity, under the Direction of the Prophets; and to collect, transcribe, and set forth a correct Edition of the holy Scriptures; in performing which, the *Jews* say (g) he had the Assistance of the great Synagogue, which, according to them, was a Convention of one hundred and twenty Persons, under the Precedency of *Ezra*. But I do not now insist upon the *Jewish* Oral Law, which seems to have been invented after *Ezra's* Days, nor on their several Sorts of Doctors and Teachers, because we may have a more proper Occasion to discourse of these Things, before we come to an End (h) of this History.

The great Work then that *Ezra* did, was to collect, transcribe and set forth a correct Edition of the holy Scriptures, in which he laboured very much, and went a great Way to the perfecting thereof. Many of the Antients ascribe even too much to him in this Matter, as *Irenæus* (i), *Tertullian* (k), *Jerom* (l), and others; for they hold that the Scriptures were lost and

(a) *Esther* viii. (b) *Dan.* vi. 8. 15. *Esther* i. 15. viii. 8. (c) *Esther* ix. (d) *Esther*, *ibid.* *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.* (e) *Esther* ix. 20, — 23. (f) See above p. 245. (g) Vide *Davidem Ganz*, & alios *Judæorum Historicis*, & *Buxtorffii Tiberiadem cap. 10.* (h) chap. 6. (i) *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. 3. cap. 25. (k) *De habitu muliebri*, cap. 3. operum p. 184. (l) *Contra Helvidium*.

destroyed in the *Babylonish* Captivity, and that *Ezra* restored them all again by divine Revelation. But they had no Ground for this; save only the Authority of the second Book of *Esdra* (a), a Book so absurd and fabulous, that the *Romanists* themselves blush to receive it into their Canon. Indeed in the Time of *Josiah*, through the Impiety of the two preceeding Reigns of *Manasseh* and *Amon*, the Book of the Law of *Moses* was so destroyed, that besides that Copy which *Hilkiah* found in the Temple (b), there was no other to be had; for the Surprise which *Hilkiah* is said to have been in at the finding of it, and the Grief which *Josiah* expressed at hearing of it read, shew that neither of them had seen it before. But this religious Prince *Josiah* took Care that forthwith Copies were written out from the Original; and Search being made for all the other Parts of the holy Scriptures in the Colleges of the Sons of the Prophets, and in all other Places where they could be found, Care was taken for Transcripts to be made of those also; and thence Copies of the whole became multiplied among the People; all those who desired to know the Law of their God, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that tho' within a few Years after *Josiah's* Days, the holy City and Temple were destroyed, and the Law laid up before the Lord was burnt and consumed, yet by the Time that this happened, or before it, many Copies both of the Law and the Prophets, and of all the other sacred Writings were got into private Hands, who carried the same with them into the Land of their Captivity. That *Daniel* had a Copy of the holy Scriptures with him in *Babylon* is certain, because he quotes the Law (c), and also makes mention of the Prophecies of *Jeremiah* (d), which he could not do, had he never seen them; yea he understood by Books the Number of the Years. And in *Ezra* vi. 18. 'tis said, *That the priests and Levites were settled in their divisions for the service of God, as it is written in the book of Moses.* How could they do this, if they had not the Copies of the Law among them? And this was many Years before *Ezra* came to *Jerusalem*. And in *Nehemiah* viii. 1, — 9. when the People called for the Law of *Moses*, to have it read to them, which *Ezra* did, they did not pray *Ezra* to get it a-new dictated to them, but that he should bring the book of the law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded to *Israel*. These Things plainly demonstrate, besides what hath been formerly said (e) on the same Head, that the Book of the Law, with other sacred Scriptures, were then well known to have been extant, and did not need such a miraculous Expedient as that of a new divine Revelation for their Restauration. All that *Ezra* did in this Matter, was to get together as many Copies as he could, and, out of them all, to set forth a correct Edition of the holy Scriptures; in Performance of which he took Care of the following Particulars.

First, He corrected the Errors that had crept into those Copies through the Negligence or Mistake of Transcribers. Whether the *Keri* and *Cetib* that are in our *Hebrew Bibles*, are of these Corrections, I dare not say: Some of the *Jewish* Writers (f) tell us they were done by *Ezra*; but it seems more probable that they had their Original after his time, by the Observations and Corrections of the *Masorites*.

Secondly, He collected together all the Books of which the holy Scriptures did then consist, disposed them into their proper Order, and settled the Canon of the Scriptures for his Time: Yet *Malachi* is supposed to have lived after him; and in *Nehemiah* (g) mention is made of *Jaddua* the High-priest, and of *Darius Codomannus*, who was long after *Ezra* was dead; and in *1 Chron.* iii. 19, — 24. the Genealogy of the Sons of *Zerubabel* is carried down so many Generations as makes it to reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*: And therefore this Book could not be put into the Canon till about that time. 'Tis then most likely, that the two Books of *Chronicles*, with *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Esther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added, in the time of *Simeon the Just*, and that till then the *Jewish* Canon of the holy Scriptures was not fully completed. The Division of the five Books of the Law into fifty four Sections is also by many ascribed to *Ezra*. It was made for the Use of the *Jewish* Synagogues, where every Sabbath-day one of these Sections was read, for the better instructing of the People in the Law of God, *Acts*, xv. 21. where, of old time, may well be interpreted, from the time of *Ezra*. These Sections were divided into Verses, which the *Jews* call *Pesukim*: They are marked out in the *Hebrew Bibles* by two great Points at the End of them, called from hence *Soph-pasuk*; that is, *The End of the Verse*; that the Reader might know how much to read at every Interval, and the Interpreter how much to explain. But the Division of the holy Scriptures into Chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later Date. The *Psalms* indeed were always divided as at present; for the Apostle (h), in his Sermon at *Antioch*, quotes the second Psalm. But as to the rest of the holy Scriptures, the Division of them into such Chapters as at present, is what the Antients knew nothing of. The true Author of this Invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a *Dominican* Monk advanced to the Dignity of a Cardinal, and being the first Cardinal of that Order, is commonly called *Hugo Cardinalis*. This Cardinal *Hugo*, who flourished about the

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(a) *Esdra* xiv. 21. 22. (b) *2 Kings* xxii. 8. *2 Chron.* xxxiv. 14. (c) *Dan.* ix. 11. 13. (d) *Idem*, ix. 2. (e) Above, p. 247. (f) *De Keri vel Cetib* vide *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, lib. 1. cap. 7. *Buxtorfii Vindicias veritatis Hebraicæ*, part. 2. cap. 4. (g) *x.* 21. and *xii.* 20, 21, 22. (h) *Acts*, xiii. 33.

Year 1240; and died in the Year 1262, laboured much in the Study of the holy Scriptures, and made a Commentary on the whole of them (a). The carrying on this Work, gave him occasion of inventing the first Concordance that was ever made of the holy Scriptures, at least for the vulgar *Latin* Bible. He set a great Number of the Monks of his Order a-collecting Words, under their proper Classes, in every Letter of the Alphabet; and by the Help of many Hands, soon brought it to what he intended: Which Work was afterwards much improved by others. To make it answer his Purpose, the Cardinal found it necessary to divide the Books into Sections and Chapters, and the Section into Under-divisions, that he might more exactly point out in the Index where every Word or Passage might be found in the Text. For till then each Book in the *Latin* Bible was without any Division at all: But the Cardinal's Way of subdividing the Chapters, was not by Verses, as now, but by Letters on the Margin, at proper Distances; as, *A, B, C, D, E, F, &c.* About the Year 1430, there lived among the Western *Jews* one Rabbi *Isaac Nathan* (b). He conversing, and oft disputing with Christians, came to know the great Use of the Cardinal's *Latin* Concordance, and set about such another for the *Hebrew* Bible, for the Use of the *Jews*, which he finished in the Year 1445. There have been several Editions of it: That done at *Basil* by *Buxtorf* the Son, printed in the Year 1633, is the best, and is most useful for understanding the Scriptures in the original Language. Rabbi *Nathan*, for the sake of his Concordance, first introduced the Division of the Verses in each Chapter by Numbers; which is most easy and profitable; and therefore hath since been followed by *Vatablus* and others. *Robert Stephanus* taking a hint from hence, made a like Division of the Chapters of the *New Testament* into Verses, and that for the sake of a Concordance of the *Greek* New Testament which he was then composing, which was afterwards printed by *Henry Stephanus* his Son.

Thirdly, *Ezra*, in his Edition of the holy Scriptures, added some Clauses which appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit of God by which the sacred Writings were at first indited. Of this sort we may reckon the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, giving an Account of the Death and Burial of *Moses*, where *no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day*, and of the Succession of *Joshua* after him; which could not be written by *Moses* himself, who undoubtedly was the Penman of the rest of that Book. It seems most probable then that it was added by *Ezra* at this time; for 'tis undeniable there are such Interpolations, there being many Passages in sacred Writ which create Difficulties, that can never be solved without allowing of them, of which the learned *Dr. Prideaux* (c) gives several Instances. He also changed the old Names of some Places that were grown obsolete, putting in stead of them new Names, by which they were at that time called, that the People might the better understand what was written. Thus in *Genesis*, xiv. 14. *Abraham* is said to have pursued the Kings who carried *Lot* away captive as far as *Dan*; whereas the Name of that Place was *Laisb*, till the *Danites*, long after the Death of *Moses*, possessed themselves of it, and called it *Dan* after the Name of *Dan* their Father (d): And therefore it could not be named *Dan* in the original Copy of *Moses*, but this Name must have been put in afterwards, in stead of that of *Laisb*, on this Review. And other like Examples may be given, whereby it appears that the Study of those who governed the Church of God in those Times, was to render the Scriptures as plain and intelligible to the People as they could, and not to hide or conceal any thing in it from them. These Additions or Interpolations do not detract any thing from the divine Authority of the sacred Writings, because they were all inserted by the Direction of the same Holy Spirit that dictated the whole. This as to *Ezra* is without dispute, he being one of the divine Penmen of the sacred Scripture: For he was certainly the Writer of that Book of the *Old Testament* which bears his Name, and is upon good Grounds supposed to have been the Author of two more, namely, the two Books of *Chronicles*, and perhaps also of the Book of *Esther*; and if the Books writ by him be of divine Authority, why may not every thing else be so which he hath added to any of the rest? since there is all reason for us to suppose, that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one as in the other. The great Importance of the Work proves the Point; for as it was necessary for the Church of God that this Work should be done, so also was it necessary that the Person called to this Work should be assisted by the Spirit of God in the completing of it.

The last Thing we shall consider in *Ezra's* Reformation is, Whether he added the Vowel-points which are now in the *Hebrew* Bibles. I think to have occasion to discourse of this Question in another Part of this Work (e), and therefore shall now only remark, That though some Authors (f) insist much upon this, that the *Jews* in their Synagogues have still the sacred Books without the Vowel-points, which could not have happened if these had been of the same Antiquity with the Letters; yet these same *Jews* all agree, that the Reading, as now fixed and settled by the Vowel-points in all the Books of the holy Scriptures, is the true, genuine

(a) Buxtorfii Præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. (b) Ibid. (c) Connection, Part 1. p. 343, 344. (d) Josh. xix. 47. Judges, xviii. 29. (e) Chap. 6. (f) Carpani Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 4.

genuine and authentick Reading, as it came from the sacred Penmen themselves, and consequently is of as much Authority as the Letters. But what appears to be of great Weight, is, that the Use of the Vowel-points was of absolute Necessity, from the time that the *Hebrew* Language ceased to be vulgarly spoken, (as it certainly did in the time of *Ezra*) and therefore the Use of them was about this time introduced. The *Jews* taught their Children from their Infancy to read the Scriptures in the *Hebrew* Language; which Beginners could never do without the Vowels. 'Tis true, as to those who thoroughly understand the Language, the Letters alone, with the Context, are sufficient to determine the Reading: For, excepting the Bible, few other Books in that Language are pointed. All their Rabbinical Authors, of which there are a great Number, are unpointed; and yet those who well understand the Language can read them. But how they could ever be taught to read without Vowels after the *Hebrew* became a dead Language, is not easy to conceive, when they were first to read, in order to understand it. Nor can the Letters, *Aleph, He, Vau, Yod*, called *Matres lectionis*, serve for Vowels; for there are many Words and Syllables, both in the Bible and in other *Hebrew* Books, where these Letters are not to be found (*a*). Besides, these Letters, as they are placed in different Words, have different Sounds and Senses, according as they are pointed by different Vowels under them. All the Oriental Languages, for Example, the *Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, Malayan, &c.* have their Vowels to help the Reading; neither can we find that they were ever without them. Why then should we think that the *Hebrew*, till five or six hundred Years after Christ, did want Vowels? If it be impracticable for a Boy to learn *Latin* by Books that hath nothing but Abbreviations, two or three Letters for a Word, it is as impossible for a Stranger to the *Hebrew* to learn it by Books wherein all the Words are without Points or Vowels, yea and much more so: For the Abbreviations in *Latin* are certain, such an one being always put for such a Word, and no other; but in the *Hebrew*, when all the Vowels are left out, the remaining Letters, as pronounced with different Vowels, make different Significations. Upon the whole, the Vowel-points being added with the best Care of those who understood the Language, and having undergone the accurate Review of many Ages, no Alteration is to be made in them, unless upon the most solid Grounds; nor are the Books to be left to any arbitrary and uncertain Reading, even though honest and knowing Men will neither pervert nor mistake the Sense.

Though *Ezra's* Government over all *Judab* and *Jerusalem* expired with the nineteenth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, yet his Labour to serve the Church of God did not end here; for still he went on, as a Preacher of Righteousness, and as a skilful Scribe of the Law of God, to perfect the Reformation which he had begun, by preparing for the People correct Copies of the holy Scriptures, and by bringing all things in Church and State to be conform to the Rules thereof: And this he continued to do as long as he lived, and was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next Governor, who came to *Jerusalem* with the same Zeal to promote the Honour of God and Welfare of his People. By their joining together, the Work prospered, till notwithstanding all Opposition, it was brought to some Perfection forty nine Years after it had been begun by *Ezra*. Whether *Ezra* lived so long, is uncertain; but what he did not live to do, was completed by the Piety and Zeal of his Successor.

Mean time I shall observe, that we have but a very slight, and for the most part imperfect Account of the *Persian* Affairs after *Xerxes's* Retreat out of *Greece*, where *Herodote* ends his History: Only, as we have before (*b*) observed the Revolt of the *Egyptians*, and their being reduced by *Megabyzus*; so we may now further notice, That *Megabyzus* having brought home *Inarus* King of *Egypt*, and some of the *Athenian* Auxiliaries Prisoners from *Egypt* into *Persia*, under Promise of Safety for their Lives, *Artaxerxes's* Mother earnestly solicited these Prisoners to be delivered to her, that she might revenge on them the Death of her Son *Achæmenides*, who had fallen fighting against them in *Egypt*. *Artaxerxes* for five Years resisted her unwearied Importunities; at last he yielded to her Request; and the cruel Woman, without any Regard to the publick Faith plighted for their Safety, caused *Inarus* to be crucified, and the Heads of fifty of the other Prisoners to be struck off (*c*). At which *Megabyzus* was so exceedingly offended, that he retired in discontent to the Province of *Syria*, of which he was Governor, and there raised an Army, and rebelled against the King, in revenge of this Wrong. To repress this Rebellion, *Artaxerxes* sent *Osir* with a great Army into *Syria*: But *Megabyzus* met him in Battle, wounded him, took him Prisoner, and put his Army to flight. The King having demanded him, *Megabyzus* released him as soon as his Wounds were healed. Next Year, being the nineteenth of *Artaxerxes's* Reign, he sent another Army against *Megabyzus*, under the Command of *Menostanes*, Son to *Artarius* Governor of *Babylon*, one of his Brothers; but he had no better Fortune than the former General: Whereby *Artaxerxes* perceiving that he could not prevail against him by Force of Arms, he sent *Artarius* his Brother, *Amytis* his Sister, Wife

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(a) Prideaux's Connection, Part 1. p. 354 & seqq. (b) Above, p. 244 and 248. (c) Cresias in Persicis, cum annexis ad Herodotum, in edit. Lond. 1649, p. 647, — 649.

to *Megabyzus*, *Artoxares* his Son, a Youth of twenty Years of Age, with other Persons of Quality, by whose Interposition the Difference was made up : The King granted him his Pardon, and he returned again to the Court. But while the King was in hunting, a Lion raised up himself against him ; and *Megabyzus*, out of Zeal to extricate the King from this Danger, threw a Dart at the Lion, and slew him. *Artaxerxes* laying hold of this light Pretence to express his Displeasure for his late Revolt, ordered his Head to be struck off for presuming to strike at the Beast before him : And it was with Difficulty that *Amytis* his Wife, and *Hamestris* her Mother, prevailed to have the Sentence of Death changed into that of Banishment. Whereupon he was sent to *Cyrta*, a Place on the *Red Sea*, there to lead the rest of his Life under Confinement. But after he had staid there five Years, he made his Escape from thence, and under the Disguise of a Leper, got safe to his own House at *Susa*, and by the Intercession of his Friends, was again restored to the King's Favour, in which he continued to the Time of his Death, some Years after this, in the seventy sixth Year of his Age, and was much lamented by the King and all his Court ; for he was the ablest Man, both in Council and War, in the whole Empire, who had preserved *Artaxerxes's* Life, as well as his Crown, at his first Accession to the Government. After *Megabyzus's* Death, his Wife *Amytis*, according to *Ctesias* (a), led a whorish Life with severals, and also with *Apollonides* her Physician : But he having abandoned her, she complained on her Death-bed of him to *Hamestris* her Mother ; for which she punished the poor Physician by burying him alive. To return to the History of the *Jews* :

Am. C. 445. *Nehemiah* succeeded *Ezra* in the Government of *Judah*. He came to *Jerusalem* in the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, with a Commission from him. By an express Clause in his Instructions he had full Authority given him to repair the Walls, and set up the Gates of *Jerusalem*, and to fortify it again in the same Manner as before it had been destroyed by the *Babylonians*. He was a *Jew*, and his Ancestors had formerly been Citizens of *Jerusalem*; for there, he saith (b), had formerly been the place of his fathers sepulchres : But we know not of what Tribe or Family he was, only his Father's Name was *Hachaliab* (c), who seems to have been of those *Jews*, who having got good Settlements in the Land of their Captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own Country. 'Tis likely he dwelt at *Shushan*, which gave his Son an Occasion of Advancement in the King's Palace; for he was the King's Cup-bearer (d), a Place of great Honour and Advancement in the *Persian* Court, because of the Privilege it gave him of being daily in the King's Presence, and of asking any Petition even when the King was making himself merry with Wine. At such a Time he asked the Government of *Judea*, and obtained it. By the like Advantage no doubt he gained these immense Riches, that enabled him for so many Years to live on his own private Purse in his Government, without burdening the People. 'Tis likely that it was by the Favour of Queen *Esther*, as being of the same Nation and People with her that he obtained such Preferment at Court. However, neither the Honour nor Advantage of his Place, nor the long Settlement of his Family out of his Country, could make him forget his Love to it; nor lay aside the Zeal he had for the Religion of his Forefathers: For when some came from *Jerusalem*, and told him of the ill State of his Country (e), how the Walls of their chief City were still in many Places broken down, and the Gates of it in the same demolished State as when burnt with Fire by the *Babylonians*, and by reason thereof the *Jews* were exposed to the IncurSIONS of their Enemies, and to the Scorn and Contempt of their Neighbours: *Nehemiah* being a very religious Man, was moved with this Representation, and applied himself to Fasting and Prayer to God for the People of *Israel*, and the Place that he had chosen for his Worship, begging that God would incline the King to grant him Favour; and when his Turn came to wait in his Office, the King observing his Countenance sad, which at other Times used not so to be, asked him what was the Cause? After a short Ejaculation to God for Direction (f), he told the Ground of his Grief was, That the City of his Fathers Sepulchres lay waste, the Gates thereof being consumed with Fire, and desired that he might be sent to remedy these Evils. *Artaxerxes* granted him his Petition, the Queen sitting by (g), who seems to have been *Esther*, who doubtless would do any thing in her Power, to advance what was so much the Interest of her People the *Jews*. Accordingly the Decree was drawn for rebuilding the Walls and Gates of *Jerusalem*; and *Nehemiah* was sent as Governor of *Judea* to see this put in Execution. To do him the more Honour, the King sent a Guard of Horse to conduct him to his Government, and wrote Letters to all the Governors on this Side the River *Euphrates*, to further him in his Work, and to *Asaph* the Keeper of his Forrests, to allow him as much Timber out of them, as should be needful for finishing the Work. The *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Samaritans* and other neighbouring Nations did all they could to hinder him. To this they were excited by their ancient bitter Enmity to the *Jews*, proceeding from the different Manners and Religions they were of; and also because of their Lands: For during the Captivity these Nations had seized

(a) Loco citato, & p. 650. (b) *Nehem.* ii. 1. 3. & v. 14. (c) *Nehem.* i. 1. (d) *Nehem.* ii. 1. & v. 14, — 19. (e) *Nehem.* i. (f) *Nehem.* ii. 4. (g) *Nehem.* ii. 6.

zed their Lands, but were forced to restore them (a) on their Return. But *Nehemiah* was not at all discouraged; for upon his Arrival at *Jerusalem*, he made known to the People the Errand on which he was sent: And having taken a View of the Ruins of the old Walls, he immediately set about repairing of them, dividing the People into Companies (b). He assigned to each the Quarter where they were to work, but reserved to himself the Direction of the whole; in which he laboured so effectually, that the Wall was finished on the twenty fifth Day of the Month *Elul* (c), in the Compass of fifty two Days from the Beginning thereof; notwithstanding all the Opposition made by *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, *Geshem* the *Arabian*, and others, by underhand Dealings: For while a part of the People laboured in carrying on the Building, the other part stood to their Arms, to defend it against any sudden Assault; and every Man had his Weapons at hand to defend, and to draw together on a Signal given, in Case the Enemy should approach. When they had finished the Walls, and set up the Gates, a publick Dedication of them was celebrated (d) with great Solemnity by the Priests and *Levites* and all the People.

The Burden which the People underwent in carrying on this Work, and the incessant Labour which they were forced to undergo, to bring it to a speedy Conclusion, being very great, and such as made many of them to faint (e) and groan under it, and express a Despair of being able to perfect it: To relieve them from this, Care was taken to prevent the Oppression of Usurers, which they had Reason to complain of; for the Rich taking the Advantage of the poorer sort, exacted heavy Usury, making them pay the hundredth Part of all Monies and Goods lent them (f), that is, one in the hundredth every Month, which amounted to twelve per cent. in the Year; which forced the Poor to mortgage their Lands and sell their Children into Servitude, to have wherewith to buy Bread to support themselves and their Families. This being a manifest Breach of the Law of God given by *Moses* (g), *Nehemiah* to remove so great an Iniquity, called an Assembly of the People, and caused it to be enacted, That every one should return to his Brother what had been exacted of him upon Usury; and that the Lands, Vineyards, and Oliveyards which had been taken from them on account thereof, upon Mortgage, should be released. Thus far *Nehemiah* having executed the main End for which he was sent to *Jerusalem*, to build and repair the Gates thereof, he appointed *Hanani* and *Hannaniah* to be Governors of the City, and returned again to the King of *Persia*: For a short Time had been set him (h) to do this Work; and when it was done, he seems to have found a new Commission necessary, to go on to the other Affairs, for the well settling of that Country, which he soon obtained; and the Shortness of his Absence seems to be the Cause that there is no Notice taken of it in the sacred Text. *Nehemiah* being returned from the *Persian* Court, with a new Commission, set himself to carry on the Reformation of the Church and State of the *Jews* which *Ezra* had begun, taking along with him the Advice and Direction of that learned and holy Scribe in all that he did. His first Care was to provide for the Security of the City by settling Rules for opening and shutting the Gates, and keeping Watch and Ward on the Towers and Walls. Then finding the City but thinly inhabited (i), to make the Burden more easy, there needed more People to bear their Share. In Order thereto, he prevailed first with the Rulers and great Men of the Nation to build Houses there, and dwell in them; and others following their Example, offered to do the same. Of the rest of the People, every tenth Man was taken by Lot, and obliged to come to *Jerusalem* there to build Houses and settle themselves with their Families. And now that the City was fortified, and the Inhabitants secured by Walls, Gates, and Guards against the Insults of their Enemies, and the IncurSIONS of Thieves and Robbers, who before molested them, it soon recovered its antient Lustre, and became again a considerable City, and of great Note in those Parts.

Nehemiah finding it necessary to have the Genealogies of the People well examined, and clearly stated, betook himself in the next Place to enquire into that Matter (k). This he did not only for their Civil Rights, that all knowing of what Tribe and Family they were, might thereby be directed where to take their Possessions, but especially for the Temple Service, that none might be admitted to officiate there as *Levites* who were not of the Tribe of *Levi*, nor as Priests who were not of the Family of *Aaron*. For this End Search was made for the old Registers; and having among them found a Record of the Genealogies of those who came at first from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua*, he settled this Matter according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and examining others whose Families were extinguished; which hath caused the Difference that is between the Accounts we have in the second Chapter of *Ezra*, and in the seventh Chapter of *Nehemiah*.

Ezra having completed his Edition of the Law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly, did this Year on the Feast of Trumpets read it to the People (l) at *Jerusalem*. This Feast was celebrated on the first of *Tisri* (m), being the seventh Month of the *Jews* Ecclesiastical Year

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4. (b) Nehem. iii. 4. (c) Nehem. vi. 15. (d) Nehem. xii. 27. (e) Nehem. iv. 10. (f) Nehem. v. 11. (g) Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19. (h) Nehem. ii. 6. (i) Nehem. vii. 3, 4. & xi. 1. (k) Nehem. vii. 5, — 73. (l) Nehem. viii. 1, — 18. (m) Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24. Exod. xii. 2.

Year, and the first of their Civil Year, about the Beginning of our autumnal Equinox. *Ezra* ascended a Scaffold or Pulpit in the largest Street of the City, where most might stand to hear, having with him thirteen of the principal Elders of the People; of whom he placed six on his Right-hand, and seven on his left. Standing in the midst of them, he blessed the Lord the great God, and began to read the Law out of the *Hebrew* Text, and the *Levites* caused the People to understand the Meaning: Thus he did from Morning till Noon. But it being a festival Day, *Nehemiah*, *Ezra*, and the rest who were instructing the People, dismissed them to their Dinner, to eat, drink, and rejoice the remaining part of the Day. Next Morning they assembled again in the same Place, where *Ezra* with his Assistants, went on further to read and explain to them the Law of God. When they came to the twenty third Chapter of *Leviticus*, and had from thence explained the Feast of Tabernacles, to be kept at that Time; this stirred up in the People an eager Desire to fulfil the Law in that Point. Accordingly they prepared Booths made of Branches of Trees, and kept the Festival seven Days in such solemn Manner as had not been observed from the Days of *Joshua* unto that Time. *Ezra* continuing to read and explain the whole Law; whereby the People perceived in how many Things they had transgressed the Commands of God through their Ignorance, and were terrified with the Fear of Divine Wrath which they had deserved; *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in so good a Temper, endeavoured to make the best Improvement thereof, for the Honour of God, and the Interest of Religion: And therefore immediately proclaimed a Fast to be held the next Day save one, after the Festival was ended, that is, on the twenty fourth of the same Month (a): in which they exhorted the People to make a publick and solemn Confession of their Sins before God; and also to enter into a solemn Vow and Covenant with God to avoid these for the future, and strictly to observe the divine Laws; particularly not to make Inter-marriages with the *Gentiles*, either by giving their Daughters to them, or by taking any of their Daughters to themselves; to observe the Sabbaths and sabbatical Years, to pay their annual Tribute to the Temple for repairing thereof, and for finding Necessaries for the publick Service; and to pay the first Fruits to the Priests and *Levites*. In all which they had been hitherto most negligent.

The Ignorance of the Law of God having led them into these Transgressions, for preventing of this for the future, they got the most learned of the Scribes and *Levites* to read it to them in every City; which at first they did by gathering the People into some wide Street or other, as *Ezra* had done: But finding this inconvenient, especially in Winter and stormy Seasons, they erected them Houses or Tabernacles wherein to meet for this end; and this was the Original of Synagogues among them: For they seem to have had none, or few of these before the *Babylonish* Captivity, the Scriptures of the *Old Testament* making little mention of them, and Copies of the Law being not so commonly had to be read in them. But soon after this, they increased; and their Rule was, that a Synagogue was to be erected in every Place where there were ten *Batelnim* (that is, ten Persons of full Age and free Condition) always at leisure to attend the Service performed in them (b): For less than ten, according to them, did not make a Congregation, without which no Part of the Synagogue-service could be performed; and where they were secure of such an Assembly, there a Synagogue was to be built. At first these Synagogues were few, but afterwards they multiplied to a great Number, more than Parish-churches are with us; so that in our Saviour's time there was no Town in *Judea* but what had one or more of them.

The Service to be performed in these Synagogue-assemblies were, Prayers, reading of the Scriptures, and preaching or expounding them. As to their Prayers, these at first were very few; but since they are increased to a very large Bulk, which makes their Service very long and tedious; and the Rubric by which they regulate it, is very perplexed, intricate, and incumbered with many Rites and ceremonious Observances, in all which they equal, if not exceed, the Superstition and Length of the *Papish* Service. The most solemn Part of their Prayers is what they call *Shemoneh Esreh* (c), (that is, the eighteen Prayers) which they say were composed by *Ezra* and the Great Synagogue. They are particularly to be found in *Dr. Prideaux's Connection*; tho' his Inferences from them do not conclude against the *English* Dissenters. For where is the Force of Argument in this: The *Jews* had a Liturgy, and conformed to it; therefore the Dissenters must have one, and conform to it too? Must Christians have and do every thing they had and did? as upon this way of arguing they must. No certainly; for then they must have Sacrifices too, and abundance of other Rites, which are needless to mention. Was there any Subscription and Declaration going along with the *Jewish* Liturgy, as with yours in the Church of *England*? Is it evident that our Saviour, when he went into the *Jewish* Synagogues, did always join with their Prayers? He might possibly not go till after these were over, since his Design among them was to teach and to preach, and to work Miracles.

(a) *Nehem.* ix. (b) *Maimonides* in *Tephillah*, *Lightfoot's Talmudical Exercitations* on *Matth.* iv. 23. (c) *Maimonides* *ibid.* *Prideaux's Connection*, Part i. p. 375 & seqq.

Miracles. Would he make these Prayers his own? would he bless God for sending a Redeemer to the *Jews*? as he must do in the Use of the first Form; or could he say, as in Form 17. *Restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house?* or, as *Vitringa* (a) hath it, *Reduc ministerium Leviticum in adytum domus tue?* with other things of that kind? 'Tis certain that our Lord, during his publick Ministry, and also after his Resurrection, kept separate Assemblies with the Multitude, and with his Disciples, distinct from the *Jewish* Synagogues; where he preached, wrought Miracles, and used most pertinent Prayers, suitable to the Occasion, which he himself formed; and in these the Dissenters, according to their Capacity, endeavour to follow his Example: But I leave this Argument to others (b), and proceed.

The Times of their Synagogue-service were three Days a-week (c), besides their holy Days, whether Fasts or Festivals, and thrice in every one of those Days; that is, in the Morning, the Afternoon, and at Night. The Ministration of the Synagogue-service was not confined to the sacerdotal Order; for the Priests were consecrated only to the Service in the Temple, which was quite of another Nature, as consisting in offering up of Sacrifices and Oblations: But to this in the Synagogue, any one of Learning that was qualified for it was admitted; only, that Order might be preserved, there were in each Synagogue some fix'd Ministers, to take care of religious Duties there performed, who were by solemn Imposition of Hands installed; first, the Elders, who in the *New Testament* (d) are called *Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, that is, Rulers of the Synagogue. How many of these were in each Synagogue, is no where said; but it is certain there were more than one: For they are mentioned in the sacred Scripture (e) in the plural Number, in respect of the same Meeting; and at *Corinth*, *Crispus* and *Sosthenes* are both said to be *chief rulers of the synagogue* (f), though it is not likely that there was more than one Synagogue in that City. Next to them (or perhaps one of them) was the Minister of the Synagogue, who officiated in offering up the publick Prayers to God for the whole Congregation; who, because he was the Mouth of the Meeting, delegated as their Representative, Messenger or Angel. to speak to God for them, was therefore in the *Hebrew* Language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *The Angel of the Church*. Hence the Bishops or Ministers of the seven Churches in *Asia* are in the *Revelation*, by a Name borrowed from the Synagogue, called the *Angels* of those Churches, it being the highest pastoral Office then known, to offer Prayers to God for the Congregation; and he was also a Messenger of God to his People, in bringing them Messages of Life, Peace, and everlasting Salvation. Next, the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the Deacons or inferior Ministers of the Synagogue, in *Hebrew* called *Chazanim*, who had the Charge to keep the sacred Books of the holy Scriptures, the Liturgies and Utensils, and bring them forth for the Use of the Synagogue, and take them away when they had done. Thus it is said of our Saviour (g), when he read the Lesson out of the Prophets in the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, that after he had done, he gave the Book again to the Minister; that is, to the *Chazan* or Deacon of the Synagogue. The next fixed Officer was the Interpreter: His Business was, to interpret into *Chaldee* the Lessons as they were read in the *Hebrew* to the Congregation, which became necessary after their Return from *Babylon*, when the *Hebrew* was a dead Language, and the *Chaldee* vulgarly spoken. Skill and Learning in both Languages being requisite for this Office, when they found a Man qualified, they retained him by a Salary, as a standing Minister of the Synagogue. When the Blessing was to be given, if there was a Priest present in the Congregation, he always did the Office; but if there was no Priest present, the *Sheliach Zibbor* gave the Blessing in a proper Form. The Synagogues, and publick Reading of the Law in them, was very useful to retain the *Jews* in Obedience to the *Mosaic* Precepts, and to hinder them from Idolatry: But by their oral Law, and unwritten Traditions, they soon made the command of God of none effect (h). Thus far of the Synagogue-service: That which they retain at present, is in many Particulars different from this. They that would be more fully informed in this Matter, may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga vetere*, and *Maimonides* in his Tracts, *Tephillah*, *Chagighab*, and *Kiriath-sema*. In their *Proseuchæ*, the *Jews* prayed every one apart for themselves: But I design a particular Chapter afterwards concerning their Religion and Rites.

Nehemiah, after he had held the Government of *Judab* twelve Years, returned to the *Per-* Ant. C.
42
sian Court, being either recalled by the King, or else going thither to solicit for a new Com- Artax. 23
mission after the Expiration of the former. During all the time he had been in the Govern-
ment, he managed it with great Justice (i), and supported the Dignity of his Office by a ve-
ry expensive and hospitable Magnificence; for there sat at his Table every Day one hundred
and fifty *Jews* and Rulers, besides Strangers who came to *Jerusalem* from the heathen Nati-
ons: For as Occasions brought them thither, so if they were of any Quality, they were al-
ways kindly invited to the Governor's House, and there splendidly entertained. Therefore he
provided every Day one Ox, six choice Sheep, with Fowls, Wine, and all other things in

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(a) De Synagoga, p. 1037. (b) See the Occasional Paper, Vol. 3. N. N. 3. printed 1718. (c) Maimonides in *Tephillah*. (d) Mark, v. 31, 36, 38. Luke, viii. 41. and xiii. 14. (e) Acts, xiii. 15. Mark, v. 22. (f) Acts, xviii. 8, 17. (g) Luke, iv. 20. (h) Matth. xv. 6. Mark, vii. 13. (i) Nehem. v. 14, — 19. and xiii. 6.

proportion; which could not but amount to a great Expence. Yet all this he bore out of his own private Purse, without burdening the Province, or taking the Allowance formerly given to the Governors. Which argues his great Generosity, as well as his great Tenderness to the People of his Nation, and also his vast Wealth, in being able to do so.

Ant. C. About this time flourished *Meto* the famous *Athenian* Astronomer, who invented the Cycle
432. of nineteen Years, called the Cycle of the Moon; the Numbers whereof being written in ancient Kalendars in golden Letters, it is still named *The golden Number*, and is yet of use to calculate the movable Feasts.

The War between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, called the *Peleponnesian* War, of which
Ant. C. *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* have writ the History, began about the End of the first Year of the
431. eighty seventh *Olympiad*, and lasted twenty seven Years. As soon as they had entred into it,
Artax. 34. both Parties sent their Ambassadors to King *Artaxerxes*, to engage him on their Side, and pray his Aid in the War: But he gave little Assistance to either. I do not now insist on this War, we may see more of it when we come to speak of the *Grecian* Captains, only some Hints to connect the History cannot be well missed. About the same time there broke out a most grievous Pestilence, which did then over-run a great Part of the World. It began first in *Ethiopia*: From thence it came into *Libya* and *Egypt*; and from *Egypt* invaded *Judea*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*; and from these Parts it spread it self over the whole *Persian* Empire. From thence it passed into *Greece*, grievously afflicting the *Athenian* State, destroying a great Number of People; and among them died *Pericles* (a), the most eminent Man of that City, whose Wisdom while he lived was the main Support of that Republick, and of whom it can be said, that he maintained himself for forty Years together in a popular Government.

Nehemiab, on his Return to the *Persian* Court, having tarried there about five Years, per-
Ant. C. forming, as may be supposed, his former Office of the King's Cup-bearer, at length obtained
438. of the King to be sent back again to *Jerusalem* with a new Commission. Some make his Re-
Artax. 37. turn thither much sooner; but considering the many and great Corruptions which he tells us, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, the *Jews* had run into during his Absence, it cannot be conceived how in less than five Years Time they should have grown up to such a Height. He had been twelve Years reforming Abuses, and *Ezra* had been thirteen Years doing the same, whereby they had brought their Reformation to such a Stability, that a little Time could not in such a Manner have unhinged it. It is indeed said in our *English* Version (b), that *Nehemiab* came back again from the *Persian* Court to *Jerusalem* after *certain days*; but the *Hebrew* Word *yanmim*, there rendred *Days*, signifies also Years, and is in many Places of the *Hebrew* Text so used.

About this Time, most likely, lived *Malachi* the Prophet. The greatest of the Corruptions which he chargeth the *Jews* with, are the same with those which they had run into by *Nehemiab*'s Absence. 'Tis certain the Temple was all finished, and every thing therein restored, before his Time; for there are many Passages in his Prophecy which clearly suppose it; and he doth not charge the *Jews* with neglecting to restore the Temple, but with slighting what pertained to the true Worship of God in it: All which makes it probable that he prophesied about this Time. In him Prophecy was sealed up (c), to be again restored in the Days of the *Messiah*.

Many Things having gone wrong during the Absence of *Nehemiab*, as soon as he was again settled in the Government, he applied himself with his usual Zeal and Diligence to correct and again set to Rights what was amiss; particularly a flagrant Offence introduced into the Temple, for the Sake of *Tobiab* an *Ammonite*, gave him a great deal of Trouble. This Man *Tobiab*, tho' he had made two Alliances with the *Jews*; for *Johannan* his Son (d) had married the Daughter of *Mesbullam*, the Son of *Berechiah*, one of the chief Managers of the rebuilding of the Wall of *Jerusalem*, under the Direction of the (e) Governor; and he himself had married the Daughter of *Shecaniah* the Son of *Arab*; yet being an *Ammonite*, he bore a natural Hatred (f) to all the Seed of *Israel*; and therefore envying their Prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct *Nehemiab* in all that he did for the Good of that People, and confederated with *Sanballat* their greatest Enemy to carry on his Designs. However by Reason of the Alliances mentioned he had many among the *Jews* (g) who corresponded with him, and acted treacherously with *Nehemiab*. And while he was absent at the *Persian* Court, *Eliashib* the High-priest, the Son of *Joiakim*, the Son of *Jeshua*, the Son of *Jozadak* (h), was prevailed with, as being one of that Confederacy and Alliance with *Tobiab*, to provide him Lodgings within the Temple it self. In Order thereto, He removed the meat-offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine and the oyl (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the

(a) Plutarchus in *Pericle*. (b) *Nehem.* xiii. 6. (c) Above, p. 232. (d) *Nehem.* vi. 18. (e) *Nehem.* iii. 4. & vi. 18. (f) *Nehem.* ii. 19. & iv. 7. & vi. 1. (g) *Nehem.* vi. 17, 18, 19. (h) *Nehem.* xii. 10. & xiii. 4, 5. See above p. 248.

the singers and the porters) out of the Chambers where they used to be laid up; and out of them made one large Apartment for the Reception of this heathen Stranger. 'Tho' *Eliashib* be named only in the Text as Priest, yet he seems to be the very High-priest we have mentioned; and he having the Oversight of the Chambers of the House of God, which belonged only to the High-priest, whereby he was able to make so great an Innovation; imports so much; and the Pontifical Family seems then to have been very corrupt, *Ezra* x. 18. And no good Act of this *Eliashib* is mentioned in Scripture, except his putting his Hand to the repairing of the Walls of *Jerusalem*; whereas the Concurrence of *Jeshua* his Grandfather in every Act of Reformation is recorded by the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*. However, by the Authority *Nehemiah* had as Governor, all the Household Stuff of *Tobiah* was cast out, and the Chambers which he had possessed in the Temple were again cleansed (a), and restored to the former Use. 2dly, The reading of the Law to the People having been settled by *Nehemiah*, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated Times, when they came to read *Deuteronomy* xxiii. 3. *An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord even to the tenth generation*, he took Occasion from hence to separate all the mixed Multitude from the Children of *Israel* (b), that thereby it might be known with whom a true *Israelite* might lawfully marry. 3dly, During *Nehemiah's* Absence, the daily Service of the House of God was neglected (c); for the Tithes which were to maintain the Ministers of the Temple in their Offices and Stations, were either embezzled by the High-priest and other Officers of the House under him, or else substracted by the Laity, and not paid at all; for want of which the *Levites* and the Singers were driven from the Temple, every one to his own Home, there to seek a Subsistence some other Way. This Abuse he observed, and provided effectually for a Remedy thereof; for he made these Dues to be again paid in to the Treasuries of the Temple; whereby a Maintenance being again restored for them who attended the Service of the House of God, all was again returned to its former Order. 4thly, *Nehemiah* also took Care that the Sabbath should be duly observed (d), making many good Rules for preventing the Profanation thereof; which he caused to be effectually put in Execution. 'Tho' all these Things are mentioned in one Chapter, yet they were not all done at one Time, but the good Man brought them about as Occasions offered, when he could most successfully make them effectual.

We have little more considerable in the History of the *Jews*, nor in that of the *Persian Empire*, till the Death of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, which happened three Months from the Beginning of the forty first Year of his Reign, in the 3526th Year from the Creation of the World, before the Birth of our Saviour, 424 Years. He was succeeded in his Kingdom by *Xerxes*, the only Son whom he had by his Queen *Damaspia* (e); but by his Concubines he had seventeen Sons, among whom were *Sogdianus* (called by *Ctesias* (f) *Secundianus*) *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Sogdianus* surprised *Xerxes* while he was lying drunk in his Bed, and killed him, after he had reigned forty five Days, and usurped the Kingdom. *Bagozarus*, the most faithful of his Father's Eunuchs, having taken Care to bury his Father and the Queen-Mother suitable to their Dignity, upon his Return from these funeral Rites was also put to Death. Still suspecting *Ochus* his Brother, Governor of *Hyrkania*, he sent for him to Court: But he being jealous that his Death was designed, prepared an Army, to which most of the Nobility joined; and having got his Brother *Sogdianus* into his Power, he caused throw him from the Top of a high Tower, into a Pit full of Ashes, where the Ashes were continually stirred by a Wheel, till he was suffocated, which was a Punishment usual among the *Persians* (g). *Ochus* having thus obtained the Kingdom, he changed his Name into that of *Darius*; and by Historians is commonly called *Darius Nothus*. His Brother *Sogdianus* only held the Empire six Months twenty Days (h). During all these Revolutions *Nehemiah* continued still in the Government of *Judea*, going on with the same Zeal and Vigour to reform it in all Things that were amiss, either in Church or State.

§ 7. *DARIUS NOTHUS* being settled on the Throne, which he held nineteen Years, he crushed several Insurrections, and severely punished the Authors of them, particularly *Arsites* his Brother, *Artyphius* the Son of *Megabyzus*, *Pharnacyas* and *Monasthenes*, Eunuchs, *Pisutbues* Governor of *Lydia*, and *Artoxares*, chief of the Eunuchs, most of whom were suffocated in the Pit full of Ashes: But the greatest of all was the Revolt of *Egypt*, where *Amyrtæus Saites* made himself King; and reigned six Years (i); and that Province was never fully reduced unto the *Persian Empire* till the Reign of *Ochus*, as shall be afterwards related.

Eliashib the High-priest of the *Jews* died in the Eleventh Year of *Darius Nothus*, after he had held that Pontificate forty Years, and was succeeded by *Jojada* his Son (k).

In the fifteenth Year of *Darius Nothus* ended the first seven of the seventy Weeks of *Darius Nothus*.

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(a) *Nehem.* xiii. 7, — 10. (b) *Nehem.* xiii. 1, — 3. (c) *Nehem.* xiii. 10, — 14. (d) *Nehem.* xiii. 15, — 23. (e) *Ctesias* in *Perfisis* p. 650. Vide etiam *Diod.* Sicul. lib. 12. cap. 64. 71. (f) *Ctesias* in *Perfisis*, p. 650. (g) See 2 *Maccab.* xiii. 5, 6. (h) *Ctesias* p. 651. (i) *Eusebii Chronic.* ad *Olympiad.* 92. (k) *Nehem.* xii. 10. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 11. cap. 7.

niel's Prophecy ; for then the Restoration of the Church and State of the *Jews* in *Jerusalem* and *Judah* was fully finished in the last Act of Reformation, recorded in the thirteenth Chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the 23d Verse to the End, just forty nine Years after it had been begun by *Ezra*, in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. This last Act of Reformation was the Removal of unlawful Marriages from among the People ; for tho' these had been in part removed both by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, conform to the Law of God, yet when their Buildings and other Works were finished, the Abuse sprang up again, and came to such a Height (a), that the Pontifical House, which of all others ought to have been kept free of such Commixtures, was polluted therewith : For one of the Sons of the High-priest, whom *Josephus* calls *Manasseh* (b), had married the Daughter of *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, whereby an ill Example was given for the Breach of the Law, by such as were most concerned to see the Observance thereof. *Josephus* indeed by a palpable Mistake in Chronology, placeth him in the Reign of the last King of *Persia*, or of *Darius Codomannus*. But the sacred Scriptures say expressly (c), One of the sons of *Jojada*, the son of *Eliashib* the high-priest, was son in law to *Sanballat* the *Horonite* ; which is sufficient Warrant to place him in the Reign of *Darius Nothus*. *Nehemiah*, with great Zeal, says, *I chased him from me* ; that is, he forced him to part with his strange Wives, or leave the Country. Whereon *Manasseh* being unwilling to quite his Wife, fled to *Samaria* ; and others being in the same Case, and of the same Mind with him, accompanied him thither, and settled under the Protection of *Sanballat*, who was Governor of that Place.

§ 8. THE War being carried on between the *Egyptians* and the *Persians* (d), each contending to enlarge and strengthen their Barrier, it seems likely that *Darius* on this Occasion came in Person into *Phœnicia*, and that then *Sanballat* attending him, so far insinuated into his Favour, as to obtain a Grant to build a Temple on Mount *Gerizzim*, near *Samaria*, like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make *Manasseh* his Son in Law High-priest of it. After this *Samaria* became the common Refuge and Asylum of refractory *Jews* (e) ; so as if any *Jew* was found guilty of violating the Law, by eating forbidden Meats, breaking the *Sabbath*, unlawful Marriages, or the like Trespasses, and called to account for the same, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and there found Reception ; by which Means the greatest Part of that People were made up of apostate *Jews* and their Descendants. Tho' they did read the Book of the Law, and left off the Worship of false Gods, introduced by the King of *Assyria* (f), yet the *Jews* looking on them as Apostates, hated them above all the Nations of the Earth, so as to avoid all manner of Converse and Communication with them (g) ; and to publish a bitter Curse or Anathema against them, declaring all the Fruits and Product of their Land, and every thing else of theirs, either eaten or drunk among them, to be as Swines Flesh, prohibiting every one of their Nation ever to taste thereof, excluding all that People from being ever received as Profelytes to their Religion ; yea they proceeded so far as to bar them for ever from having any Portion in the Resurrection of the Dead to eternal Life, as if this also were in their Power.

The main Points wherein the *Samaritans* differ from the *Jews* as to their Religion are these following ; First, The *Samaritans* receive no other Part of the sacred Scriptures, but the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other Books which are in the *Jewish* Canon. These five Books they still have in the *Phœnician* Character : But this their *Pentateuch* is no more than a Transcript, copied in another Character from that of *Ezra*, with some Variations, Additions and Transpositions ; for it hath all the Interpolations, of which *Ezra* is generally acknowledged to be the Author ; whereas had it been antienter than *Ezra's* Copy, it had been without them. And there are a great many Variations in the *Samaritan* Copy, manifestly caused by the Mistake of similar Letters in the *Hebrew* Alphabet ; which Letters having no Similitude in the *Samaritan* Character, this proves these Variations were made by the transcribing the *Samaritan* from the *Hebrew*, and not in transcribing the *Hebrew* from the *Samaritan*. Upon the whole, it seems that when *Manasseh* fled to the *Samaritans*, he brought the Law of *Moses* first among them. This *Samaritan Pentateuch* was known to many of the Fathers, and antient Christian Writers ; for it is quoted by *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Diodore of Tarsus*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Procopius Gazæus*, and others. That which rendered it more familiar to them, was a *Greek* Translation of it, which is now lost ; for only *Origen* and *Jerom* of all these Antients understood *Hebrew*. But from the sixth Century, for above a thousand Years, it hath lien wholly in the Dark among all Christians both in the East and West, till about the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, when *Scaliger* having got Notice that there was such a *Samaritan Pentateuch* among these of that Sect in the East, made heavy Complaints (h) that no Body would take care to bring a Copy of it among us into these Parts. A little while after this, Arch-bishop *Usher*, with a great deal of Expence (i), procured several Copies of

(a) Nehem. xiii. 23, — 31. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7. (c) Nehem. xiii. 28. (d) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 13. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 9. (f) 2 Kings xvii. 24. (g) John iv. 9. & viii. 48. (h) De emendatione tem-
porum lib. 7. p. 664. (i) Smith in vita Usherii, p. m. 25. Waltoni Prolegomena xi. ad Bib. Polyglotta § 10. p. 369.

of it out of the East. And after him *Sancius Harley*, a Priest of the Oratory at *Paris*, afterwards Bishop of *St. Malo*, being Ambassador from the *French King* at *Constantinople*, purchased a Copy, which was soon repositied in a Library belonging to that Oratory, and afterwards published by *Morinus* with a Version thereof, which he had from *Peter à Valle* a Gentleman of *Rome*, who having many Years travelled over the East, brought it thence with him. That Work being done with too much Haste, it had passed the Press before such other Helps came from *Perefcus*, Dr. *Comber* Dean of *Carlisle*, and others, as would have enabled them to make it more perfect : But what was wanting was afterwards rectified in the *London Polyglot*, where the *Samaritan Text*, with the *Samaritan Version*, and the Latin Translation of both are published much more compleat and correct than they were before, and the Variations marked at the Bottom of the Page. As to the Variations, Additions and Transpositions, whereby the *Samaritan Copy* differs from the *Hebrew* ; they are all enumerated in *Hottinger's* Exercitations against *Morinus* (a) ; and in the Collation made of both Texts in the last Volume of the *London Polyglot*. 'Tis not to be so much wondered at, that there are Differences between these two Copies, as that there should not have been many more, after these who adhered to the one and to the other, had not only broken off all Communication, but had been in the bitterest Variance possible for above two thousand Years : For so long had passed from the Apostacy of *Manasseh*, to the Time when these Copies were first brought into *Europe*, besides the Errors of Transcribers.

The second Point of Difference of Religion between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews* anciently was, and still is, That the *Samaritans* reject all Traditions, and adhere only to the written Word it self ; and in the Observance thereof, they are acknowledged by the *Jews* to be more exact than themselves. For the *Jews* often make the law of none effect by their traditions (b) ; whereas the *Samaritans* always kept themselves strictly by the written Word, never admitting any such corrupt Glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the *Sadducees* (who also denied all Traditions, adhering to the written Letter of the Law only) hence the *Jews* have taken a Handle to calumniate them (c), as if they agreed in other Particulars with the *Sadducees*, and denied with them the Resurrection from the Dead ; which led *Epiphanius* (d), and Pope *Gregory* (e) into the Error of asserting this to be their Opinion ; whereas the Resurrection of the Dead hath been a Doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the *Jews* themselves.

The third Point of Difference between them, was about the Place of their Worship. The Words of the Woman of *Samaria* state this Matter exactly right : For she saith to our Saviour, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain ; but ye (meaning the Jews) say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship (f)*. The Law given by *Moses*, was, That they should perform all their Sacrifices and Oblations in the Place (g) that God should chuse out of all their Tribes to put his Name there ; and that Place was *Jerusalem* : For there the Temple, by the Direction of God himself (h) was built. There God consecrated it by the Habitation of his (i) Divine Presence. The *Samaritans* plead that at *Gerizzim* *Abraham* and *Jacob* set up their Altars (k), and offered Sacrifices on them ; and that it was appointed by God himself to be the Hill of Blessing (l). And *Jashua* entering into the Land of *Canaan*, had caused the Blessings of God to be declared thereon : And on his passing *Jordan* he built an Altar on it of twelve Stones (m), as God had commanded *Moses*. And this they hold to be the same Altar on which they sacrifice to this Day. But to make out this last Part of their Argument, and to reconcile the greater Veneration to Mount *Gerizzim*, they have been guilty of corrupting the sacred Text : For whereas the Command of God in *Deut. xxvii. 4.* is, *That they should set up the altar on mount Ebal*, they have put in *Mount Gerizzim*, the better to serve their Cause, tho' all Copies and Translations of the *Pentateuch* make against them. And they have also interpolate the Scriptures with the Corruption of another Text, that is, in the twentieth Chapter of *Exodus*, after the tenth Commandment, they have subjoined Words by way of an additional Precept, taken out of the eleventh and twenty seventh Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of an Altar on Mount *Gerizzim*, instead of Mount *Ebal* in the Text, and offering Sacrifice to God in that Place. And they having thus voluntarily made a corrupt Alteration in one Text, and a corrupt Addition in another, meerly out of Design to serve a bad Cause, this gives the less Authority to their Copy of the *Pentateuch* in all other Places, where either by Alterations or Additions it differs from that of the *Jews*. These who are curious may see more concerning the *Samaritans* in others (n) ; and we shall have Occasion again to meet with them in the Sequel of this History, particularly when we come to discourse of the Sects among the *Jews*.

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(a) See also *Prideaux's Connection*, part. 1. p. m. 419, 420. (b) *Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.* (c) *Joseph. Albo* § 31. *Serm. 4.* (d) *Hær. 9. p. m. 25, Edit. Colon 1682.* (e) *Moral. in Job, lib. 1. cap. 15. fol. 2.* (f) *John iv. 20.* (g) *Deut. xii. 5. 11, 14. & xvi. 2. 6, 7. 15. 16.* (h) *1 Chron. xxii.* (i) *1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3.* (k) *Gen. xii. 6, 7. & xiii. 14. & xxxiii. 20* (l) *Deut. xxvii. 12.* (m) *Deut. xxvii. 2, — 7.* (n) *Prideaux's Connection*, part 1. pag. 423. & seqq.

How long after this *Nehemiah* lived at *Jerusalem* is uncertain : 'Tis most likely that he continued in his Government to the Time of his Death ; but when that happened is not where said ; only it may be observed, that at the Time when he ends his Book, he could not be much less than seventy Years old. After him there seem not to have been any more Governors in *Judea*, of the *Jewish* Race, during the *Persian* Empire at least, but that this Country having been added to the Prefecture of *Syria*, was from *Nehemiah's* Time wholly subjected to the Governor of that Province ; and that under him the High-priests had the Trust of regulating all Affairs therein. Hitherto we have had the Light of the Scriptures to follow ; henceforth the Books of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus*, *Philo Judæus*, with some *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, are the only Guides that can lead us through the following Series of our History, till we come to the Times of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* ; and therefore we may be allowed to be the shorter.

Ant. C. 407. About the seventeenth Year of *Darius Nothus*, he subdued the revolting *Medes*, and also the *Egyptians*, making them to return to their former Duty, tho' the latter were never good Subjects to him. He sent *Cyrus* his second Son to be Commander in chief of all the Provinces of the lesser *Asia* (a). He was the Darling and best beloved Son of *Parysatis* the Queen, who obtained this Commission for him, with an Intention no Doubt to put him into a Capacity of contending for the Crown after his Father's Death ; and this Use he made of it, to the great Disturbance of the *Persian* Empire.

Ant. C. 404. Artaxerx. Mnem. I. § 9. ABOUT the End of the *Peloponnesian* War died *Darius Nothus*, after he had reigned over *Persia* nineteen Years. Notwithstanding the Importunities of *Parysatis*, he left to his eldest Son, *Arfaces*, the Crown, and to *Cyrus*, the younger Son, the Government of the Lesser *Asia*. *Arfaces*, on his ascending the Throne, took the Name of *Artaxerxes* ; and for his extraordinary Memory, he is called by the *Greeks*, *Mnemon* ; that is, Remembrer. *Cyrus* being discovered to have laid a Plot for the murdering of the King his Brother (b), in the Temple of *Pasargada*, when he was to come thither, according to Custom, to be inaugurated King, was taken into Custody for the Treason, and ordered to be put to Death for it : But his Mother *Parysatis* was so importunate for saving his Life, that by her Means he obtained his Pardon ; and was sent again into the Lesser *Asia* to govern that Province left him by his Father's Will ; where his Ambition prompted him to contrive a War against his Brother, in order to advance himself to the Throne. To this end he employed *Clearchus*, a *Lacedemonian* General, to raise an Army of *Greeks*, under pretence of making War with the *Thracians* ; and in the mean time wrote a Letter to the King, with heavy Complaints against *Tissaphernes*, praying in the humblest Manner his Protection against him ; whereby the King being deceived, thought all his Preparations were only against *Tissaphernes*, and permitted his Brother to go on, till he got an Army on foot sufficient to put his Designs in Execution. Then *Cyrus* marched directly against his Brother, with the Assistance of thirteen thousand *Greeks*, who were the best Men in his Army, commanded by *Clearchus* a *Lacedemonian*, and a hundred thousand other Forces raised in the *Persian* Provinces in *Asia*. *Artaxerxes* being informed of the Truth of these Designs by *Tissaphernes*, who posted to Court for that end, prepared an Army of nine hundred thousand Men, with whom he marched to meet his Brother ; and the Matter came to a decisive Battle in the Plains of *Cunaxa*, five hundred Furlongs from *Babylon* (c). There *Cyrus* rashly venturing his Person, on a brisk mettled Horse, into the Heat of the Battle, was slain, after his auxiliary *Greeks* had in a manner won the Victory for him. This put the *Greeks* in great Distress, being far from home, and every where surrounded in an Enemy's Country : Nevertheless, in a March of two hundred and fifteen Days (d), in the Space of thirteen Months they made good their Retreat, for two thousand three hundred and twenty five Miles, till they got safe to the *Grecian* Cities on the *Euxin* Sea. *Clearchus* having been cut off by the Treachery of *Tissaphernes*, when they began to retire, they were conducted in the rest of their Way by the Wisdom and Valour of *Xenophon*, who hath wrote a large Account of this whole Expedition, in seven Books, yet extant, which the Curious may consult (e), and may be there entertained with great Variety.

Statyra, the Queen of *Artaxerxes*, being very troublesome to *Parysatis* her Mother-in-law, in expressing her Resentments and Reproaches for the Countenance which she gave unto *Cyrus* her younger Son, against the King ; to be revenged for this and other Grudges, (for indeed *Parysatis* was a very cruel revengeful Woman, of which *Plutarch* (f) gives many Instances) she caused her to be poisoned, by this Stratagem. They supping both together, as frequently they did, and a certain Bird being served up at Table which was a great Rarity among the *Persians*, it was divided between her and her Daughter-in-law by a Knife poisoned on the one Side only (g). *Parysatis* ate that Part which was cut off on the unpoisoned Side of the Knife, and *Statyra* ate the other Part, touched with the poisoned Side, and died of it within

(a) *Plutarch*. in *Artaxerxe*. *Xenophon* de expeditione *Cyri*, lib. i. ab initio. (b) *Plutarch*. in *Artaxerxe*. (c) *Ibid*. (d) See *Du-pin's* Library of Historians, p. 47, 48. (e) See an Abstract of this Retreat in *Rawleigh's* History of the World, Book 3. p. 94, — 107. (f) In *Artaxerxe*. (g) *Plutarch*. *ibid*. *Ctesiae* Fragmenta, p. m. 655.

within a few Hours thereafter. This Loss of his best beloved and most beautiful Wife, greatly afflicted *Artaxerxes*; and having made discovery how it came to pass, he banished his Mother to *Babylon*, and for some Years after never saw her: But Time having softened his Grief and Resentments, he permitted her again to return to Court; where she made it her chief Business to humour him in every thing, right or wrong, by which she maintained her Interest with him to her Death.

Many other things, which some Historians place in this King's Reign, will fall within the Compass of what I design in a Digression on the Affairs and Learning of *Greece*; and therefore I do not now insist upon them; but shall not forget what concerns the Church of the *Jews*.

In the thirty second Year of this *Artaxerxes*, *Joiada* the High-priest of the *Jews* being Ant. C. 373. dead, *Johanan* his Son, called also *Jonathan* (a), succeeded him in his Office; which he held thirty two Years.

A wicked Fact of this *Jonathan*, some Years after this, brought a great Oppression on the Temple at *Jerusalem*: For *Jeshua* his Brother having much insinuated himself into the Favour of *Bagoses*, then Governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* under the *Persian* King, obtained of him a Grant of the High-priesthood, with which *Johanan* had been invested, and came with this Grant to *Jerusalem*, to take possession of his Office; and depose his Brother from it. But *Johanan* not submitting, the Matter came to a great Contention between them, in which *Johanan* slew *Jeshua* in the inner Court of the Temple (b); which was a wicked Fact, and aggravated by the great Profanation which was thereby brought on the holy Place where it was committed. *Bagoses* hearing of this, came in great Wrath to *Jerusalem*. On his going into the Temple, to see the Place where the Murder was committed, they would have hindered him, all Gentiles being reckoned by them as impure, and forbidden to enter there. Whereupon he cried out with great Indignation, *What! am not I more pure than the dead Carcase of him whom you have slain in the Temple?* So going in without any further Opposition, and taking a thorough Cognizance of the Fact, he imposed a Mulct on the Temple for the Punishment thereof, obliging the Priests to pay out of the publick Treasury, for every Lamb they offered in publick Sacrifices, fifty Drachms; which is about one Pound eleven Shillings and three Pence *Sterling*. This, if extended only to the ordinary Sacrifices offered every Day, amounted to thirty six thousand and five hundred Drachms, which is one thousand one hundred and forty Pounds, twelve Shillings and six Pence *Sterling*, for the Year; but if it extended also to the extraordinary Sacrifices on solemn Days, it will come to about half as much more: For the ordinary was a Lamb at the morning, and another at the evening Sacrifice; and these in the whole Year come to seven hundred and thirty: But besides those, there were added on the Sabbath two Lambs more (c), upon every new Moon seven (d), on each of the seven Days of the Paschal Solemnity seven (e), on the Day of *Pentecost* fourteen (f), on the Feast of Trumpets seven (g), on the great Day of Expiation seven (h), on each of the seven Days of the Feast of Tabernacles fourteen (i), and on the eighth Day seven (k); besides, when the Wave-sheaf was offered, one additional Lamb (l): The whole additional Lambs being three hundred and seventy one, these, if reckoned to the other, make the whole Number of Lambs annually offered to be one thousand one hundred and one; and therefore if the Mulct of fifty Drachms a-lamb was paid for them all, this would make the whole to amount to fifty five thousand and fifty Drachms, which in our *English* Money is one thousand seven hundred and twenty Pounds, six Shillings and three Pence. But this Sum being too small for a national Mulct, and far short of what Governors of Provinces on such Occasions are apt to exact, it seems then likely that all Lambs, whether offered for the publick Service, or by private Persons in any Sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the Reckoning: And without this, there would be no sufficient Cause for the Complaint which *Josephus* makes on this Score; for he speaks of it as a great Grievance to the *Jews*; which a Payment of one thousand seven hundred and twenty Pounds a-year upon the whole Nation could not amount to. *Capellus* (m) reckons this Mulct at sixty Talents; but this proceeds from his laying it at five hundred Drachms a-lamb, in stead of fifty; which is a plain Mistake: For the Text of *Josephus* in all Copies hath πεντήκοντα, fifty; and not πενταχόμιας, five hundred. But whatever the Mulct was, the Payment of it lasted no longer than seven Years; for on the Death of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, the Changes and Revolutions which then happened in the Empire made a Change of the Governor of *Syria*, and he who succeeded *Bagoses* in that Province no further exacted it.

Towards the latter End of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, great Disturbances arose in the *Persian* Court, occasioned by the Contention of the King's Sons for his Succession (n): For he had three Sons by his Queen, namely, *Darius*, *Ariaspes* and *Ochus*, and one hundred and fifteen by his Concubines.

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(a) Nehem. xii. 11, 22. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7. (c) Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. (d) Numb. xxviii. 11. (e) Numb. xxviii. 16, — 24. (f) Levit. xxiii. 18, — 20. Numb. xxviii. 27. (g) Numb. xxix. 2. (h) Numb. xxix. 8. (i) Numb. xxix. 12, — 34. (k) Numb. xxix. 36. (l) Levit. xxiii. 12. (m) Historia sacra & exotica sub A. M. 3639. (n) Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Justin. lib. 10. cap. 1, 2.

bines. For stilling of these Commotions, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius*, the eldest of them, to be his Successor, and allowed him to assume the Name of *King*, and wear the Royal *Tiara* even in his Lifetime. But this not contenting him, and there being also some Disgust about one of the King's Concubines, named *Aspasia*, whom he would have had, and his Father not consenting thereto, he formed a Conspiracy against his Life, and drew in fifty of his Brethren into the same Combination. He was chiefly incited to this by *Tiribazus*, to whom *Artaxerxes* had promised one of his Daughters; but the old Lecher falling in love with her, he had married her himself; and to make him Amends, he promised him another of his Daughters, but married this also. Such abominable Incest was at this time allowed in *Persia* by the Religion they professed; and *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, encouraged her Son to it (a). These two Disappointments greatly discontenting *Tiribazus*, to be revenged of *Artaxerxes*, he excited the young King to this flagitious Act. But the whole being discovered by an Eunuch, the old King retired to another Room, till he saw the Conspirators, after killing some of his Guards, enter his Bed-chamber; where they were all seized. *Darius* was cut off in such a Manner as he deserved, and his whole Accomplices with him. After the Death of *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arjames*, claimed the Possession, the two former being the King's Sons by the Queen, and the other expected it, tho' born of a Concubine, as most deserving in the Opinion of his Father. But the restless Ambition of *Ochus* prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the Crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and worst of Means: For he so terrified *Ariaspes*, who was an easy and credulous Prince, by suborning Eunuchs to bring him News that his Father was ready to execute some severe Threatnings against him, that he poisoned himself, to avoid the apprehended Danger. But *Arjames* being in the Opinion of all others, as well as of his Father, the worthiest of the Throne; to remove this Obstacle, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the Son of *Tiribazus*. This Loss added to the former, and aggravated with the Wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old King with Grief, that he broke his Heart and died, in the ninety fourth Year of his Age, and forty sixth of his Reign. He was a mild and generous Prince, who governed with great Clemency and Justice, and therefore was honoured thro' the whole Empire.

Ant. C.
359.

§ 10. *OCHUS*, for his Cruelty, and particularly for killing his Brothers, was generally hated; and he knowing this, concealed his Father's Death for about ten Months, that it might be believed that he governed by his Direction (b). But as soon as it was known that the old King was dead, and that *Ochus* had taken possession of the Throne, all the Lesser *Asia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and several other Provinces refused their Obedience, and prepared for an Insurrection. But *Rheomitres* and others of their Leaders (c) not agreeing among themselves, they put the Money they had been entrusted with in their own Pocket, and betrayed each other to reconcile themselves to the King; and by these means this formidable Revolt was all blown over, and *Ochus* settled in the Throne firmer than he deserved: For he filled all Parts of the Empire with Murders, cutting off the whole Royal Family, that there might be none to set up in his stead (d). He caused *Ocha* his own Sister, who was also his Mother-in-law, (for he had married her Daughter) to be buried alive (e); and having shut up one of his Uncles, with a hundred of his Sons and Grandsons, in an empty Yard, he there caused them all to be shot to Death by his Archers. This seems to have been the Father of *Sisigambis*, Mother to *Darius Codomannus*; for *Q. Curtius* (f) tells us, that *Ochus* slew eighty of her Brothers, together with their Father, in one Day.

Ant. C.
356.

In the third Year of *Ochus* was *Alexander* the Great, who afterwards overthrew the *Persian* Empire, born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, in the first Year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad* (g). On the same Day his Father *Philip* had the News that his Horse had won the Race at the *Olympic* Games (h), and on the same Day the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was wilfully burnt by one *Erostratus*. When he was put upon the Rack, to make him confess his Inducements, he owned that he had destroyed this great Fabrick to perpetuate his Name in after Ages. Whereupon the Common Council of *Asia* made a Decree that no body should name him: But this made him the more to be remembered. *Plutarch* (i) says *Diana* neglected her own Temple, being busy in acting the Part of a Midwife to the Mother of *Alexander* the Great.

Ant. C.
354.

In the fifth Year of *Ochus* happened the Death of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, which was rendered famous by the great Grief that *Artemisia*, who was both his Sister and his Wife, expressed on that Occasion: For she having gathered together his Ashes, and beaten his Bones to Powder, took a Potion of them every Day, till she had drunk them all down, to make her Body his Grave, and in two Years Time pined herself to Death; but before she died, took care to cause erect that famous Monument for him at *Halicarnassus*, which was reckoned among the seven Wonders of the World (k); and from hence all Monuments of more than ordinary Magnificence are called *Mausoleum's*.

Ochus

(a) *Plutarch*. in *Artaxerxe*. (b) *Polyani* *Stratagemata*, lib. 7. p. m. 503. (c) *Diod. Siculus*, lib. 15. cap. 92. (d) *Justin*. lib. 10. cap. 3. (e) *V. Max.* lib. 9. cap. 2. extern. § 7. (f) *Lib.* 10. cap. 84. (g) *Euseb.* in *Chronico*, *Plutarch.* in *Alexandro*. (h) *Justin*. lib. 12. cap. 16. (i) In *Alexandro*. (k) *V. Max.* lib. 4. cap. 6. extern. § 1.

Ochus finding his Wars with the *Egyptians* to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill Conduct of his Lieutenants, resolved thenceforth to lead his Forces in Person; and therefore having got together an Army of three hundred thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse, he marched into *Phœnicia*. The *Sidonians* and some other *Phœnicians* were then in Rebellion against him: But they being betrayed by *Mentor*, who commanded the *Grecian* Mercenaries, and having burnt their own Ships, that none might use them to withdraw from the Defence of their native Country; finding the Enemy within their Walls, and that there was no Way to escape by Sea or Land, they retired to their Houses; which they set on Fire over their own Heads, and were all consumed, to the Number of forty thousand Men, besides Women and Children (a). When this Calamity happened, there were vast Treasures of Gold and Silver in *Sidon*; which being all melted down by the Flames, Ochus sold the Ashes for great Sums of Money. The terrible Destruction of this City frightened the rest of the *Phœnicians*, so as they all submitted on the best Terms they could; which the *Persian* did the more readily agree to, that he might be no longer retarded from the Designs which he had upon *Egypt*. Upon the same View he compounded with the *Cypriots*, who had revolted. There were then nine chief Cities in that rich Island, and each of them had a King: They having submitted to Ochus, and he having removed their Grievances, were confirmed by him in the Government of their respective Territories.

The *Jews* seem also to have been engaged in this War: For after Ochus had taken *Sidon*, he marched into *Judea* (b); where he besieged and took *Jericho*, making many of the *Jews* Captives. He led Part of them with him into *Egypt*, and sent a great Number of others into *Hyrcania*, where he planted them on those Parts of that Country which ly upon the *Caspian* Sea.

In the ninth Year of his Reign, Ochus marched against *Egypt*, and encamped near *Pelusium*; and from thence sent out several Detachments to invade the Country, setting a *Grecian* and a *Persian* over each of them. *Pelusium* submitted; and all the rest of the Garisons thro' the Country, frightened with the Name of Ochus's Cruelties, and the Fate of *Sidon*, yielded also. Whereupon *Nectanebus*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, gathered together all the Treasure he could get, and despairing to be able to defend himself, went with it into *Ethiopia*, and never again returned (c). He had recovered his Kingdom by the Help of *Agésilas*, and preserved it by the Conduct and Valour of *Diaphantus* an *Athenian*, and *Lamius* a *Spartan*, who commanded his Armies, and made him victorious. But having dismissed these, and trusting too much to his own Conduct, he was ruined: For he was the last *Egyptian* King that ever reigned in that Country, for since his Time they have been ever enslaved by Strangers; as; the *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Saracens* and *Turks*; whereby the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* (d) is remarkably fulfilled, 'That *Egypt* shall be the basest of kingdoms.' Ochus having thus made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*, he dismantled their chief Cities, and plundered their Temples; and because the *Egyptians*, mocking, called him an *Ass*, he took the Bull *Apis*, their Deity, out of his Temple, and sacrificed him to an *Ass*, and then caused his Cook to dress him, and ate him at a Feast with his Friends (e), and carried away all their publick Records, which were religiously kept in their Temples. These things being done, he returned in Triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with vast Treasures of Gold and Silver, and other Spoils, leaving *Pherendates*, one of his Nobles, Governor of the Country. Here *Manetho* ends his Commentaries; which he wrote on the *Egyptian* Affairs. He was a Priest of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, and wrote, in the *Greek* Language, a History of *Egypt*, from the Beginning of that Kingdom to this Time: His Book is now lost, tho' often quoted by the Antients; only an Epitome thereof is preserved by *Syncellus*. He lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; for to him he dedicated his Book. Ant. Gr. 356.

Ochus having finished the *Egyptian* War, and recovered *Phœnicia*, *Egypt* and other Places to his Crown, he rewarded *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, the Betrayer of *Sidon*, and others who had done him Service: But his Success being chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he gave him an hundred Talents; with other valuable Gifts; and also made him Governor of all the *Asiatick* Coasts, to carry on any War that yet remained there (f). *Mentor* made use of this Opportunity to reconcile to the King *Memnon* his Brother, and *Artabazus*, who had married their Sister, by whom he had eleven Sons and ten Daughters, whom he advanced to considerable Things in the World. After this Ochus gave himself up wholly to his Ease, spending the rest of his Life in Luxury, Laziness and Pleasure, leaving the Administration of his Affairs wholly to his Ministers, the chiefest of whom were *Bagoas* his favourite Eunuch, and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*. Ant. Gr. 347. Ochus 12.

Johanan the High-priest of the *Jews* died in the eighteenth Year of Ochus, after he had been in that Office thirty two Years, and was succeeded by *Jaddua* his Son (g), who held it twenty Years. Ant. Gr. 341.

Bagoas the favourite Eunuch took Occasion of his Masters Inactivity and Pleasures, to be revenged

X x x

(a) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16. cap. 41, — 46. (b) Eusebii Chronicon sub Olymp. 105. Syncell. ex Africano, p. 256. (c) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16. cap. 46, — 53. (d) xxix. 14, 15. (e) Plutarch's Isis and Osiris, Moral. p. m. 1291. (f) Eliani varia Historia, lib. 6. cap. 8. (g) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16. cap. 53. (g) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7.

Ant. C. 338. venged on him for the Indignities he had done to the Gods of *Egypt*; for *Bagoas* being an *Egyptian* by Birth, and by Religion, redeemed the Records which had been carried away, and sent them back to their former Archives: But for the Indignity done to his native Religion, he treacherously poisoned *Ochus* his Master in the twenty first Year of his Reign. Yea, 'tis said, that he carried his Revenge further; for having caused another Body to be buried, he kept the true Carcass of *Ochus*, cut his Flesh into Bits, and gave it to be eaten by Cats (a); and made of his Bones Handles for Swords, to represent the Cruelty of his Mind.

Ant. C. 337. Arfes I. § 11. THIS Eunuch having now the whole Power of the Empire in his Hands, made *Arfes* the youngest of *Ochus*'s Sons King in his stead, and put all the rest to Death, that he might secure to himself the Authority which he had usurped. But finding that *Arfes* began to be apprised of all his Villanies and Treasons, and was taking Measures to be revenged on him for them; for preventing thereof, he came before-hand with him, and cut off him and all his Family (b), when he had not reigned three Years complete.

Ant. C. 335. Dar. C. I. § 12. THEN *Bagoas* placed on the Throne of *Persia* *Darius*, the third of that Name: His true Name was *Codomannus*, that of *Darius* he took after he came to be King. He is said not to be of the Royal Family, because he was not the Son of any King that reigned before him; but he was of the Royal Seed, as being descended of *Darius Nothus*, who had a Son called *Oftanes*, who had a Son named *Arsames*, who marrying *Sisygambis* his own Sister, by her became the Father of *Darius Codomannus*. *Bagoas* finding that this Prince would not answer his Purpose, resolved to remove him in the same Manner as he had done his Predecessor; and for that End provided a poysonous Potion for him: But *Darius* being advised of the Design when it was brought to him, made *Bagoas* by Force to drink it all off himself (c), and so got rid of the Traitor, by returning the Mischief on his own Head; and thereby became thoroughly settled on the Throne without any further Difficulty. He was for Stature and Make of his Body, the goodliest Person in the whole *Persian* Empire, of great personal Valour, with a Disposition mild and generous; but having the good Fortune of *Alexander* the Great to encounter with, he could not stand against it.

This leads us to the Overthrow of the *Persian* Empire; and upon that Subject we must look a little backward and observe, That *Philip* King of *Macedon* having overcome the *Thebans* and *Athenians* in a great Battle at *Chæronea*, he made himself thereby Lord of all that Country; and calling together an Assembly of all the *Græcian* Cities and States (d), he there caused himself to be chosen Captain General of all *Greece*, to carry on a War against the *Persians*, and obliged every City to send their Proportion of Men to support him in this Expedition. The next Year he sent *Parmenio*, *Amyntas* and *Attalus*, three of his chiefest Captains to begin the War, proposing soon after to follow in Person with all his Forces. But when he was just ready to set forward in the Expedition, he was slain at home (e), while he was celebrating the Marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* the Prince of *Epirus*. *Pausanias* a noble young *Macedonian*, having had his Body sodomitically abused by *Attalus* the chief of the King's Confidants, he had often complained to *Philip* of the Injury; but finding no Redress, he turned his Revenge on the King himself, whom he killed with one Thrust of a Dagger, as he was passing to the Theatre to finish the Solemnities of the Marriage. The Murderer was soon seized by *Perdiccas* and other Pursuers, and put to Death: But *Justin* (f) affirms, That he was prompted and encouraged by People of Note about the Court; and *Diodorus Siculus* says, That he was confirmed in this wicked Purpose by the Opinion of *Hermocrates* the Sophist. The Author last named also tells us (g), That in the Solemnity the Images of the twelve Gods and Goddesses of *Greece* being carried before *Philip* into the Theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous Habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the Honour of a God; but he being soon slain, as this Image entred the Theatre, this very signally proved him mortal. Thus died *Philip*, after he had reigned twenty four Years.

Ant. C. 334. § 13. PHILIP was succeeded by *Alexander* his Son, then twenty Years old. Soon after his Father's Death, by a Council of all the States and free Cities of *Greece*, he was chosen to succeed in the Command of the War against *Persia*. In the second Year of *Darius Codomannus*, *Alexander* passed the *Hellepont*, with an Army of no more than thirty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse (h), and yet with this Force he attempted, and also accomplished the Conquest of the whole *Persian* Empire, adding *India* to his Acquisition; and what is also very remarkable, he set out in this Undertaking only with seventy Talents; which at the highest Reckoning comes to no more than 14437 L. 10 shil. Sterling Money; which was scarce sufficient to furnish his Army with Necessaries for thirty Days. But Providence raised him up to accomplish what was foretold by the Prophet *Daniel* (i), and did not leave him till he completed that Work. I know not but the incestuous Mixtures, Murders and other Abominations

(a) *Ælian*. ubi supra. (b) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. 17. cap. 5. (c) *Idem*, lib. 17. cap. 5. in fine. (d) *Justin*, lib. 9. cap. 5. (e) *Idem*, cap. 6. 7. (f) *Ibidem*. (g) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. 16. cap. 93.—96. vel ad finem libri. (h) *Arrian* de Expeditione *Alexand.* lib. 1. *Plutarch.* in *Alexandro*. (i) *Dan.* viii. 5,—8, 21.

minations then abounding among the *Persian* Princes (nor do they seem from the Time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to have been very good Friends to the Church of the *Jews*) might call for a holy God to send against them such an Avenger. To go on with our History; *Alexander* first encountered the *Persian* Army at the River *Granicus* in the lesser *Asia*, where he gained a notable Victory, with little Loss on his Side, tho' his Enemies were above five Times his Number: But their Numbers and Riches did them little Service in the Day of Battle. This Victory put him in Possession not only of *Darius's* Treasures at *Sardis*, but also of all the neighbouring Provinces; for all the *Græcian* Cities in these Parts declared for him. *Ant. C.* The next Year he reduced *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia* ^{333.} under his Power, and appointed some of his Followers to govern them. *Memnon* the *Rhodian* ^{Darius 3.} advised *Darius* to carry the War into *Macedonia*, where *Lacedæmon* and other *Greek* States, who hated the *Macedonian* Power, would have joined him, which would have recalled *Alexander* out of *Asia* to defend his own Territories. Tho' *Darius* gave Way to this Advice, and committed the Management to the Author thereof, yet the whole Project miscarried and came to nothing by the Death of *Memnon* at the Siege of (a) *Mitylene*. Then *Darius* having nothing to depend upon but his Eastern Provinces, he drew all his Forces together to *Babylon* (b), to the Number, says *Plutarch*, of six hundred thousand Men (c), and made Haste from thence to meet the Enemy. *Alexander* being informed of this, marched through *Cilicia*, to possess the Streights which lead from that Country into *Syria*, purposing there to expect and fight the *Persian* Army: For within these Streights there not being Room to draw up above thirty thousand Men in Battle Array, the *Macedonians* could there bring all their Men to fight, and the *Persians* scarce the twentieth Part of theirs. Some of the *Greeks* who followed *Darius*, seeing the Disadvantage he would have by fighting in that Place, advised him to march back into the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have Room enough to draw up his great Army, and bring them all to bear a Part in the Battle: But the Flattery of his Courtiers, and his adverse Fate, the *Persian* Empire in *Asia* being then to be ruined by the *Macedonians*, as *Arrian* remarks (d), would not suffer him to hearken to this good Advice. Being to fight in these Streits, he was not able to extend his Front longer than that of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the Mountains which enclosed him on either Side, and therefore was obliged to Form his Army in many Lines, one behind another. But the Valour of the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first Line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and so on, did soon put the whole *Persian* Army into disorder. The *Macedonians* pursuing the Advantage, pressed on till the whole was driven to a Rout; and in the Flight of so numerous an Army in these narrow Passes, a vast Number were trampled to Death by their own Men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius* himself fighting in the first Line, with great Difficulty got off; but all his Camp and Baggage, with his Mother, Wife, and Children (who according to the Manner of the *Persians*, were carried with him into the Campaign) fell into the Enemies Hands, and above one hundred thousand *Persians* were left dead on the Field of Battle. The Advantage of this Victory at *Iffus* to *Alexander*, was, that it settled all the Provinces behind in Subjection to him; and added *Syria* to his former Acquisitions, the Capital whereof was *Damascus*. Thither *Darius* before the Battle had sent his Treasure, and most of his valuable Moveables, with his Concubines, and a Guard to protect them. All these with the Town itself, the Governor, as soon as he heard of the Flight of *Darius*, betrayed to *Alexander*. *Parmenio* was sent to take Possession of the Place; where, besides a vast Treasure of Money and Plate, he found 329 of *Darius's* Concubines, with a great many other Ladies, the Wives or Daughters of the principal Nobility of *Persia*, all of whom he made Captives. Among them was *Barsena*, the Widow of *Memnon*, who made *Alexander* himself a Captive; for at first View he fell in Love with her, took her into his Bed, and had a Son by her, called *Hercules*, who at the Age of Seventeen was called by the *Macedonians* to be their King; to prevent which *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* murdered him.

While *Parmenio* took *Damascus* and *Cælesyria*, *Alexander* marched with the Main of his Army towards *Phœnicia*, where all yielded to him, and none more readily than the *Sidonians*. Eighteen Years before this *Ochus* had miserably destroyed the City (e); but some Merchants then absent returning rebuilt it, tho' they were still glad of an Occasion to shake off the *Persian* Yoke. When he came near to *Tyre*, the Inhabitants sent him Presents and Provisions, but refused to submit to him as their Master; which *Alexander* resolved to force them to do by a Siege (f). They were encouraged to hold out by the Strength of their City, which stood in an Island, half a Mile from the Shore, enclosed by a strong Wall of one hundred and fifty Foot in Height, and the *Carthaginians*, then Masters at Sea, promised them Succours. But this Conqueror purposed at any Rate to take the City; and to that End did make a Bank or Causey from the Continent to the Island, which cost him seven Months Work. The Town

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of

(a) *Arrian* lib. 2. ab initio. (b) *Q. Curtius* lib. 3. cap. 4. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. 17. cap. 31. (c) *Plutarch* in *Alexand.* p. m. 682. (d) *Arrian* lib. 2. p. m. 94. Edit. 1668. (e) Above, p. 265. (f) *Plutarch* in *Alexand.* *Q. Curtius*, lib. 4. cap. 7, — 19. *Justin*, lib. 11. cap. 10. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. 17. cap. 40, — 47. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 11. cap. 8.

of old *Tyre*, which he pulled down, furnished him with Stones and Rubbish, and Mount *Libanus* with Timber ; and from this Bank, as soon as finished, he stormed the Town and carried it. The Remains of this Bank or Causeway of the same Length as before described, is to be seen to this (a) Day, and it makes the City appear like a Peninsula. The *Carthaginians* having Troubles at home, were not able to help the *Tyrians*, who tho' they chained the brazen Statue of *Apollo* with golden Chains to the Altar of *Hercules* (b), were nothing the better. But the Scripture Predictions must be accomplished ; and at this Time what *Isaiah* foretold, Chapter xxiii. and *Ezekiel* xxvi, xxvii, xxviii. were all fulfilled : For tho' they were in part verified in the Destruction of old *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, yet more fully in the Calamities that now happened ; for *Alexander* not only levelled the old Town, but also burnt the new Town down to the Ground, destroying or enslaving all its Inhabitants. He killed eight thousand in the Sackage of the City, two thousand Prisoners he crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for Slaves, only some few escaped to *Carthage* and *Sidon* in Ships. He planted indeed the Town with some new Inhabitants from neighbouring Places, and thence would be esteemed the Founder of the City, tho' he was really the Destroyer of it. He unchained *Apollo*, and rendered Thanks to him for his Intentions of coming over to him. He sacrificed to *Hercules*, and did many other superstitious Follies, reckoned in those Days as Acts of Religion, and then marched to *Jerusalem*.

§ 14. *Tyre* being a Merchant City not acquainted with Husbandry, had been supplied with Provisions from *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea* (c) ; and *Alexander* sent his Commissaries into the same Quarters to command them to submit to him, and to furnish his Army with all Necessaries. The *Jews* pleaded their Oath to *Darius*, by which they thought themselves not obliged to obey any new Masters (d) as long as he lived. This exceedingly provoked *Alexander*, who in the Flush of his Victories, could bear no Contradiction : And therefore, as soon as he had done with the Siege of *Tyre* (e), he marched against *Jerusalem*, with Intention to punish the *Jews* as severely as he had done the *Tyrians* for not obeying his Commands. In this Distress *Jaddua* the High-priest, who had then the immediate Government of the People under the *Persians*, and all *Jerusalem* with him, did seek for the Mercy of God, and that he would deliver them from this Danger ; and in order thereto, made their devout Addresses to him with Sacrifices, Oblations and Prayers. God in his great Compassion directed *Jaddua* in a Vision of the Night, to go out and meet the Conqueror in his Priestly Robes, with all the Priests attending him in their proper Habits, and the People in white Garments. In Obedience hereto, next Day *Jaddua* went forth in the Manner directed, with the Priests and People, in a solemn Procession, all habited as commanded in the Vision ; and advancing to a Place called *Sapha*, an Eminence or Watch-tower, which commanded a Prospect round, as well as of *Jerusalem*, there waited the coming of *Alexander* ; and on his Approach, met him in this pompous and solemn Manner. As soon as the King saw the High-priest in this Manner, with the Mitre on his Head, having the Inscription, *Holiness to the Lord* (says *Josephus*) coming to him, he was struck with a profound Aw, and hastning forward, bowed down, and saluted him with a profound Veneration, to the great Surprise of all that attended him, especially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing less than that *Alexander* should have destroyed the *Jews* as he had the *Tyrians* ; and they came thither with an eager Desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the Execution. While all stood amazed at this Behaviour, *Parmenio* asked the King why he did pay that Adoration to the *Jewish* High-priest ? To which he answered, That he did not adore him, but the God whose Priest he was : For when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, there deliberating how he should carry on the War against the *Persians*, this very Person, and in this very Habit appeared to him in a Dream, encouraging him to lay aside all Care and Diffidence about the Matter, and pass boldly over into *Asia*, promising him, that under the Conduct of God, he should certainly conquer the *Persian* Empire. Whereon turning again to the High-priest, he kindly embraced him in a friendly Manner, and entered *Jerusalem* with him, where he offered Sacrifices to God in the Temple. *Jaddua* having shewn him the Prophecies of *Daniel* (f), which foretold the Overthrow of the *Persian* Empire by a *Grecian* King, he went thence with the greater Assurance, not doubting but that he himself was the Person meant by these Prophecies. These Things rendring him favourable to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was to leave them, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they petitioned that they might enjoy the Freedom of their Country, Laws and Religion, and be exempted every seventh Year from paying Tribute, because in that Year they neither sowed nor reaped, according to their Law. *Alexander* granted them all this Request, and that the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media* should enjoy the same Privileges. All which Favours were continued to the *Jewish* Nation for many Years ; and abundance of the *Jews* listed themselves Soldiers in *Alexander's* Armies, reserving to themselves the Use of their own Religion.

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(a) Mandrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48. — 50. (b) Curtius lib. 4. cap. 14. (c) Acts xii. 20. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. (e) Idem, ibid. x. (f) Dan. viii. 5, 6, 21. & ii. 3.

The *Samaritans* observing the *Jews* Success, did also meet *Alexander* in Pomp and Parade near *Jerusalem*, praying that he would honour also their Temple and City with (a) his Presence. These are *Josephus* Words, which imply that the Temple of the *Samaritans* was already built; tho' I don't pretend to reconcile the different Accounts that *Josephus* hath of this Temple in the same Chapter: Only 'tis likely that *Alexander* came from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, from that to *Gaza*, and from thence to *Egypt*; for this was his straight Rod: However the *Samaritans* thought they had then stronger Arguments to urge in their Favours than what the *Jewish* High-priest could pretend to; for when the *Jews* refused to obey the Summons which *Alexander* sent them from *Tyre*, the *Samaritans* readily complied (b); and to ingratiate themselves the more with the Conqueror, sent eight thousand of their Men to assist him in that Siege. Valuing themselves upon this Merit, they invited him to their City. *Alexander* answered them kindly, telling that he was hastning to *Egypt*, and had not then Time to spare, but that when he should return, he would comply with their Desires, as far as his Affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying Tribute on the seventh Year. *Alexander* asked of them if they were *Jews*; for to them only he had granted this Privilege. To this they replied, That they were *Hebrews*, who observing the same Law with the *Jews*, neither reaped nor sowed in that Year; and he having granted the *Jews* this Immunity, they having the same Plea, asked the same Favour. *Alexander* not being at Leisure to make full Enquiry into that Matter, referred this also to his Return, telling them he would inform himself as to what they proposed, and do therein what should be reasonable.

Marching on to *Gaza*, *Alexander* found that City strongly garrisoned, under one of *Darius's* Eunuchs named *Betis*, who defended it to the utmost (c): This Place being an Inlet to *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not march thither till he had taken it: And it cost him and all his Army two Months Time before he could be Master of it. This Stop, with two dangerous Wounds which he got during the Siege, provoked him out of Measure: So that when the City was taken, he killed ten thousand of the Inhabitants; and sold the rest, with their Wives and Children, into Slavery. He dragged *Betis* alive by the Heels behind a Chariot about the City till he was killed, instead of treating him for his Valour and Fidelity as a generous Conqueror ought to have done, boasting, that in this he imitated *Achilles* his Progenitor, who, according to *Homer*, dragged *Hector* round the Walls of *Troy*. *Plutarch* (d) tells us, That he got so great Spoils in the Sackage of this City, that besides other considerable Compliments to his Friends, he sent five hundred Talents Weight of Frankincense, and one hundred Talents Weight of *Myrrh* to *Leonidas* his Governor, bidding him no more be a Niggard to the Gods.

As soon as he had finished the Siege of *Gaza*, and settled a Garrison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, arriving at *Pelusium* in seven Days, where that whole Kingdom being weary of the *Persian* Yoke, willingly submitted to him. *Mazæus*, who commanded at *Memphis* for *Darius*, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a Power, submitted also, and opened the Gates of that City to the Conqueror. From *Memphis* he projected a Journey to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was situated in the Sands and Desarts of *Libya*, two hundred Miles from *Egypt*. *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, being the first Planter of *Libya* and *Egypt*, soon after the Flood, he became the first Pattern of Idolatry; and there being an Island of about five Miles breadth, among these Desarts of Sand, there they built a Temple to him. *Alexander's* Journey to this Temple was upon a Design very foolish, vain-glorious and impious. For finding in *Homer*, whom he frequently read, that most of their Heroes were described as Sons of some God or other, he, aiming to be celebrated an Hero as well as they, would be thought the Son of a God also (e); and having chosen *Jupiter Hammon* to be his Father, he sent Messengers before to corrupt the Priests (f), to cause him to be declared Son of that God by their Oracle, when he should come to consult it. On his Way to the Temple, he run great Hazards of being overwhelmed by Sands (g), and of perishing for Want of Water. He escaped the former, and was remarkably relieved from the latter, by a Shower of Rain, when he and all who were with him were just ready to faint to Death for want of it. When he had paid his Devotions to the Temple, the Priests, according to his Expectation, declared him *Jupiter's* Son, and he returned with that vain Title, giving it out that *Jupiter* begat him in the Shape of a Serpent on *Olympias* his Mother. Indeed Pride grew upon him with his Prosperity so far, as at length he affected to be called a God, till in Conclusion, when Providence had no more to do with him, his Death shewed him to be mortal like other Men.

In his Way to the Temple he observed a Place over against the Island *Pharos* on the Sea-coast, which he thought very convenient for a new City; there he built *Alexandria* (h) which soon afterwards became the Capital of that Kingdom: For having a very convenient Port, with the *Mediterranean* Sea before it, and the *Red Sea* behind it, by these Advantages it got the Trade of both the East and West, and became one of the most flourishing Cities in the

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World,

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8* (b) *Idem, ibid.* (c) *Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian lib. 2. prope finem. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 21. — 27 in edit. apud Tonson.* (d) *Plutarch in Alexandro, p. m. 686.* (e) *Arrian. lib. 3. p. m. 158.* (f) *Justin, lib. 11. cap. 11: (g) Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 27: — 31: (h) Arrian, lib. 3. p. m. 1561. Strabo lib. 17. p. 791, 792. Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 32.*

World, till in these last Ages a new Way for Trade was opened by the Cape of Good Hope; and 'tis now degenerate into a poor Village called by the Turks *Scanderia*. *Alexander* made use of *Democrates* (a) for his Architect about this City, he having been famous in that Art by rebuilding the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, that had been burnt by *Erostratus*. In his Return from the Temple of *Hammon*, he took Care to people this new City, which was called by his own Name, with Colonies (b) drawn thither from many other Places; among which were many of the *Jews*, to whom he gave great Privileges (c), not only allowing them the Use of their own Laws and Religion, but also admitting them equally into the same Franchises and Liberties (d) with the *Macedonians* themselves, whom he planted there. We shall afterwards meet with *Jews* at *Alexandria*, in the Progress of this Work. *Alexander* departing from thence, returned to *Memphis*, where he wintered, and settled the Affairs of *Egypt*, intrusting the Military Command only with the *Macedonians*, but the Civil Government he placed wholly in *Doloaspes* an *Egyptian*, that the Country might be still governed by its own Laws and Customs, thinking a Native most proper for the Charge; and appointed *Cleomenes* Supervisor, to carry on his Work at his new City of *Alexandria*.

The Spring drawing on, *Alexander* having recruited and reinforced his Army, hastned towards the East, to find out *Darius*. On his returning thro' *Palestine*, he had an Account thence which much displeased him. On his going from that Country into *Egypt*, he had made *Andromachus*, his Favourite, Governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, on whose coming to *Samaria* (e) to settle Matters there, the *Samaritans* mutinied against him, and, in a Tumult, set Fire to the House in which he was, and burnt him to Death. This 'tis supposed they did out of Rage and Discontent that these Privileges should be denied them which were granted to their Enemies the *Jews*; whereas by their Services, especially at the Siege of *Tyre*, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who then denied their Assistance. *Alexander* being exceedingly exasperated against that People, as the Fact deserved, caused all who had acted any Part in this Murder to be put to Death, and drove all the rest out of *Samaria*, planting instead of them a Colony of his *Macedonians*, and giving their other Territories to the (f) *Jews*. These who survived this Calamity retired to *Shechem*, under Mount *Gerizzim*; and from this Time that Place became the chief Seat of that People, and the Metropolis of the *Samaritan* Sect, and so continueth even to this Day. And whereas eight thousand *Samaritans* had joined him at *Tyre*, and followed his Camp ever since, that they might not create any new Disturbances, he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest Province of *Egypt*.

On *Alexander's* Return to *Phœnicia*, he staid some time at *Tyre* to order his Affairs there (g), and then marching in quest of *Darius*, he passed the *Euphrates*, and proceeded towards the *Tygris*. *Darius* finding all his Entreaties for Peace to have no Effect, prepared for another Battle; which was fought at *Gaugamela* (h), where *Alexander* with fifty thousand Men, defeated and routed *Darius's* Army of ten hundred thousand, as *Plutarch* calls them; and others make them no less, for *Arrian* (i) says, *Darius* had ten hundred thousand Foot, sixty thousand Horse, two hundred armed Chariots, and fifteen Elephants; and that in a plain Country, without having the Advantage of Streights to secure his Flanks, as he had at *Iffus* two Years before. *Alexander* pursued *Darius* as far as *Arbela*, where he took his Treasure, with his Royal Equipage and Furniture, of vast Value; but himself escaped. When he had rested his Victorious Army a few Days, he marched to *Babylon*, which *Mazæus* the Governor for *Darius* surrendered to him, as *Bagophanes* did the Castle, where another Part of *Darius's* Treasure was kept. After a Months Stay in that Place he marched to *Susa*, and from thence to *Persepolis*, the Metropolis of the Empire, where also great Treasures were laid up, carrying Victory with him to all these Places and Provinces. He gave this City last named to be sacked by his Army, which they did with great Slaughter and Licentiousness, reserving only the Castle and Palace to himself. Having wintered there, after a drunken Bout, *Thais*, the famous *Athenian* Courtesan, then Mistress to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*, in the Heat of their Carousals, proposed to *Alexander* to burn to Ashes the City and Palace of *Persepolis*, to revenge Greece upon the *Persians*, especially for burning of *Athens* by *Xerxes*. The whole Company being drunk, received the Proposal with a general Applause, and *Alexander* himself, in the Heat of his Wine, took a Torch, the rest doing the same, whereby setting Fire to the City and Palace, they burnt both to the Ground. Thus one of the finest Palaces of the World was destroyed. That *Persepolis* was such, the Ruines thereof, which remain to this Day, at a Place called *Chebel Minar*, near *Shiras* in *Persia* (k), sufficiently shew.

In the mean Time *Darius* having fled to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, gathered together as many of his broken Forces as he could (l), designing there to form another Army: But while he was pre-

(a) Plinius lib. 5. cap. 16. Amm. Marcellinus lib. 22. prope finem. (b) Curtius lib. 4. cap. 32. (c) Joseph. contra Appionem, lib. 2. de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 21. (d) Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 33. (e) Curtius ibid. Eusebii Chronicon ad Olympiad. 112. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Contra Appionem, lib. 2. (g) Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 33. (h) Plutarchus in Alexandro. (i) De expeditione Alexandri, lib. 3. p. 173. (k) See the Travels of Herbert, Thevenot & Chardin. (l) Q. Curtius lib. 5. cap. 24. & seqq. Arrian lib. 3. p. 210. & seqq. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 17. cap. 73.

preparing for it, *Bessus* Governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* a *Persian* Nobleman seized this poor Prince, put him in Chains, and shutting him up in a close Cart, fled with him into *Bactria*, proposing, if *Alexander* pursued them, to purchase their Peace, by delivering him alive ; and if he did not pursue, to kill him, seize his Kingdom, and renew the War : But *Alexander* pursued them by very hard Marches for many Days, till at last he came near the Traitors ; then they would have persuaded *Darius* to mount on Horseback and flee speedily with them ; which he refusing, they gave him several Wounds, and left him dying in his Cart : *Philistratus* one of *Alexander's* Soldiers found him in this Condition, but he expired before *Alexander* himself came up to him. At seeing his Corps he could not forbear shedding Tears at so melancholy a Spectacle. Having cast his Clock over the dead Body, he commanded it to be wrapped up, and carried to *Sisigambis* at *Susa*, to be interred by her Orders, with a Royal Funeral, in the burying Place of the Kings of *Persia*, and allowed Expences necessary for that Purpose. This was the End of this great King, after an unfortunate Reign of seven Years, in the Year from the Creation of the World 3620, before the Birth of Christ 330 ; and with him ended the *Persian* Empire, after it had continued from the first of *Cyrus* two hundred and nine Years ; and with which I conclude this Chapter.



A DIGRESSION, concerning the Affairs and Learning of Greece before the Birth of Christ.

THOUGH Greece hath been the principal Seat of Learning in the Pagan World, from whence the *Romans* and others borrowed what was valuable among them ; yet I am humbly of Opinion, that too many Writers of History have so huddled up the Affairs of this Part of the World with the Narratives they give of the Great Monarchies, that this Matter needs to be set in a clearer Light. I shall confine my Enquiries upon this Subject to the following Heads. First, *Of the Origin of Greece*. Secondly, *Of the fabulous Times of Greece*. Thirdly, *Shall offer a few Remarks concerning the Extent and Antiquities of Greece*. Fourthly, *Of the State of Learning, and of the several learned Men and Writers in that Country before the Birth of Christ*. Lastly, *I shall give some Account of the Affairs of the Greeks, with the Lives and Actions of their chief Captains*. And I place this as a Digression, or Appendix to the former Chapter, because the most flourishing Time of the *Grecians* was during the standing of the *Persian* Monarchy.

§ 1. To begin with the *Origin of Greece* : The Word of God assureth us, that the Sons of *Noah* were the first Planters of all the Parts of the Earth ; for *by these were the isles of the Gentiles* [or the nations] *divided in the earth after the flood* (a). And Heathen Historians have retained some Footsteps of the Sons and Grandsons of *Noah* : Though they have either lost or changed his own Name, yet 'tis probable that *Lucian* (b) points out *Noah* by the Name of *Deucalion Scythia*. The Name of *Japheth* is clearly discernible in the Greek *Ἰάφετος* ; as *Ham's* Name is in *Hammon* or *Chemia*, or in the old Name of *Egypt*, *The land of Ham*. *Pausanias* (c) informs us, that *Aras* or *Arans* was the first Planter of the Country of the *Philasians*, from whom the Region and a chief City among them was named *Arantia*, the eldest or first Man he finds mentioned ; and therefore he calls him, *ἄνδρα ἀντὶχθονα*, a Man sprung of the Earth, or whose Parents are not known. The learned Dr. *Cumberland* (d) says, *I believe this Arans to be the same Name with Abraham's elder Brother, who by the Seventy, Gen. xi. 26. is called Aran*. *Pausanias* also tells us, that the *Philasians* had a very holy Temple, in which there was no Image, neither openly to be seen, nor kept in Secret, which is a Mark of great Antiquity. The River that parted the Territory of these *Philasians* from the *Sicyonians* is called *Helisson*, and another River is called *Ilissus* ; which brings to my Mind (says the same Doctor) *Elifha*, one of *Japheth's* Sons (e) ; and so do *Elis*, *Hellus*, *Helles* or *Hellen*, though I know the *Greeks* will not own any Person beyond the Son of *Deucalion* to be the Original of these Names. And I know no Reason that *Ion*, from whom the *Iones*, may not be a Name kept up in memory of *Javan*, the Radicals of which make *Javan*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (f) also tells us, *That Atlas was the first King of Arcadia, and that he came from Mount Caucasus*. Now, we know this Mountain to be in the Northern Parts of *Asia*, and to belong to that vast Ridge of Hills among which the Ark rested, and where *Japheth* with his Family had their first Habitation. For these and other Reasons, it may be granted that *Greece* was planted by some of *Japheth's* Posterity, some few Ages after the Flood, and that there was some

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(a) Genes. x. 5, 32. (b) De Dea Syra. (c) In Corinthiacis, p. 138, — 141. in edit. Lips. 1696. (d) Origines genium, p. 263 & seqq. (e) Genes. x. 4. (f) Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 61.

traditional Knowledge of their first Progenitors handed down to them, which they afterwards mixed with many Fables : But they had no History of Greece till about the Time of *Herodote*, or the Beginning of the *Persian* Monarchy.

§ 2. As to the *fabulous Times of Greece* : There is Difficulty to write concerning this Subject with any Certainty ; and it is no pleasing Task to me, to tire my Reader or my self with fabulous Stories. Only in so far as it is necessary to set this Matter in a true Light, one thing I observe, That the mythic Writers are none of them very antient. *Apollodorus*, the first of them, was an *Athenian* Grammarian, the Son of *Asclepiades*, and Pupil of *Aristarchus*, who lived in the Reign of *Ptolemæus Evergetes*, about the Year of the World 3710, and collected his fabulous History, in a Book, intituled, *The Bibliothéque of the Gods* ; the Abridgment of which, reduced into three Books, is yet extant ; but the whole Work was much larger. Monsieur *Du-pin*, in his *Library of Historians*, hath an Abstract of it. *Aratus* flourished in the 127th Olympiad (a) ; that is, about the Year of the World 3680. *Julius Hyginus* wrote his *Astronomicon* in the *Augustan* Age : *Eusebius* (b) placeth him only seven Years before the Birth of Christ. *Pausanias* wrote in the second Century. Others who have managed this Affair are much later, and derive their Authority mainly from the Poets, who divert their Fancy with any Fiction they please. I shall not then go upon the particular Detail of these Fables, which the Curious may find in the Authors just now named, and I have discoursed of several of them in another Essay (c) ; but shall now only notice some things concerning the fabulous Age of Greece, which seem to have some Foundation, or may illustrate some Faëts in the Periods of this History. The *Greeks* then have almost no Story more antient than that of the Wars of *Troy* ; and *Appian* (d) assures us, That *Carthage* in *Africa* was built fifty Years after the Destruction of *Troy* ; and seven hundred Years after it was built, the Romans took from the *Carthaginians* *Sicily*, and soon after it *Sardinia*, in the first *Punic* War. Now, the Romans took *Sicily* and *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, not before the End of the first *Punic* War, in the Year of *Rome* 513, which is from the Creation of the World 3710, before the Birth of Christ 240 Years. If from thence we reckon 750 Years backwards, then the Destruction of *Troy*, according to *Appian*, happened in the Year of the World 2960, which is the thirty second Year of *Solomon* King of *Judah* and *Israel*. And that this was the Time of the Ruin of *Troy*, or near it, I am the more convinced by the Testimony of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch* (e), a learned Christian Writer in the second Century, who is of Opinion, that the *Trojan* War was about the Time when *Solomon* built the Temple of *Jerusalem* : And *Tatian* (f) the *Affyrian*, a learned Author in that same Age, and *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (g), who wrote about the Beginning of the third Century, are all of the same Mind. I know many learned Men (h) fix the Date of the *Trojan* War higher ; but I have offered my Opinion, with the Grounds thereof, and shall be easy though others differ from it, provided they do not rival the fabulous History of the *Greeks* with the sacred Chronology of the holy Scriptures. This being fixed, it will be easier to condescend upon the other fabulous Times of Greece. According to *Clemens Alexandrinus* (i), the Matter stands thus : From the Government of *Moses*, to the Inundation of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, in the Time of *Crotopus*, are reckoned four Generations, three Generations making up one hundred Years. From the Deluge or Inundation of *Deucalion*, to the burning of *Ida*, the Invention of *Iron*, and the *Idæi* *Dactyli*, are seventy three Years, says *Thrasyllus*. From the burning of *Ida*, to the Rape of *Ganymedes*, sixty five Years. Thence to the Expedition of *Perseus*, when *Glaucias* appointed the *Isthmian* Games for *Melicerta*, fifteen Years. From *Perseus's* Expedition, to the taking of *Troy*, thirty four Years. Thence to the sailing of the Ship *Argo*, sixty four Years. Thence to *Theseus* and the *Minotaur*, thirty three Years. Thence to these seven who overcame the *Thebans*, ten Years ; to the Olympic Wrestling, instituted by *Hercules*, for *Pelops*, three Years ; to the Expedition of the *Amazons* against *Athens*, and the Rape of *Helena* by *Theseus*, ten Years : Thence to *Hercules's* Translation to the Gods, eleven Years : Thence to the ravishing of *Helena* by *Alexander*, four Years. From the taking of *Troy*, to *Æneas's* Descent, and building *Lavinium*, are ten Years ; to the Government of *Ascanius*, eight Years ; to the Descent of the *Heraclidæ*, sixty one ; to the first Olympiad instituted by *Iphitus*, thirty eight Years. By this Reckoning of *Clemens*, we may observe that *Troy* was twice taken ; the last of which seems to be the famous Siege of *Troy* described by *Homer* ; and by this Reckoning it will come rather below the Time when *Solomon* built the Temple, if *Moses's* Government here spoken of begin about twenty Years before his Death : And perhaps the taking of *Troy* at two different Times, makes the great Difference among Historians about the Time of that Event. But after all, these are fabulous Times, concerning which the *Grecians* themselves knew nothing of certainty, nor of any other thing done before the first Olympiad, as even *Thucydides* (k) and *Plutarch* (l), very learned

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(a) Luc. in Chronico, ad dictam Olympiadem. (b) In Chronico. (c) Hist. Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 340. — 344. (d) In Punicis, p. 1 & 3. (e) Ad Autolycom, p. 131. in edit. 1686, cum Justino Martyre. (f) Oratio contra Græcos, ibid. p. 172. (g) Stromatum lib. 1. p. 326, 332. (h) Du-pin, Rawleigh, and others. (i) Stromatum, lib. 1. p. 335, 336. in edit. Coloniae, 1688. (k) De bello Peloponnesiaco, non longè ab initio. (l) In Numis & in Thesco, non longè ab initio.

Greek Historians, do own, whose Words I have cited more fully elsewhere (a). Now, the first *Olympiad* happened in the Year 3174 from the Creation; and beyond that, and perhaps for some Time after it, there was nothing in the History of Greece but monstrous Fables and tragical Fictions: Not knowing when the World was created, nor what happened before the first *Olympiad*, they invented what Things, and gave them what Date they pleased; and Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his *Chronology*, sets them still later than we have done.

§ 3. I shall next offer some Remarks concerning the Extent and Antiquities of Greece. This Country, once known by the Name of *Hellas*, was inclosed between the Bay of *Ambracia* on the West, the River *Peneus* on the North (b), and the Sea on the other Parts: But if we look on Greece as comprehending *Macedon* on the North, and *Epirus* on the West, it is much larger, being bounded on the East with the *Propontic*, *Hellepoint* and *Ægean* Seas, on the West with the *Adriatic*, and on the North with Mount *Hemus*; so that it is in a manner a Peninsula or demy-Island, surrounded on three Sides by the Sea; and on the fourth only united by Land to the rest of Europe. But if we observe its Colonies, and the Extent of its Language, these spread much farther: For Greek Colonies did extend to a great Part of *Thrace*, up to *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, and beyond it to the *Euxine* Sea. They had many Plantations in the rich Island of *Sicily*. The Coast of *Italy*, along the *Tyrrhene* Sea, and the *Golfo di Tarento*, was so full of Greek Colonies, that it was once called *Magna Græcia* (c). Most of the Isles of the *Archipelago*, as also *Crete*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, (concerning which *Meursius* (d) hath wrote learned Disquisitions) and other Islands along the Coast of *Asia*, were planted with Greeks, and spoke their Language; as also many Countries and Cities in the Lesser *Asia*: Yea they had Colonies at *Cirta* in *Africa*, and in other Parts. Besides the Love of Philosophy, their great Commerce, and the Conquests of *Alexander* the Great, carried their Language very far over the World. Hence in the *New Testament*, the Greeks are sometimes taken for all the Gentiles: *Rom. ii. 9, 10. To the Jew first, and also to the Gentile*; in the Original, *Ἰσραὴλ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνας*. *1 Cor. x. 32. Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, Ἰσραηλῶσι καὶ Ἕλλησι, to the Jews nor to the Greeks*. They were very proud, despising and calling all others Barbarians except themselves, which is the common Stile of every Greek Author; and we find the Apostle using the same Phrase, tho' not in the same Sense, *Rom. i. 14. I am debtor, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians*.

As to the Antiquities of Greece: I do not design here to speak of their antient Customs, whether concerning religious, civil or military Affairs (Mr. *Potter* (e) in our own Language, besides others, having done very well on that Subject) but shall only observe a few things concerning their antient Kings. We have Lists of those of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, *Sparta*, *Athens* and *Macedon*, preserved by *Eusebius* (f), from him copied by *Vallamont* (g); *Dr. Heylin* (h), and abundance of other Authors, who carry up the Kings of *Sicyon* within three hundred Years of *Noah's Flood*, and make the rest very antient. I might easily transcribe their Names, for they are but bare Names, but shall not trouble my Reader with them: But I observe that *Herodote*, *Thucidydes* and *Xenophon*, the most antient and best Historians of Greece, have none of these Kings. 'Tis true, *Pausanias*, in several Parts of his *Περὶ Ἑλλάδος* (i), or *Description of Greece*, mentions their Names, but without giving any Character of the Year when they reigned, nor how many Years their Government did continue: Nor doth any other antient Greek Historian affix such Years or Dates to them. Monsieur *Du-pin* (k) hath other Arguments to prove that the Series of these Kings deserve no Credit. Upon what Authority *Eusebius*, in the fourth Century of the Christian Church, and others who have copied after him, have done it, I know not; it seems done upon mere Conjecture and Guessing: For I reckon it a true Observation made by the learned Sir *John Marsham* (l), who useth rather to trust too much to those antient Stories, while he says, *The Greeks were very late in committing their Affairs to Letters; they were still later in superadding Chronology to any of their Books (m). In their publick Writings, there is nothing more antient than the Laws of Draco, enacted about the thirty ninth Olympiad: The most antient of their Historians were very little before the Expedition of the Persians; that is, in the seventy second Olympiad, (which coincides with the Year of the World 3458, or 492 Years before Christ:)* But Chronology, or an Account of the Times in which these things happened, is still much later in all their Books. Hence, in the antient Ages there is nothing among them but Darknes, Confusion and Fables. For this reason I have but little insisted on these traditionary Stories, which are for the most part fabulous, in the former Part of this Work. They who desire to see larger Treatises about them, may consult, besides others, *Nicolaus Gurtlerus* (n), who in his Enquiries, chiefly into those Matters before the Government of *Saul*, hath employed 915 Pages in quarto. What a Mercy is it, that we have

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(a) Hist. Propagat. of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 162, — 165. (b) Strabo, lib. 8. (c) Breerwood's Enquiries concerning Languages, Chap. 1. (d) Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus, edit. Amst. 1675, 4to. (e) Antiquities of Greece, in two Octavo's. (f) In Chronico. (g) Elements de l'histoire, Tom. 2. p. 271 & seqq. (h) In most of the folio Editions of his Cosmography. (i) In edit. Lips. 1696, p. 123, — 126, 150, 205. (k) Hist. profan. Tom. 1. p. 42, — 45. (l) Canon Chronicus, p. m. 14. (m) Vid. Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1. (n) Nicolai Gurtleri Origines mundi, Amst. 1708.

the Light of the holy Scriptures, which not only in Things that concern our Salvation, but even in the dark Labyrinths of Chronology, from the Creation of the World to the Birth of Christ, is the only true Directory, without which we would be left in inextricable Confusion and Darknefs ?

§ 4. I proceed now to consider *the State of Learning, and of the several Sorts of learned Writers in Greece*. I am humbly of Opinion, that it is the more necessary to understand this, especially to a Beginner, because we have no other Books extant before our Saviour's coming into the World, which is the Period I am writing upon, excepting the sacred Scriptures and some of the *Apocrypha*, but what we have from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. If the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* or *Persians*, wrote any Books during that Time, they are all now lost, without almost any Hope of Recovery. These that concern the *Roman* Affairs shall be noticed afterwards. As to the *Greeks*, I begin with their *Historians*.

Herodotus is the first of these who is transmitted to us. *Cicero* (a), even in his Time, calls him the Father of History, being the most antient Historian known to that Orator. He was four Years old at the Time of *Xerxes's* Departure from *Greece*, which happened in the first Year of the seventy fifth *Olympiad* (b); that is, from the Creation of the World 3470. He was born at *Halicarnassus*, but composed his History at *Samos*, in nine Books, which were so much approved, that the Names of the nine Muses were given to them, after a publick Reading at the *Olympic* Games. He lived to the Time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, but his History ends with the Reign of *Xerxes*. His Stile is pleasant and easy, in the *Ionic* Dialect, and his History very useful, tho' in some Points he hath been too credulous, and in some of his Narratives fabulous: From which Imputation *Henry Stevens* (c) hath endeavoured to vindicate him; with what Success, the Learned may judge. He designed to have wrote the History of the *Affyrians*, and of the Kings of *Babylon*; but he lived not to accomplish this. Whether the Book of the Life of *Homer*, printed at the End of the late Editions of *Herodote*, be done by him, or not, is controverted by the Learned; and I shall not take upon me to determine that Point. There are many Editions of this Author, whereof one printed at *Francfort* in 1608, and one at *London* by the Care of Dr. *Thomas Gale*, in 1679, are counted the best.

Thucidydes, an *Athenian*, was born in the second Year of the seventy sixth *Olympiad*, before the Birth of Christ 475 Years. He was the Son of *Olorus*, by *Hegisipyla* Daughter to the King of *Thrace*, and was descended of *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, two noble *Athenian* Captains. The Historian himself was General of an Army in *Thrace*, where he possessed the Gold Mines; and because he was thought to have lost *Amphipolis* by Negligence, *Cleon's* Faction prevailed to have him banished, in the eleventh Year of the *Peloponnesian* War. His Exile continued twenty Years. It is not known how long he lived after his Return, but it is affirmed he was buried at *Athens*. Having heard *Herodotus* recite his History with so great Applause, this moved him to write one like it; and in his Exile, he composed that excellent History of the *Peloponnesian* War, which began in the second Year of the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, that is, in the Year of the World 3519, and continued twenty seven Years. But *Thucidydes* went no further than the twenty first Year thereof, in eight Books. The last was not finished by himself: Some believe it to have been done by his Daughter, by *Xenophon*, *Theopompus*, or some other, tho' in his first Book, by running up his Narrative to the Time of *Xerxes*, the whole contains the Affairs of fifty Years. He hath joined great Fidelity and Exactness to a transcendent Sublimity and Purity of Stile. *Cicero* (d) gives him great Elogies, saying, *That he surpasseth all other Authors in his admirable way of writing: In his Diction there are almost as many Phrases as Sentences; his Expressions are so well chosen, that 'tis hard to discern, whether the Subject has attracted a Lustre from the Words, or the Words from it; he has a Spirit of Delicacy and Brevity, and as richly abounds in Sentences as in Words*. It is not my Design to multiply the Elogies nor yet the Criticisms which learned Men have bestowed on this elegant Author, which the Curious may see in *Vallamont* (e), and at the Beginning of the Edition of *Thucidydes* in 1696. But one of the chief Characters of his History, is *Truth*; for he doth not descend into the fabulous Age of *Greece*, but into Facts of which he himself was Witness. He keeps close to the Order of Time, and seems to write without Passion or Partiality. One of the best Editions of his Work, is that by Dr. *Hudson*, at *Oxford*, in 1696; and there is an *English* Version of it by *Hobbes*, printed at *London* in 1629. Good Historians have imitated him as their Pattern, and the best Captains in Antiquity have formed themselves upon this Model. The Emperor *Charles V.* set such a Value on him, that he always carried his History with him to the Camp.

Xenophon the Son of *Gryllus* was an *Athenian*, of the Village *Argens*, who passed the first Years of his Life under the Instructions of *Socrates*, and became known to the younger *Cyrus* by means of *Proxenus* the *Bæotian*. Being arrived at the Court of *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, he acquired

(a) De legibus, lib. 1. cap. 1. (b) Eusebius in Chronico. (c) Apologia pro Herodoto, ad calcem Herodoti in edit. 1679. (d) Lib. 2. de Oratore, cap. 13, 22. (e) Elements de l'histoire, Tom. 2. p. 122.

a great Share in that Prince's Favour, and accompanied him with ten thousand *Greeks* in his Expedition into *Persia*, against his Brother *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. His Courage and Conduct appeared in the famous Retreat of the said ten thousand *Greeks* (a), whom he brought from the Province of *Babylon* to their own Country, being victorious over all who opposed their Passage; the History whereof he hath himself wrote, in the Book he calls, *The Expedition of Cyrus*, which in some Editions is named, *The Retreat of ten thousand*. He was obliged to put these Men into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*. This and some other things rendred him so odious to the *Athenians*, that they banished him their Country: But the *Lacedæmonians* protected him, and he soon retired to *Scilluntes* in the Province of *Elis*, with his two Sons, *Gryllus* and *Diodorus* (b), where he passed the Remainder of his Time in entertaining his Friends, in hunting, and writing his History. He flourished in the ninety fourth *Olympiad*; and to the first Year of the hundred and fifth, (that is, to the Year of the World 3590, before the Birth of Christ 360) dying in the nintieth Year of his Age (c), and excelled in very different Qualities, being an excellent Philosopher, a good Historian, a brave Captain, and an able Statesman. By imitating *Socrates*, he became an Antagonist to *Plato*; and is said (d) to have preserved the History of *Thucidydes*, for which the learned World are obliged to him. His Books contain an History of forty eight Years. The Titles of them are, *Cyropædia*, or, *The Institution of Cyrus*, in eight Books; *The Expedition of Cyrus*, in seven Books; *The History of the Greeks*, in seven Books, which is a Continuation of *Thucidydes*; besides, a Panegyrick on *Agésilas*, a Treatise on the Republick of the *Lacedæmonians*, another on that of the *Athenians*, an Apology for *Socrates*; his *Oeconomy*, or, *Five Books of memorable Things*; *Hiero*, or, *Of a Kingdom*; *Porus*, or, *Of Imposts*; his *Banquet*; three small Tracts, *Of Hunting*, *Of Horses*, and *governing them*; and some Fragments of Epistles. His *Cyropædia* is counted rather an excellent Model for forming a Prince, than a true History; however, it is justly esteem'd, as all his Works are; and by reason of the Sweetness of his Diction, he is called, *The Attic Bee*. *Cicero* (e) says, *Xenophon, a Socratic Philosopher, hath not that Rhetoric, Impetuosity, nor perhaps Vehemence enough; but he hath a great deal of Sweetness*. *Thucidydes* is said to excell in the sublime Stile, *Herodote* in the middle, and *Xenophon* in the most simple. Some Authors (f) compare him with *Julius Cæsar*; but *Cæsar* is more grave, and *Xenophon* more agreeable. His Works have been printed by *Henry Stephens* in the Year 1581, at *Francfort* in 1596, and at *Paris* in 1625.

Ctesias the Cnidian, Physician to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, was present at that great Battle in the Plains of *Cunaxa*, fought between this King and his Brother *Cyrus* the younger, he cured the King of a Wound which he got in the Fight (g), and afterwards continued at Court for seventeen Years, where he wrote his *Persian History* in twenty three Books, of which we have now only a few Fragments excerpted by *Photius*, and which are printed in the late Editions of *Herodote*. *Plutarch* gives this Author (h) the Character of a fabulous vain Man, and a great Liar, with which *Henry Stephens* (i) is displeased; tho' if we judge by the Fragments that remain about the *Indian* and *Persian* Affairs, *Plutarch* is not far out of the Way, if he had exprest it more modestly: However it be, *Ctesias* is followed by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, or *Justin* his Epitomiser, and after them by abundance of others.

Besides these there are many *Greeks* who wrote the *Roman History*, or some Things relating to it, whom I shall notice in another Part of this Work. When *Greece* became a mean *Roman* Colony, her learned Men resorted to the chief Seat of the Empire for Support and Encouragement.

Isaac Casaubon, at the End of the Edition of *Polybius* in 1672, hath printed a Fragment of one *Aeneas's* Book, entituled *πολιορκητικόν*, or of besieging Towns. The Publisher conceives him to have been an *Arcadian*, and to have wrote about the fourteenth *Olympiad*: But this Author and this Fragment of his Book being little known, nor perhaps very valuable, I shall make no further Enquiry about him.

There are some *Greek* Authors, who tho' they wrote long after these I have named, yet may contribute very much to illustrate the *Grecian History*, and therefore ought not to be omitted. Of this Kind are *Claudius Ælian*, who was born in *Italy*, but wrote in *Greek* fourteen Books of various History in the Reign of the Emperor *Hadrian*, and seventeen Books concerning Animals. *Athenæus Naucratis*, in the Reign of *Marc Antonin*, wrote fifteen Books of *Deipnosophists* or Table Discourses among Philosophers; where are several Things useful to an Historian. The same Author wrote some other Pieces, which are now lost (k). *Lucian of Samosata*, in the second Century of the Christian Church, a bitter Enemy to the Christians, hath also some Remarks in his Works that are valuable. *Diogenes Laertius* in the

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(a) Above, p. 262. (b) Laertius in vita Xenophontis, Leunclavius in vita ejusdem præmissa editioni operum 1596. (c) Xenophontea operum p. 1009. (d) Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, p. 22. (e) De Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 14. (f) See Du-pin's Library of Historians, Vol. 2. p. 5. (g) Xenophon de ἀναβάσει Κυρί, lib. 1. p. 266. (h) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. (i) Disquisitio de Ctesia in Annexis ad Herodotum, p. 630. (k) Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 15. p. m. 232.

the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, that is, about the Middle of the second Century of the Christian *Æra*, wrote his *Lives of Philosophers*, which is a Book useful in its own Kind, especially because we know little of many of those Philosophers, but what he hath there recorded. About the same Time, or soon after the Reign of *Antoninus Philosophus*, *Pausanias* wrote his *περίήγησις Ἑλλάδος*, or accurate Description of *Greece*, in ten Books, which still remain, and is a Work very useful, as containing not only the Situation of Cities and Places, but also the Antiquities, whether true or fabulous, and leading the attentive Reader through every Part of *Greece* Foot by Foot, and shewing him whatever in former Times was valuable there. We have a beautiful Translation and Edition of this Work at *Leipsick* in 1696, with *Kubnius's* Notes.

There are also many *Greek* Authors of the *Roman* Imperial History, as *Zosimus*, *Procopius*, *Agathias*, and all the *Byzantine* Writers, to the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*: But on these I do not insist, because I promised only to give Account of the Affairs of other Nations, before the Birth of Christ, and these run so far down into the Ages of the Christian Church, as not to fall under my Undertaking; and therefore I leave them, with the other *Greek* Ecclesiastick Historians, as *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Evagrius*, *Theodoret* and others, to those who write the History of the Christian Church.

But I shall further observe, that there are so many antient *Greek* Historians now lost intirely, that if I did discourse of each of them, I would exceed my intended Brevity. *Archilochus* is the first of them in order of Time that we hear of: He flourished, according to *Tatian* (a), in the twenty third Olympiad, in the Time of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, that is, in the Year of the World 3263, in the thirteenth of *Manasseh* King of *Judah*. *Theagenes* the second of these lost Historians, according to *Vossius* (b), wrote in the Reign of *Cambyfes* King of *Persia* (c), that is, in the Year of the World 3422. *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, in the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, still later. *Hellanicus* twelve Years only before *Herodote* (d). I should perhaps tire my Reader rather than instruct him, if I should repete all the rest of the lost Historians of *Greece*, for there is a considerable Number of them. The Curious may find them in the learned *Vossius de historicis Græcis*, with several learned Disquisitions concerning them, and also in *Du-pin's* universal Library of Historians, and other Authors in *Fabricius*, who have made large Collections upon these Matters. But even the most antient of them, do not much exceed the Times of *Cyrus*, and *Cambyfes* Kings of *Persia*. Of some of them we have nothing but the bare Names, preserved by old Writers; as to others by the Titles we may understand, that had they been preserved from the general Shipwreck, we might have had something more of the Origin of the Cities of *Greece*, and of the Genealogy of their Gods, but no Matter of Fact of general Concern before the *Persian* Empire.

I proceed next to the *Greek Poets*; they have no Author of any sort elder than *Homer*. I shall not go upon the several Opinions about the Age wherein this Poet lived, but shall offer what I think most probable to this Purpose. The Words of *Aulus Gellius* are remarkable (e). 'Tis almost agreed among all Writers, that *Homer* and *Hesiod* lived about the same Time, or that *Homer* was a little older; but both were before the Building of *Rome*, in the Time when the *Sylvii* reigned in *Alba*, more than a hundred and sixty Years after the *Trojan War*, as *Cassius* writes in the first of his *Annals*. *Monfr. Du-pin* makes him (f) to have flourished in the 3807th Year of the *Julian* Period, which coincides with the fifteenth Year of *Jehosaphat* King of *Judah*. This agrees with *Paterculus* (g), who writing in the Year of *Rome* 783, makes *Homer* 950 Years before: But I rather incline to *Vossius's* (h) Opinion, That this Poet flourished about the Beginning of the Olympiads, or soon after, about the Time of the Building of *Rome*, that is, 753 Years before the Birth of Christ, which falls in the Year 3197 from the Creation of the World, the eight Year of *Jotham* King of *Judah*. It was a very vain Contest that seven Towns had in pretending to the Honour of the Birth-place of *Homer*, viz. *Smyrna*, *Rhodos*, *Colophon*, *Salamis*, *Chios*, *Argos*, *Athenæ*; for the poor Man while he lived had neither House (i) nor Home. The Author of his Life printed at the End of *Herodote*, is so very fabulous as to deserve no Credit. But whatever Uncertainty we labour under as to the Time, Country, and Life of *Homer*, 'tis never questioned that he was the Author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssæe*, and that these Poems were for some Time scattered into several Songs, and afterwards gathered into one Book; which may be considered not only as the Result of the Poet's Invention, but as a Fund whence the antient History of *Greece* might be digged, if the same could be stripped of the Fable. I shall not enumerate the Commendations that have been given by great Criticks to this Poet, only may observe with *Horace* (k), That the *Iliad* admirably describes the foolish Passions of Kings and Nations, and tells better what is honourable, scandalous, and profitable in humane Life, than the Philosophers, *Chrysippus* and *Crantor*. And *Vellejus Paterculus* (l) speaking of him, says, At this Time appeared *Homer*, that great

Genius

(a) *Tatianus* *Adversus* *Græcos* *orat. contra* *Græcos* *ad calcem* *Just. Martyr.* p. 166, 167. (b) *De histor. Græcis*, lib. 2. cap. 15. p. m. 232. (c) *Vossius de hist. Græcis*, p. 6. (d) *Gellii* *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. 15. cap. 23. (e) *Noctes Atticæ* lib. 17. cap. 21. (f) *Library of Historians*, Vol. 1. p. 158. (g) *Lib. 1. cap. 5.* (h) *De Poetis Græcis* p. 9. (i) *Buchan. Elegia* 1. p. 387. (k) *Horatii* *Epist.* lib. 1. Ep. 2. ab initio. (l) *Lib. 1. cap. 5.* *Bella gerunt urbes septem de patria Homeri.*

Genius, which no Example can parallel. The Sublimity of his Works, and the Beauty of his Verses have given him a Title to the Name of Poet by Excellency : And what is more surprising in him, that as there was no Writer before him whom he could imitate, so none since could ever come up to him.— He that believes he was born blind, must be void all of his Senses. Some Antients have observed Faults in his Works, but none save Zoilus ever ventured to despise him (a); and by so doing he drew on himself the Reproaches and Contempt of all Antiquity. Mr. Pope hath made an excellent Translation into *English* of this Poet, with learned Notes, which hath been received with great Approbation.

Hesiod is the next Greek Poet after *Homer*. He hath taken Care that there should be no Debate about his Country, for himself tells us, That he was born at *Ascræ*, which is a City in *Bœotia*. We have yet remaining his *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι* in two Books of Works and Days, which contain some Rules in Morality, and Directions for Husbandry; his *θεογονία* or the Genealogy of the Gods, where is enough to make the Pagan Religion ridiculous; and also his *ἀσπίς*, or Hercules Shield. *Velleius Paterculus* (b) says, *Hesiod*, who lived one hundred and twenty Years after *Homer*, was a Poet of an excellent Genius, memorable for the sweet Softness of his Verse, and was himself a Lover of Ease. As he was next to so great a Man in the Age wherein he lived; so also in the Esteem due to his Works, he hath taken Care to shun that Rock on which *Homer* split; for he has told who were his Parents, and what was his Country, but he was basely used by his own People.

I do not pretend to give a Catalogue of all the Greek Poets that are lost, which the Curious may find in the Authors cited at the Foot of the Page (c), tho' they present us frequently with bare Names only, which is not very entertaining; but shall notice the chief of the Greek Poets; whose Works or Fragments of them, are transmitted to us. The first of these I observe, is *Theognis Megarensis*, *Eusebius* placeth him in the second Year of the fifty ninth Olympiad (d); that is in the Year of the World 3407; in the Reign of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*. Of him we have *ἑνῶμαί*, or Sentences in Elegiac Verse. After him is *Anacreon Teius*, who flourished in the sixty first Olympiad (e), and was highly beloved by *Pisistratus* Tyrant of *Athens*, who sent a Galley of Fifty Oars for him; and by *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*, from whom having got three thousand Crowns, or to that Value, he was never quiet till he got rid of them, being given to an Excess of Pleasures, and was at length choaked with a Grape-Stone. His Odes are very soft and delicate.

Æschylus, a Writer of Tragedies, and a good Soldier, flourished about the seventy first Olympiad (f), that is, about the Year of the World 3454, in the Reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. He was the first who taught Tragedians to appear terrible, and wear the *Cothurnus*. Being told by an Oracle that he should be killed by the Fall of an House, he left *Sicily* to dwell in the open Fields; where an Eagle flying over his Head with a Tortoise in his Bill, took his bald Head for a Stone, and letting the Tortoise fall to break the Shell, beat out his Brains, in the fifty eight Year of his Age (g).

Pindar flourished about the same Time with *Æschylus*, and lived to the Time of *Xerxes*. He was a *Theban*, who brought Lyric Poesy, and writing of Odes to great Perfection, so as scarce any among the Greeks was able to imitate him. Of all the Poems he wrote none remain, but these Odes he made for the Victors at the Olympick, Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemæan Games in Greece, which require some Skill and Application duly to understand them. *Alexander* the Great had such Regard for him, that when he took and razed the City of *Thebes*, a hundred Years after the Death of *Pindar*, he spared the House where this Poet had formerly lived.

Sophocles the Tragedian flourished, according to *Eusebius* (h), in the seventy seventh Olympiad, that is, about the Year of the World 3480. He was General of the Athenian Army with *Pericles*, and lived to the Age of eighty five, composing many Tragedies in lofty Verse (i); of which only seven remain. All his Pieces were received with great Applause at *Athens*, and are to this Day valued by the Learned.

Euripides the Tragic Poet was born at *Salamis*, the same Day that *Xerxes's* numerous Army was overthrown by the Athenians, and flourished much about the same Time with *Sophocles*. He is said to have wrote seventy five Tragedies; and to have gained the Prize by five of them (k); but of the whole only nineteen are now extant. He learned Rhetorick from *Prodicus*, Physicks from *Anaxagoras*, moral Philosophy from *Socrates* (l), and travelled into *Egypt* to improve his Knowledge.

Aristophanes is counted the Prince of the Greek Comick Poets; *Eusebius* (m) placeth him in the eighty fifth Olympiad, that is about the Year of the World 3510, in the 25th of *Xerxes's* Reign.

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(a) *Ælian*: varia historia, lib. 11. cap. 10. Nulla domus vivo, patria nulla fuit. (b) *Patercul.* lib. 1. cap. 7. (c) *Vossius* de poetis Græcis, lib. 1. *Gyraldi* Dialogi de historia poetarum. (d) *Eusebius* in Chronico. (e) *Ibid.* sub Olymp. 61. (f) *Eusebius* in Chronico. (g) *Vossius* de Poetis Græcis, p. 25. *Suidas* in voce *Æschylus*. (h) In Chronico sub Olymp. 77. (i) *Virgil* Ecloga 8. v. 10. Sola *Sophocles* tua carmina digno cothurno (k) *Gellii* noctes Atticæ lib. 17. cap. 4. (l) *Vossius* de Poetis Græcis, p. 36. (m) *Eusebius* in Chronico.

Reign. He wrote above fifty Comedies, of which there are only seven extant. He was contemporary with *Socrates*, but bore a mortal Hatred to that Philosopher, which appears in the *Invectives* he has against him in his *Plutus*, and in his *Comedy of the Clouds*.

In the Reign of *Alexander* the Great Epic and Dramatic Poesy began to decay among the *Greeks*, yet there are several Poets among them after this Time who deserve to be noticed; particularly *Theocritus* the *Syracusan*, who lived at the Court of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, about the Year of the World 3670, 280 Years before our Saviour's Birth. We have this Poet's *Idyllia* or Eclogues, which *Virgil* imitated in his *Pastorals*; and they are indeed a Master-piece in their Kind. *Moscus* of *Syracuse*, and *Bion* of *Smymna*, who lived under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philometor*, imitated *Theocritus*; and their Poems are delicate, ingenious, and natural. About the same Time *Aratus* wrote his *Treatise of Astronomy* in *Greek Verse*; *Pomponius Mela* speaks of his funeral Monument (a). After this the Spirit of Poesy declined among the *Greeks*, and passed into *Italy*, where at first their Poems were but rude and unformed, but, by Degrees, did rise to Perfection, and came to their meridian Splendor in the *Augustan Age*, as I shall shew when I come to write of the *Roman Affairs*.

From the Poets, I go to consider the *Greek Orators*. Eloquence could not but flourish in a popular State, where great Men had their Interests to maintain by the Art of Persuasion. In the Histories of *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, it appears by many Instances that *Themistocles*, *Alcibiades*, *Critias*, *Theramenes* and several others, were eloquent Orators, as well as valiant Captains: But *Isocrates* was among the first who taught this Art by Rules. He flourished in the eighty sixth *Olympiad* (b), in the Reign of *Xerxes* King of *Persia*. His Father had got an Estate by making musical Instruments; and he made good Use of his Riches, for the liberal Education of his Son; who when he came to be fit for Business, declined to meddle in Matters of State, being of a feeble Voice and naturally timorous, but satisfied himself with teaching Scholars, taking great Pains to make them Orators (c), having sometimes a hundred attending his Lessons; by whom he made so much Money, as to be able to defray the Charges of a Galley at Sea. He had such a Love to his Country, that he starved himself to Death in the ninety eight Year of his Age, after the Battle of *Cheronea*, rather than to see the Ruin of his native Land. He left behind him many Orations; *Plutarch* speaks of Sixty that went under his Name (d), of which twenty five were genuine; yet he took ten Years to make one Panegyrick: There are but a few of his Composure now extant.

The greater Part of the eloquent Orators in *Greece* were *Athenians*; as *Hyperides*, *Æschines*, *Dinarchus* and *Demades*. Eloquence seem'd peculiar to that City, and particularly flourished in the Time of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and of *Alexander* the Great his Son: Then *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* were Rivals for the Prize in this noble Art.

Demosthenes was the Son of *Demosthenes* a Maker of Sword-blades, who dying, left his Son, then of seven Years of Age, a good deal of Money; and his Mother took care to have him educated under *Isocrates*, *Isæus* and *Plato*. He fell early in love with the Study of Eloquence; yet when he came to declaim in publick, he found great Difficulty with Indistinctness in his Speech, and how to manage his Action, and Pronunciation (e): But with great Application, he subdued all these Difficulties, repeting his Orations frequently in private before he delivered them in publick, and soon excelled his Contemporaries in persuasive Eloquence and sublime Discourse. Being seventeen Years old, he prosecuted his Guardians for defrauding him of thirty Talents; which he recovered. In Affairs of State he opposed *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and *Alexander* his Son, with all his Might; and by his *Philippic* Orations, prompted and encouraged the States of *Greece* to a War against those Princes: And when it was begun, he assisted at the Battle of *Cheronea*; but was among the first who fled. It was alledged, that he was ready to take Money with both Hands; and at one Time being convict of taking a large Sum to save *Harpalus* from the Punishment he deserved, the Court of the *Areopagites* banished him: But he was afterwards recalled, to the great Joy of the *Athenians*. After the Death of *Alexander* the Great, *Antipater* threatened to besiege *Athens*, unless they delivered up the Orators who had declared against *Macedon*. Whereupon *Demosthenes* retired to *Ægina*, and thence to the Island of *Calauria*, where he took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*: But finding he could not escape, he pretended to write a Letter to *Antipater*, and in the mean Time sucked Poyson out of the End of his Quill, of which he immediately died, in the sixty second Year of his Age, 322 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. He hath left behind him a great many Orations, both in publick and private Affairs, all wrote with inimitable Spirit and Eloquence.

Æschines was another Disciple of *Isocrates* and *Plato*: He was poor, yet made great Appearance for Eloquence as well as *Demosthenes*, but acted a different Part in the State; for he persuaded the *Athenians* to make Peace with *Philip* of *Macedon* (f); and to carry this on,

(a) De situ orbis, lib. 1. Tit. Cilicia. (b) Eusebius in Chronico. Plutarch's Lives of ten Orators. (c) Cicerò de Oratore lib. 3. cap. 35. 44. (d) Plutarch's Lives of ten Orators, *Isocrates*. (e) Plutarch in his Life of *Demosthenes* and Lives of ten Orators. (f) Ibid.

was sent with other Ambassadors to demand a Treaty. Upon his Return he was accused by *Demosthenes* for abandoning the Interest of his Country, and for taking Money to prolong the Transaction. *Æschines* answered for himself in a long Discourse, but was at last banished: Upon this he went to *Alexander* the Great at *Ephesus*, thence he retired to *Rhodes*, and last of all to *Samos*, where he died. There are three of his Orations, and some of his Epistles still extant. After him *Greece* produced several Orators, but none of that Elevation of Spirit with those already mentioned. The *Rhodians* came nearest to the *Athenians* in Reputation for Eloquence: But when *Rome* became Mistress of the World, these noble Arts removed thither; and being well cultivated did thrive in that rich Soil.

Greece also produced Men famous for their Skill in *Medicine*. I shall not go upon the fabulous Story of *Esculapius*, one of their Deities, nor on the poetical Accounts of *Machaon* and *Podalirius* in *Homer*, or others of that kind; but shall only notice, That in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, *Herodicus* was the first who taught the Art of Medicine by Precepts. The fam'd *Hippocrates*, Native of the Isle of *Cos*, was his Disciple. His Father *Heraclides* was said to be descended from *Esculapius*, and his Mother *Praxithea* derived her Origin from *Hercules*. *Eusebius* (a) placeth him in the eighty sixth *Olympiad*; that is, in the Year of the World 3514. He foretold a Plague that was coming out of *Illyria*, and lived to cure many sick of it; which made him so famous, that the *Grecians* almost adored him (b). *Artaxerxes* invited him, and ordered *Hystaspes*, his Prefect in the *Hellepont*, to offer him any Reward to come into *Persia* during this Plague, and cure those who were infected with it in his Armies (c). But his Answer was, That he would not leave the *Grecians* his Countrymen in this Distress, to give his Help to the Barbarians; which provoked the King so far, as he sent to *Cos*, to command them to deliver to him *Hippocrates*, to be punished for his Perverseness, threatening to demolish their City, and ruin the whole Island, if they refused to comply. But the *Coans* let him know, that no Threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a Citizen into his Hands. He hath left Aphorisms, and some other Works on Medicine, which are to this Day in great Esteem. But tho' two of his Sons, *Thepsalus* and *Draco*, with many of his Disciples, followed the same Business; yet none of them have left any thing to instruct Posterity that now remains, except *Theophrastus*, a Scholar to *Aristotle*, who wrote a Book on the Virtue of Plants; and *Pedafius Dioscorides*, who was born at *Anazarba* in *Gilicia*, and flourished in the Time of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, about thirty Years before the Birth of Christ, and hath wrote upon that Part of the *Materia Medica* which concerns the Remedies that may be had from Plants. But the most famous Physician after *Hippocrates*, and to whom Posterity is most obliged, is *Claudius Galen*, the Son of a learned Architect at *Pergamus* in *Asia*; who having studied at *Alexandria*, went to *Rome*, where he flourished in the Reign of the Emperor *Mark Antonine*, that is, about the middle of the second Century of the Christian *Æra*, and there wrote his Books. After *Antonine's* Death, he retired to his own Country; where, by Temperance and Skill, he prolonged the Life of a crazy Body to a great Age. He is the Author of that Method of Medicine which is called by his Name, and hath been much used. Many of his Books were burnt in the Temple of *Peace*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*; but there are some of them yet remaining, which are in great Esteem.

I go now to the *Greek Philosophers*. The Works of the most of them, except those of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, are lost, save what of their Lives and Sayings are preserved by *Diogenes Laertius*: However, being on this Subject, I shall take some notice of the chief of them, whether lost or remaining; only in a compendious Way, that I may not exceed my intended Brevity. *Thales*, the Wise-man of *Miletus*, stands highest in the Roll of those antient Sages. He was the first Author of Mathematics and natural Philosophy among the *Grecians*, and was justly entitled to a Preference before the other Wise-men, by a Superiority of speculative Learning. He died in the fifty eighth *Olympiad* (d); that is, in the Year of the World 3402 (e), in the Reign of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*.

Solon was the next. His Knowledge and Understanding obtained him the Government of *Athens*. *Draco*, his Predecessor, having enacted very severe Laws, he abrogated them, and enacted others that were more mild and equitable; for he was not, as *Draco*, for punishing every Crime with Death. He restrained the Luxury of the *Athenians*, abolished many of their superstitious Ceremonies, allowed them Liberty to declare whom they pleased to be their Heirs, provided they had no Children of their own (f). He made no Laws against the Murderers of Parents, as supposing it to be so unnatural as to be in a manner impossible. The Island of *Salamis*, where was the Origin of his Family, lying most convenient for the *Athenians*, who upon Pain of Death had forbid mentioning to recover it from the *Megarefians*, *Solon* found no better Way to put them on that Work, than by repeting in the Street some Verses of his own making,

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(a) In Chronico. (b) Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 38. (c) Suidas in Hippocrate, Epistolæ ad calcem operum Hippocratis. (d) Eusebius in Chronico. (e) Helvici Theatrum. (f) See more of the Athenian Laws in Xenophon de rep. Atheniensium, operum p. 691, — 701. Meursii Themis Attica, Potter's Antiquities of Greece, Book 1: Chap. 26.

making, in a drolling Way ; which had such Effect, that they set upon the Island, and took it with easier Success than they could have imagined. After this, *Pisistratus* the Tyrant invaded the Government of *Athens*. *Solon* opposed him as far as he was able : But since he had made himself Master of the City ; to see the Effect of his Laws, *Solon* retired, taking a Voyage to *Egypt* and to *Lydia* ; where he met with *Cræsus*, who making a Shew of his State and Magnificence, asked this Philosopher if he had ever seen any thing more fine and gay. Yes, (said he) *Peacocks, Pheasants and Cocks ; for their Beauty is natural, your's only borrowed*. And again, demanding whether he did not think him a most happy Prince ; he instanced mean Men whom he thought more happy, and at last told him none could be counted happy before Death. *Anacharsis* said *Solon's* Laws were like Spiders Webs, which only catch silly Flies, but let Hornets and boisterous Insects escape. He died in the eightieth Year of his Age (a), and ordered his Bones to be carried to *Salamis*, there to be burnt to Ashes, and sown over the Island to fructify the Field. He was either the Instituter or the Enlarger of the Court of the *Areopagites* at *Athens* (b) : He wrote his Laws, Speeches, Elegies and *Iambics* ; but all these are now lost.

Pittacus is counted the third of the seven Wise-men. He was Native of *Mitylene*, a City in the Isle of *Lesbos*. When the Inhabitants of his City had War with the *Athenians*, *Pittacus* commanded the Army ; who, that he might spare the Blood of his fellow Citizens, offered to fight singly with *Phryuan*, General on the other Side, who had often won the Victory at the *Olympic* Games. The Challenge was accepted ; and *Pittacus* caught his Adversary in a Net which he had hid under his Shield, and so overcame him. From this Practice rose the Custom of the *Roman Retiarii*. The *Mitylenians* after this gave *Pittacus* the supreme Government of their City ; which he managed for ten Years (c), and then resigned it. He composed many Verses, containing the Laws which he enacted : But all these are lost, except what is preserved by *Laertius*. He died about the seventieth Year of his Age, in the third Year of the fifty second *Olympiad*.

Chilo was counted another of those Sages. He died about the same Time with *Pittacus*, as he was embracing his Son returning victorious from the *Olympic* Games, being overcome with Joy and the Infirmary of his Years.

Bias Son of *Teutamis*, born at *Priene*, a Town of *Caria*, is reckoned another of those Sages. Some Fishermen finding a golden Tripod, with this Inscription, TO THE WISEST, the same was brought to him ; which he sent to *Apollo*, as wiser than himself. *Diogenes Laertius* tells of him, That he wrote two thousand Verses, of the Affairs of *Ionia*, in Heroics ; that he was an excellent Barrister, and never pleaded an unjust Cause. Being tired by declaiming, he expired at the Bar, leaning on his Nephew.

Cleobulus the *Lindian* was another of those Sages. He learned his Philosophy in *Egypt* (d), composed to the Number of three thousand Verses, which are lost, and died in the seventieth Year of his Age.

Periander the *Corinthian* was the seventh and last of those Sages. He was Tyrant of that City after the Death of *Cypselus* : And I wonder why he is placed among the Wise-men ; for even according to *Laertius's* (e) Account of him, he was a very wicked Man, who threw his own Wife down Stairs, and then kick'd her to Death, when big with child ; banished his Son, *Lycophron*, to *Corcyra*, for weeping at his Mother's Funeral ; committed Incest with his own Mother, and when eighty Years of Age, ordered some young Men to kill himself.

I am not to give a particular Account of all the rest in the Catalogue of Philosophers in *Greece*, but only a Hint of the chief of them. *Anacharsis* the *Scythian* was a great Drunkard ; *Myso* the *Ætean* a Ploughman. As to *Epimenides*, *Laertius* reports strange things of him ; as, that being sent by his Father to fetch home a Wedder, in the Heat of the Day he entred into a Cave, and there slept on fifty seven Years. When he awakened, he went to seek his Wedder ; but found him not. Coming home to his House, no body knew him, and he knew no body. The same Author tells us, that this Philosopher purified *Athens* of the Pestilence, by offering white and black Sheep. I suppose every one at this Time of Day will look on these Fables as they deserve. But I go to *Phercydes*. He is said to have got Reputation by foretelling an Earthquake from the Waters of a Well, which one of his Scholars gave him to drink, and by some other Predictions of the like kind, which they who please may believe. He ended his Days of the lousy Disease.

After these Wise-men, the *Ionian* Philosophers came on the Stage ; as, *Anaximander*, who was *Thales's* Kinsman and Scholar, and was the first Teacher of Geometry. *Anaximenes* the *Milesian* flourished in the fifty sixth *Olympiad* : He maintained, That the Air or Spirit is the Principle of all things, and that our Souls are of Air. *Anaxagoras* was born in the first Year of the seventieth *Olympiad*, or rather flourished then, according to *Eusebius* (f) ; that is, in the Year of

(a) Diog. Laertius's Life of Solon. (b) Plutarch's Life of Solon. (c) Diog. Laertius in Pittaco. (d) Id. in Cleobulo. (e) In Periandro. (f) In Chronico.

of the World 3450, the twenty second Year of the Reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. He was born to a plentiful Estate, but quit the same to his Relations for the Love he had to Philosophy. He was the first who attributed to Matter Sense and Reason (a), and affirmed the Sun to be a massy Plate of red hot Iron, bigger than *Peloponnesus*. Strange Philosophy! And the rest of his Doctrines concerning the Nature of Things, recorded by *Laertius*, in his Life, are not much better. *Archelaus*, the *Athenian* or *Milesian*, was his Scholar.

Socrates the Son of *Sophroniscus* a Stone-cutter. He was born in the fourth Year of the seventy seventh *Olympiad* (b), which is the seventeenth of *Xerxes* King of *Persia*. He gave Philosophy a new Turn, dividing his Doctrines into Metaphysical, respecting divine Speculations; and Moral with reference to the Conversation. From him his Disciples were called *Socratics*. 'Tis said that he had a familiar Dæmon or Spirit that waited on him, and screen'd him from Danger (c). He served as a Soldier in the Expedition against *Amphipolis*, and also in the War against *Potidæa* by Sea, having a Body that could endure any Fatigue, being also moderate, sober, compos'd in his Behaviour, patient, and in a word possessed of many Virtues; but valued Rest, Tranquillity, and the Enjoyment of his Friends, above Possessions. His common Saying was, *That he knew only this, that he knew nothing*. Some *Athenians* preferred a Bill against him, for corrupting the Youth, and introducing new Deities, or, as *Xenophon* (d) expresseth it, *for not esteeming those as Gods whom his Citizens accounted so*. Many Defences were made for him, whereof we have one extant in *Xenophon* (e); but at last he was cast by two hundred and eighty one Voices. He shewed a great deal of good Temper these three Weeks he lay in Prison in Irons, and also when he made his Exit by a fatal Draught of Poison, administred to him by the Executioner, whom he ordered to sacrifice a Cock to *Esculapius*. Thus he died, in the seventieth Year of his Age, being the first of the ninety fifth *Olympiad* (f), the sixth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, 398 before the Birth of our Saviour. In his Life he argued so nicely, that he could justify either Side of a Question; and often debated so warmly, as to beat himself, and tear his Beard. He married two Wives, whereof the first was called *Xantippe*, whom he chose for her froward scolding Temper (g), reckoning 'those the best Riders that could manage the roughest Horse. His other Wife was named *Myrto*; and they both survived him. He wrote nothing of Philosophy himself, but some of his Discourses on that Subject were committed to Writing by *Xenophon*, *Plato* and others of his Scholars. After he was put to Death, the *Athenians* disclaimed the Fact, recalled his Friends, and honoured his Memory.

I have spoke of *Xenophon* already (h), under the Head of Historians, and of *Æschines* under that of Orators.

I go then to *Aristippus*, a *Cyrenian* in *Afric*, who was drawn to *Athens* by the Fame of *Socrates*, and flourished about the ninety sixth *Olympiad*, 394 Years before the Birth of Christ, and founded the *Cyrenaic* Sect. Tho' he had a plentiful Estate, yet he was the first of all the *Socratics* who taught for Money, and led a Course of Life quite different from his Master's Precepts; for he was addicted to Luxury, Prodigality, Wine and Women, in all which he defended himself by the Practice of the Heathen Deities. By the Magnificence and Liberality of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, he was drawn into *Sicily*; where his nimble Wit, quick Repartees, and loose Way of living, procured him some Reputation: But his Debauchery made him to be hated by *Xenophon* and other sober Philosophers; and he on the other side laughed at them. He is said to have compiled three Books of *Libyan* History, and some other Treatises, which are all lost.

Theodorus, surnamed *The Atheist*, was one of the *Cyrenaic* Sect. *Laertius* (i) says he denied all Opinions concerning the Gods, and wrote a Book out of which *Epicurus* borrowed all that he said upon that Subject. He approved all Crimes, and maintained that none were in their own Nature shameful, but only in the Opinion of the People, whom he called a Multitude of Ignorants. The same *Laertius* tells of other strange Opinions he advanced, even, *That it is lawful for a wise Man to steal, commit Adultery or Sacrilege, when Opportunity offered; that he may publickly, without Scandal, keep Company with common Harlots, if his Inclinations lead him to it.— May not a beautiful Woman be made use of because she is lovely, or a Youth because he is fair? Most certainly they may*. No wonder the heathen World was debauched, when the Philosophers, the Oracles of those Times, taught them so impious Lessons. *Bion* was another wicked Philosopher, so much given to male-Venery, even with his Scholars, that no one would acknowledge himself to have been his Disciple.

Euclides instituted a Sect called first the *Megaric*, from the Place of his Nativity, and afterwards the *Eristic*, that is, the litigious or contentious; for he was a great Wrangler, and condemned the Use of Allegories. *Euclid* the Mathematician was much later than he. After him there were several of the same Sect, as, *Eubetides*, *Alexinus*, *Euphantus*, *Apollonius*, *Cronus*,
B b b b *Diodorus*,

(a) *Laertius* in *Anaxagora*. (b) *Id.* in *Socrate*. (c) *Plutarchus* de *genio Socratis*. (d) p. m. 703. (e) *Socratica* de *senfio ad judices*, operum p. 701, — 707. in edit. 1696. (f) *Laertius* in *Socrate*. (g) *Xenophonis convivium*, operum p. 876. (h) Above, p. 274 & 278. (i) In *Aristippo*.

Diodorus, Ichthyas, and Clinomachus, of whom there is nothing recorded worth our Notice. *Stilpo* was a great Lover of effeminate Pleasures, but at the same time a good Orator, and hastened his End with a lusty Draught of Wine. *Menedemus* founded the *Eretrian* Sect. He was of noble Extraction, but poor, and by Trade a Tent-maker; who fixed no Benches in his School, but disorderly Seats; yet came to considerable Reputation, so that he was honoured to perform three Embassies, to *Ptolemy, Lyfimachus* and *Demetrius*. At last, when he could not prevail with *Antigonus Gonatas* to set his native Country at liberty, he abstained from all manner of Food for seven Days together (a), and so ended his Life. His Death is placed in the third Year of the 125th Olympiad, that is 276 Years before our Saviour's Birth. But I go to a greater Philosopher,

Plato, the Founder of the *Academic* Sect, which was so called from the Academy, a pleasant Place shaded with Trees, in the Suburbs of *Athens*, where he taught. He was an *Athenian*, the Son of *Aristo* and *Perictione*, born in the eighty eighth Olympiad, and died in the hundred and eighth (b), in the eighty second Year of his Age, 346 Years before the Birth of Christ. In his younger Years he studied Grammar under *Dionysius*, and learned Wrestling from *Aristo* an *Argive*, in which he was such a Proficient, that he contended at the *Olympic* Games. He applied himself also to Painting and Poetry; but finding his Epic Poems come short of *Homer*, he burnt them, and also destroyed some Tragedies he had composed. From the twentieth to the twenty eighth Year of his Age, he was a diligent Hearer of *Socrates*, writing down his Master's Discourses, and interlacing them with Additions of his own. After *Socrates's* Death, he went to his Travels. Going to *Cyrene*, he learned Geometry from *Theodorus*; in *Egypt* he studied Astrology and other Speculations, and in *Italy* the Transmigration of Souls, from *Pythagoras*. Both *Jewish* and Christian Writers (c) affirm, that he owes many things to the Law of *Moses*; of which he might learn some imperfect Accounts in his Travels. Hence *Numenius* (d) called him *Moses speaking Greek*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (e) remarks, that *Plato* owns, that he learned many things from the Barbarians; and in his *Timæus*, he brings in *Solon* learning from a Barbarian, saying, *You Greeks are always Boys, there is no old Man among you, nor have you any antient Learning*. He borrowed other Things from *Philoletus* a *Pythagorean*, and from *Epicharmus* an Epic Poet. Upon his Return from his Travels, he set up a School at the Academy; where he much improved both the Learning and Language of his Time; for he was the first who polished the Way of writing by Dialogues, and brought it to Perfection. Besides, he contrived the analytical Way in Geometry, by reducing Things to their first Principles, and found out the Duplicature of the Cube. He made three Voyages into *Sicily* (f), where at first he was in great Favour with *Dionysius* the Tyrant; but afterwards incurring his Displeasure, was in Danger of losing his Life or Liberty: Yet by the Interposition of his Friends, he was returned safe to *Athens*, where he taught in his Academy, and died in Peace, leaving to his Friends (g) several rich Farms, with a good deal of Cash, silver Plate, Jewels, Debts owing to him, Servants and household Goods. His Works are extant, in one large folio, where he discourses, by way of Dialogue, or Question and Answer, concerning Logics, Physics, Morals and Politics. In opposition to the Dogmatists, he pursues the *Socratic* Way of arguing, seeming to affirm nothing; but at the same time, what he takes for Truth, is discoursed under the Person of *Socrates Timæus*, the *Athenian*, or *Elean* Guest; and what he designs for Error is brought in by *Thrasymachus, Collicles, Polus, Gorgias, Protagoras, Hippias, &c.* I do not pretend to give any Summary of his Philosophy: The surest Way of understanding it, is by a carefull reading of his own Writings. He held the first Principles of all things to be these three, Matter, Ideas, and God. Concerning God he taught, That he being the first Intellect, in himself immovable, moves the Intellect of the Universe, as a desired Object moves the Appetite; and there being nothing purer than himself and his own Notions, he is employed in contemplating them: He is eternal, ineffable, perfect in himself, at all Times, and in every Part, even in Divinity, Essence, Truth, Harmony, Goodness, which are not distinct from one another, but do all make one. *Origen*, and several other antient Fathers of the primitive Church, were too great Admirers of the *Platonic* Philosophy, whereby they introduced many Errors into the Christian Church.

Plato had many Disciples who after him taught in his Academy, among whom were *Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor, Arcesilaus, Lacydes, Clinomachus* and *Carneades*, which last took a Draught of poisoned Wine to hasten his End (h). All their Works and Writings are lost, except their Lives and Sayings preserved by *Laertius*. There is more true Wisdom in one of *Solomon's* Proverbs, than in all their Apophthegms, and their Lives are no great Ornament to History. I then leave them, and go to

Aristotle the Son of *Nicomachus* descended from one of the same Name, Physician to *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*. The Parents of *Aristotle* being dead, he was brought up under *Proxe-*

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(a) Diog. Laertius in Menedemo, prope finem. (b) Laertius in Platone, non longe ab initio. (c) Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 2. Euseb. Præp. Evang. (d) Suidas in Νεαννίῳ. (e) Stromatum lib. 1. p. m. 302, 303. edit. 1688. (f) Plutarchus in Dione. (g) Laertius in Platone. (h) Id. in Carneade.

mus an *Atarnean*, of whom he learned Poetry and Rhetorick. At the Age of seventeen he went to *Athens*, where he became *Plato's* Disciple and Auditor twenty Years (a). His Master called him the Intellect and Soul of his School, and his House the House of the great Reader. *Laertius* reports (b), That he was of a moderate Stature, of a shrill squeaking Voice, slender Legs, and pinky'd; that he always went decently in his Clothes, wearing Rings upon his Fingers, with his Garments of fine Materials, and his Hair finely trimmed. He withdrew himself in *Plato's* Life-time from the Academy, which made his Master say, *Aristotle* hath done by us, like young Colts that kick against their Dams; setting up a School in the *Lycæum*, where he taught as he walked to and fro. He was from thence called the *Peripatetick*, or, the Walker. He had a Son called *Nicomachus*, by *Herpilis* his Concubine. After *Plato's* Death, he retired to *Atarna*, a little City in *Myfia*, where his Friend *Hermias* the Eunuch reigned, who gave him his Sister, (some say his Niece) *Pythias* in Marriage, whom *Aristotle* passionately loved. While in this Country he fell acquainted with a Jew of great Wisdom, Temperance, and Goodness, and learned much from him. This *Josephus* (c) tells from a Book now lost, written by *Clearchus*, one of the chief of *Aristotle's* Scholars, and hence *Aristobulus*, and out of him *Clemens Alexandrinus* (d) observe, That the *Peripatetick* Philosophy contains many things that agree with what is written by *Moses* and the Prophets. *Hermias* being circumvented by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded in these Parts for *Ochus* King of *Persia*, and sent Prisoner to the *Persian* Court, where he was put to Death, *Aristotle* retired to *Mytilene*, the Capital of *Lesbos*, where he staid till *Philip* King of *Macedon* sent for him, to instruct his Son *Alexander*, afterwards called the Great, being then fifteen Years old. *Aristotle* being well encouraged in *Macedon*, staid with his Royal Pupil eight Years, teaching him Eloquence, natural Philosophy, Ethicks, Politicks, and a kind of Philosophy called *Acroaticks*, concealed from the Vulgar. He corrected the Text of *Homer's Iliad*, and gave it to *Alexander*, who put a great Value on that Copy. Upon the Noise of the War in *Asia*, our Philosopher returned to *Athens*, leaving in his Room *Calisthenes* the *Olynthian* his Kinsman and Disciple, to whom he said, That if he did not moderate his Tongue, it might cost him his Life. And so it came to pass; for being discovered to have been in the Conspiracy of *Hermolaus* against *Alexander's* Life, he was carried about in an Iron Cage; where being over-run with Vermin and Lice (e), he was thrown to a hungry Lion, and so ended his Days. After *Alexander* the Great begun his Wars in *Asia*, *Aristotle* taught at *Athens* thirteen Years. *Alexander* entertained Correspondence with him by Letters, and desired him to write the History of Animals; to which End he sent him eight hundred Talents, which amounts to 480000 Crowns, besides a great Number of Fishers and Huntsmen, to bring him all sorts of Living Creatures (f), and he wrote the said History in fifty Books of which now only ten remain. Upon *Aristotle's* Desire *Alexander* caused rebuild *Stagyra*, the native City of this Philosopher, from which he is sometimes designed the *Stagyrite*; and the Citizens honoured his Memory with a yearly Feast called the *Aristotelian* Feast. At last he was accused of Impiety against the Gods by *Eury-medon*, Overseer of the heathen Mysteries; and fearing that the *Athenians*, jealous of their Religion, would deal with him as they had done to *Socrates*, after writing an Apology for himself, he retired to *Chalcis*, where he died in the seventieth Year of his Age. As to the Manner of his Death, Authors give different Accounts; some Christian Fathers say he threw himself into the Arm of the Sea, called *Euripus*, because he could not comprehend the Reason of its ebbing and flowing seven Times in 24 Hours. *Laertius* (g), and *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (h) say he died of Sicknefs in the 63d Year of his Age; which is as probable: For it is said of him, That he was of a weakly Constitution, eat little, and that he might not oversleep himself, he lay with one Hand out of the Bed, with a Bowl of Brass in it, which falling into a Basen of the same Metal, awakned him. Besides, he outwearied himself with excessive Studies; for 'tis said he wrote five hundred and thirteen Books, with Abundance of Epistles, the greater Part of which is now lost; for he gave his Books to *Theophrastus* his Successor, who left them to *Nælius*, and he to his Heirs; who being Strangers to Learning, hid them under Ground, for fear they should be seized for the Use of the *Attalick* Library at *Pergamus*. Thus they continued one hundred and thirty Years under Ground, much spoiled with Wet and Worms, and were at last seized by *Sylla* the Roman on taking *Athens*, who conveyed them to *Rome*, where many faulty Copies were taken. One of them was given by *Tyrannio* the Grammarian to *Andronicus* the *Rhodian*, who first made them publick. There are many Editions of his remaining Works, of which that at *Paris* by *Du-Val* is the best. In them are contained his *Logics*, *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *OEconomics*, *Politics*, *Physics*, *Mathematics*, ten Books of *Animals*, with his Books on *Rhetoric* and *Poesy*; which two last Monfr. *Bayle* (i) counts the best. A great Number of Commentators have writ upon them. These done by the *Nominals*, *Thomists*, and *Scotists*, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth Century of the Christian Church, when *Aristotle* was the only Standart

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of

(a) Dion. Halicarnassens in epistola ad Ammæum. (b) In vita Aristotelis. (c) Joseph. contra Appionem, lib. 1. p. m. 819. (d) Stromatum lib. 5. p. m. 595. 629. (e) Laertius in Aristotele. (f) Pliny hist. natu., lib. 8. cap. 16. (g) In Aristotele. (h) In Epistola ad Ammæum. (i) Critical Dictionary, on Aristotle.

of Philosophy ; and in some Places more regarded than the sacred Scriptures, make hundreds of Volumes ; but now their Reputation is much fallen.

None of the *Peripateticks* who succeeded *Aristotle* had his Vertue or Esteem ; the chief of them were *Theophrastus*, *Strato*, *Lyco*, *Demetrius* of *Phalera*, *Aristo* and *Critolaus*. Their Works named by *Diogenes Laertius* are all lost, except it be *Theophrastus* Book of Plants, which I have before mentioned under another Head (a). Perhaps the World suffers no great Prejudice by the Loss : Tho' a few of the best of them might be desired by the Learned, I know not what we would have done with them all.

I go now to the *Cynic* Philosophers. *Antisthenes* founded this Sect ; his Father of the same Name was an *Athenian* : His Mother being a *Thracian* or *Phrygian*, he was often twitted with it ; for strange Women were infamous at *Athens*. He was a Scholar of *Socrates*, by which the Time that he flourished may be known. From his Master he learned Patience, and an affected Sedateness of Mind. He delighted in a mean Habit, so as having turned the torn Part of his Garment outermost, gave *Socrates* Occasion to say, *That he saw Vain-glory through the Hole*. He with the rest of the *Cynicks* pursued only *Ethics*, rejecting *Logics*, *Physics*, *Geometry*, *Music*, and other liberal Sciences. They placed Happiness in Virtue, allowing no Medium between it and Vice, using slender Diet and sordid Clothes ; to some of them Herbs and cold Water was all their Food ; Riches, Glory and Nobility were the Object of their Contempt ; and they lived in sorry little Shades, or in Tubes, as *Diogenes*. *Antisthenes* held his Discourses in the Place of Exercise, called *Cynosarges*, a little without the Gates of *Athens* ; whence some suppose the *Cynic* Philosophers had their Name (b). He seems to have been the first Author of the most masculine Sect of the *Stoicks*, and died of a wasting Consumption.

Diogenes the *Cynick*, was the Son of *Icesius* a Banker, banished for stamping of false Money ; he was by Birth a *Sinopese*, contemporary with *Plato*, when he came to *Athens*, where he ridicul'd other Mens Actions, which seems to have been his main Talent. He carried his Victuals about with him in a Scrip hanging over his Shoulder, and made Use of all Places indifferently to eat, drink, or discourse in. Being once obliged to make Use of a Staff after he had been sick, he always used it afterwards, and did every Thing that belonged either to Food or Venery in publick View. But it was justly observed, that he trampled on *Plato's* Pride with greater Pride. He died in the nintieth Year of his Age (c), the same Day that *Alexander* the Great died at *Babylon*. Most of his Friends believed that he stifled himself ; for going to visit him in the *Cranæum* where he lived, they found him wrapped in his Clock and dead. The Grandees of the City interr'd him, adorning his Sepulchre with a Column, and a Dog upon it. *Monimus*, *Onesicritus*, *Crates*, *Metrocles*, *Hipparchia* a Whore, *Menippus*, who hanged himself, and *Menedemus*, were all *Cynic* Philosophers, Disciples of *Diogenes*, and as great Fools as their Master.

Zeno, born at *Cittium* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, instituted the Sect of the *Stoicks*. He came to *Athens* to trade ; where having sold his Goods, he put his Money out at Interest, and applied himself to Philosophy, became a Hearer of *Crates* the *Cynick*, but was endued with too much Modesty to go into all their shameful Follies, and soon set up as a Teacher himself in the *porch*, or *painted Walk*, where near fourteen hundred *Athenians* had been put to Death, in the Reign of the thirty Tyrants (d). From this *school* his Disciples were called *Stoicks*. The *Athenians* had a high Esteem for him, so as they intrusted him with the Keys of their City, and honoured him with a Crown of Gold, and a brazen Statue. *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon* invited him to his Court ; but he declined it, being then very aged. In his Diet he was very sparing, and rarely made use of Boys. This was a Vice common among heathen Philosophers (e), when it was counted a Wonder that *Zeno* so seldom practised it. He was a lean tall Man, of a swarthy Complexion, having a morose, dogged, surly Look, and going shabby in his Clothes. In the ninety eight Year of his Age, coming out of his School, he fell and broke his Finger ; and finding Nature spent, he strangled himself (f) in the 143 *Olympiad*, that is, about the 205th Year before the Birth of Christ, having taught his School fifty eight Years. As to the *Stoic* Philosophy, we have not their own Writings now extant ; and therefore must credit what *Laertius* (g) and *Plutarch* (h) have said concerning them. My intended Brevity allows me not to enlarge on this Subject ; only we may observe, that according to them, there were three Parts of Philosophy, rational, moral, and natural, or *Logics*, *Ethics*, and *Physics*. They compared Philosophy to a Field, where *Physics* are the Soil, *Ethics* the Fruit, and *Logic* the Fence ; or, to an Egg, where *Logic* is the Shell, *Physic* the White, and *Ethics* the Yolk. They held some Opinions that were very odd ; for *Zeno* in his *Commonwealth* (according to *Laertius*) maintained the Community of Women, forbade the erecting of Temples, Courts of Justice, or Places of publick Exercise ; and ordained that Men and Women should

(a) Above p. 279. (b) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Antisthenes* (c) *Idem* in *Diogene* (d) *Laertii Zeno*. (e) *Vide Luciani amores, operum*, Tom. 1. p. 895. & seqq. (f) *Laertii Zeno*. (g) *Ibidem*, & in *Chrysippo*. (h) *Plutarch's* Opinions of Philosophers in five Books, That the *Stoicks* deliver more strange things than Poets. Contradictions of *Stoicks* of fatal Necessity, &c.

should go all clothed alike. He also held, That all Transgressions were equal; that the Stars are intellectual Animals, consisting of pure etherial pellucid Fire; That the Soul is a hot Spirit, by which we breathe and move; 'tis a Body by Nature corruptible, either at Death, or at the general Conflagration; that the World is God, because what produces rational Animals, must be rational it self; that virtuous People may be happy amidst Torments; that Fate is the Law or Reason by which the World is ordered, &c. What a Mercy is it that we have divine Revelation to prevent these manifold dangerous Mistakes, which the wisest of the Heathens fell into by the want of it.

Zeno had many Disciples who maintained his Opinions, as (besides several others) Chrysippus, Antipater, Panætius, Posidonius, Cleanthes, which last was so poor, that he studied by Day, and gained his Bread in the Night by grinding Meal and drawing Water when he was very aged. He starved himself to Death (a). Their Writings are all lost.

Pythagoras, the Founder of the Italic Sect, was the Son of one Mnesarchus a Samian Merchant. He was born at Sidon in Phœnicia; but by reason of his Extraction and Education, was reckoned a Samian. The Apprehensions of Polycrates's Tyranny made him leave Samos, and visit Anaximander and Thales at Miletus, who admired his Conversation, and communicated their Learning to him. Afterwards he visited Pherecydes his Master, and waited upon him till he died. Going to Sidon, he conversed with the Phœnician Priests, and by them was initiated in the Mysteries of Byblus. From thence he passed into Egypt, where being recommended to the King by Polycrates, he was by him recommended to the Priests, and by them initiated in their Rites, and acquainted with their Religion and Learning (b), and also with their epistolick, hieroglyphick and symbolick Way of writing; a Favour which they had not shewed to any Foreigners before. He saw the Egyptian Adyta, learned their mystick Philosophy; and for that End suffered himself to be (c) circumcised. Having learned Geometry, Astronomy, and the other Sciences most valued in Egypt, upon Cambyse's conquering that Country, he was carried to Babylon, where he conversed with the Persian Magi, and from them and the Chaldeans learned their Music, Astrology, Arithmetic and natural Philosophy; and conversed also with the Jews, many of their Doctrines being interwoven with his own. About the fifty sixth Year of his Age, he returned to Samos, from thence he passed to Delos, visited Delphi, and other Places famous for Oracles, acquainted himself with the Laws of Crete and Sparta, built a School at Samos, and studied Astronomy in a Cave. But finding the Samians cold Votaries to Learning, he removed to that part of Italy, which from the Frequency of Greek Colonies was called Magna Græcia, where he had many Scholars at Metapontum, Crotona and other Places in the Bay of Tarentum, among whom he founded his Sect. His Disciples put their Estates into one common Stock, and were obliged to keep Silence five Years, only hearing his Discourses thro' a Screen. His Name, his ipse dixit was sufficient Authority. To see their Master was an uncommon Favour. He disclaimed the Title of σοφός, a wise Man, which Thales assumed, and affected that of φιλόσοφος, a Lover of Wisdom (d). He is said to have been a Scholar of Zoroastres (e). From him he learned to hide himself in a Cave, to procure the Veneration of the People, and to act the Part of an Impostor: And from him he also learned the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, which he changed into that of μετεμύχσις, or everlasting Transmigration of it from one Body into another. Hence he enjoined to abstain from sacrificing of Beasts, lest the Sacrificer should disturb the Soul of his Ancestors. He taught also the Unity of God; and after living in Italy twenty Years, he died in the fourth Year of the seventieth Olympiad (f), being the twenty fifth Year of Darius Hystaspis King of Persia, before the Birth of Christ 495. He was of a beautiful Countenance, and of an awful Aspect. He married and had Children. Some Authors affirm he left nothing in Writing: But Laertius (g) and others ascribe several Treatises (now lost) to him. Only his χρυσὰ ῥήματα, or golden Verses, yet remain, which contain good moral Precepts; but whether composed by Pythagoras or not, I shall not determine. As to his Philosophy, after he had purified his Disciples by a long Silence, and severe Abstinence, he taught them Mathematical Sciences as preparatory, particularly Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy; then Ethics, Politics, Metaphysics, natural Philosophy, some Medicine, and Symbolic Theology. But what several Authors antient and modern have said concerning these Heads of Pythagoras's Doctrine, is so dark and almost unintelligible, as I do not think it needful to trouble my Reader with it, but shall rather remit the curious to the Authors named at the Foot of the Page (h). What Sense is there in such Sayings, as, *Poke not over the Fire with a Sword, Stride not over the Beam of a Ballance, Eat not the Heart, Abstain from Beans, At a Sacrifice pare not your Nails?* &c. It requires a Commentary larger than the Text, to give any tolerable Meaning of them.

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(a) Laertius in Cleanthe. (b) Porphyrius in vita Pythagoræ. (c) Clemens Alexandrinus Stromatum, lib. 1. p. 302. (d) Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. cap. 7. Extern. 2. & cap. 15. extern. 1. (e) Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromatum lib. 1. p. 304. (f) Eusebius in Chronico. (g) In Pythagora. (h) Laertius's Life of Pythagoras, Jamblichus, Porphyrius, Stanley, Menagius, &c.

Pythagoras had many Disciples and Followers, as *Empedocles*, born at *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*, of a noble and rich Family. He is said to have been well skill'd in natural Philosophy and Medicine; but so foolish as to cast himself into the Flames of Mount *Ætna*, as was discovered by his brazen Sandals, which the Fire threw up, expecting that People would afterwards believe him to have been immortal: But even a heathen Poet says (a), *If Empedocles could have lived again, he would not have done it a second Time.* *Epicarmus* of *Cos*, *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, *Alcmæon* of *Crotona*, *Hippasus* of *Metapontum*, *Philolaus* of *Crotona* (put to Death for affecting Tyranny) and *Eudoxus* of *Cnidus* were all zealous for *Pythagoras*'s Opinions.

Out of this *Italic* Sect there sprang four Branches, viz. the *Heraclitan*, the *Eleatic*, the *Sceptic*, and the *Epicurean*. *Heraclitus* the Author of the first was an *Ephesian*, who treated learned Men with Contempt. When he appeared in publick, he bewailed with Tears the Wickedness and Misery of Men: But for most Part he retired from their Society, feeding upon the Mountains on Grass, and became a Man-hater. This Way of living threw him into a Dropsy; which obliged him to return to the City, and call for the Help of Physicians, who not being able to cure him, he told them that he knew more than they, and shut himself up in an Ox-stall, hoping that the Heat of the Dung, in which he rolled himself, might draw from him the hurtful Moisture: But he found no Benefit by the Experiment, and died in a few Days, in the sixtieth Year of his Age. He wrote a Treatise of the Universe, which is lost. *Socrates* seeing his Book, said it required a *Delian Diver*, that is, an Expounder of the Oracles, to explain it. He asserted, *That Fire is the Principle of all things; every thing is made of it, and will at last resolve into it* (b): *The Sun is just as big as he appears, and is eclipsed when his hollow part is turned upwards.* O rare Philosophy!

Xenophanes the *Colophonian* founded the *Eleatic* Sect. He held, *that God is One, incorporeal, eternal, all Sight, and all Hearing, no Way resembling Man; that the Stars are certain Clouds, set on Fire when they rise, and extinguished when they set, &c.* *Parmenides* of *Elea*, *Melissus* the *Samian*, and *Zeno* of *Elea*, with others, were his Scholars.

Democritus of *Abdera* in *Thrace*, was born in the first Year of the eightieth *Olympiad* (c), that is, in the Year of the World 3490. His Father was so very rich, as he was able to entertain *Xerxes* in his Return to *Asia*, who to requite his Kindness, left with him some *Persian* Magians, of whom *Democritus*, when a Boy, learned their Astronomy and Theology. His Patrimony amounted to one hundred Talents, which he spent in Travels thro' *India*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia* and *Persia*. Upon his Return to *Abdera*, he read to the People his great *Dicæmos*, the best of his Books; whereupon he was acquitted from the Rigour of the Law, which ordered those who spent their Patrimony to be left unburied; and the City presented him with five hundred Talents, and erected brazen Statues to his Honour. Then he retired to remote Places, where he employed his Time in Studies, continually laughing at the Vanity of Men, as designing a thousand ridiculous Things, while he believed that all Things depended on meet Chance, and the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms. The *Abderites* attributing his Retirement and his constant Laughing to Madness, sent the famous Physician *Hippocrates* to cure him; who after Converse, admired his Skill in Medicine, and in the Nature of Things, and said he was wiser than the *Abderites* themselves. At last he died in the hundredth Year of his Age, being never married. He was a Fore-runner of *Epicurus*, teaching for most Part the same System as he did afterwards. The Emperor *Julian* tells (d), *That Darius King of Persia* being very grieved for the Loss of his beautiful Wife, *Democritus* offered to raise her to Life, providing he would write on her Tomb the Names of three Persons who had never suffered any Grief or Affliction during their whole Life: But this Condition could not be performed.

Protagoras was Contemporary with *Democritus*: For his Opinions about the Gods he was banished *Athens*, and his Books burnt in the open Market-place. *Anaxarchus* was contemporary with *Alexander* the Great, and lived at his Court. He was a great Enemy to *Nicocreon* King of *Cyprus*; and being casually cast upon the Shore of *Cyprus*, after the Death of his great Protector, *Nicocreon* caused take him and pound him in a Mortar with Iron Pestils.

Pyrrho an *Elean*, the Founder of the *Sceptic* Sect, was the Son of one *Plistarchus*, of a mean Extraction. He seems to have been born about the hundred and first *Olympiad*, that is, about the Year of the World 3574. At first he was but a sorry Painter; but afterwards he applied himself to Philosophy, and attended *Anaxarchus* as his Master, with whom he went with *Alexander* the Great's Army, wherever they marched; and had Occasion to converse with the *Persian Magi* and the *Gymnosophists* of *India*. He introduced a new Way of Philosophising, by asserting nothing, but leaving all Things in Suspense. Hence his Doctrine was called *Sceptic*, from its continual Inspection, and never finding. Agreeable to his Philosophy was the Course of his Life; for he took no Care to avoid Dangers: So that the Safety of his Person

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(a) Si foret Empedocles sua nunc post busta superstes, Non daret Ætnæ membra cremanda rogo. (b) *Laetius* Plutarchus de placitis Philosophorum (c) *Laetius*. (d) *Epist.* 37.

was owing to his Friends and not to himself. And 'tis said, when his Master *Anaxarchus* fell into a Ditch, he went on without offering to help him; for which his Master commended his Indifference and want of Compunction, tho' others affirm that these Things were devised by Persons of no Integrity, on Purpose to ridicule him (a). He died in the nintieth Year of his Age, leaving no Writings behind him. *Timon* a *Philasian* embraced his Doctrine, and propagated the Sect of the *Sceptics*. The learned *Peter Huet* Bishop of *Auranches*, brings in most of the Heathen Philosophers (b) under this Denomination of *Doubters*.

The last of the *Greek* Philosophers that I shall take particular Notice of, is *Epicurus* the Son of *Neocles*. He was born at *Athens*, in the third Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, 340 Years before the Birth of Christ, but spent most part of his Youth at *Samos*, with his Father and Brethren; which occasioned that of *Timon* in *Laertius*, That *Epicurus* was the last of the *Natural Philosophers* that came out of *Samos*. There he was a Schoolmaster, and one of the two thousand *Athenians* sent to *Samos* to share the Land by Lots. He began to study Philosophy about the fourteenth Year of his Age, but did not erect his philosophic School at *Mitylene* till he was thirty two Years old. At first he professed himself a Disciple of *Democritus*; but having afterwards added and altered many things in that System, the Sect assumed the Title of *Epicurean*; and their Master taught them in a pleasant Garden which he purchased at *Athens*, and sometimes retired to *Melite*, where he had a House that belonged to his Ancestors. He lived all his Days a Batchellor, and had Disciples flocking to him from all Parts of *Greece*, and also from *Asia* and *Egypt*. His three Brethren, and *Metrodorus* of *Lampsacum*, were his Assistants, and all lived in great Friendship. He is said to have wrote above three hundred Volumes (c), containing mainly his own Thoughts, without borrowing from other Authors: But all these are now lost. He was of a weakly Constitution of Body; and in the seventy first Year of his Age, he died of the Gravel. The Succession of the *Epicurean* School continued from his Death to the Time of *Julius Cæsar*. In *Cicero's* Time this Sect was very numerous; and long after that, in the third and fourth Centuries of the Christian Æra, we find them flourishing (d), when the Succession of other *Greek* Philosophers was almost extinct. *Lucretius Carus*, a *Roman* Poet, who flourished while *Cæsar* was Dictator, in his six Books, *De rerum natura*, hath preserved the System of *Epicurus's* natural Philosophy, and hath transmitted the same to Posterity in fine *Latin* Verse. *Peter Gassendus*, a *Frenchman*, born in the Year of our Lord 1592, and who died in 1655, hath reformed, purged out many gross Errors out of that Philosophy, revived it, and recommended it to the World by several Books which he hath published on that Subject. His *Institutio Philosophiæ*, printed at *London* in 1660, now before me, might be still useful in the Schools. Mr. *Charleton* and others have improved it. I do not design to enlarge on *Epicurus's* System: Those who desire to be acquainted with it, may consult the Writings of *Gassendus* and others, who have managed and explained this Affair at full Length and with great Exactness. I shall only observe, That *Epicurus* and his Followers insist but very little upon the Logics; their main Business was about the Physics and Ethics. As to the former, their darling Opinion was, That the Universe is composed of Bodies, and of vacuum, or Place. A Body, according to them, is a Magnitude, accompanied with Figure, Solidity, Impenetrability and Gravity: Whereas a vacuum is a Negation of all these. The Universe is immutable, immovable, and eternal, composed by the various Revolutions of Atoms; which Notion I have refuted in the Entry of this Work. The several Phænomenons that appear in Nature, they solve by the Laws of Matter and Motion. *Epicurus's* Notion concerning the divine Nature is to be detested: He affirms, That God is not so much a Body, as something like a Body, being neither transitory, generated nor perishable, but possessed of infinite Bliss, so as neither to be disturbed by Business himself, nor to trouble any other. But the absolutely perfect God is endowed with infinite Wisdom, and such an almighty Power as can admit of no Fainting nor Weariness: Consequently he must by his perfect Wisdom equally know, and by his perfect Power equally preserve and govern all things with equal Care, the least as well as the greatest. The Creatures which God hath made cannot be one Moment independent, but must depend on their Creator, who knows all their State and Condition, who is ever present with them, perfectly good and benevolent towards them, and of almighty Power to protect them. If it were otherwise, he must be limited and contracted, which is contrary to his infinite Nature; his Perfections must be denied, and consequently his Being: But nothing is unworthy of his Care which he himself thought worthy of his Creation. But of the Being, Perfection and Providence of God, I have discoursed at greater length in another Essay (e). As to *Epicurus's* Ethics; he maintained, That our great Happiness consisted in Pleasure: By which I do not find that he meant sensual Pleasures, (for *Laertius* and other antient Writers give no Notion of *Epicurus* as a Sensualist; they rather vindicate him from this

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(a) Huet on the Weakness of humane Understanding, p. 97. (b) Idem, or his Philosophical Treatise of the Weakness, &c. Book 1. cap. 14. pag. 74. — 126. English Edition. (c) *Laertius de Epicuro*. (d) *Lactantius de falsa sapientia*, lib. 3. cap. 17. p. m. 246. *Euseb. de Præp. Evang.* lib. 14. (e) *Hist. Propagat. Christianity*, Vol. 1. chap. 1, p. 1, — 138.

this Calumny) but in the Pleasure of the Mind. Hence *Epicurus* and his Followers maintain'd inviolable Friendship : Tho', alas ! none of those Heathens knew the supreme Happiness of the rational Soul, consisting in the Enjoyment of God our Creator and Redeemer begun in this Life, and the Hopes of the complete Fruition of him in the Life to come. As to the other Parts of his Ethics, upon the moral and social Vertues, I do not stay upon them. Blessed be God, *we have a more sure word of prophecy*, which teaches us not only true and excellent Piety, but also more refin'd Morality than any Heathen Moralist ever advanced.

These were the chief *Greek* Philosophers before the Birth of Christ. I know there were other Pagan Philosophers, in the second, third and fourth Centuries of the Christian Church, whose Lives are writ by *Eunapius* : They were all great Enemies to the Propagation of Christianity, and as such, I have considered them in another Essay (a). They make no such Figure in History as those already described : And at present I have only undertaken to notice the History of Heathen Nations before the Birth of Christ. Those who desire to be further informed of those later *Greek* Philosophers may consult *Eunapius* ; and I find him done into *English* by an anonymous, but who seems to be a learned and judicious Author, whom some (b) take to be *Monfieur de Fenelon* Archbishop of *Cambray*, in a Book now before me, intituled, *The Lives of the ancient Philosophers*, &c. with an Appendix, containing the Lives of later Philosophers, not confined to particular Sects, taken from *Eunapius*, and an Account of Women Philosophers, printed in a large *Octavo*, at *London*, 1702.

§ 5. I proceed now to the *Affairs of Greece*. *Monfieur Du-pin*, in his *Universal Library of Historians before Alexander the Great*, hath given us an Abstract of the Histories of *Herodote*, *Thucidydes* and *Xenophon*, where several Things might occur that have been already opened : I shall not then follow that Method, but shall endeavour to offer a compendious Narrative of the *Lives of their great Men and chief Captains*, which will lead us into the principal Affairs of *Greece* that have not been before explained.

To begin with *Theseus* : He was the Son of *Ægeus* King of *Athens*, and of *Æthra* the Daughter of *Pitheus*. *Plutarch* hath wrote his Life, but gives no exact Character to discern the Time wherein he lived ; only he tells us, that it was a little before the Wars of *Troy*, that is, as I suppose, about the Beginning of *Solomon's* Reign in *Judea*. The same Author (c) assures us, *That all before this is only strange Sayings, full of monstrous Fables, contrived by the Poets, which are altogether uncertain and most untrue* : And he compares *Theseus* with *Romulus*, because both were Bastards, reported to be the Seed of the Gods ; both were of strong Bodies ; the one of them built *Rome*, and the other *Athens*, the two most noble Cities of the World. *Greece* was then full of Depredations and Robberies ; but *Theseus* being grown up to a Man's Age, killed and drove away many of the Robbers, and freed the Country from Monsters. Then he went on to deliver it from foreign Slavery. The *Athenians* having barbarously murdered *Androgeus*, the Son of *Minos* King of *Crete*, were obliged by the old King to send a novennial, or a septennial, or, as others, an annual Tribute of seven young Men and as many Virgins into *Crete* ; where 'tis said they were shut up within a Labyrinth, in which they wandered about, till finding no Mean of Escape, they perished with Hunger, or else were devoured by a Minotaur, a terrible Monster, compounded of the dreadful Shapes of Man and Bull ; or, as others (d) think, these young Men were given to be Slaves to one *Taurus* an adulterous Offspring of Queen *Pasiphae*, a great Wrestler, and commonly Victor at the publick Games in that Island. At the Time of sending the Tribute, *Theseus* was put among the Youths doom'd to go to *Crete* ; where being arrived, *Ariadne* the Daughter of King *Minos* fell in love with him, and gave him a Clew of Thread to conduct him through the Windings of the Labyrinth, by which Assistance he escaped out of it, having first killed the Minotaur, or, as others, defeated *Taurus* the great Wrestler. Then he returned with his fellow Citizens ; but in an Excess of Joy, forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the Token of their Safety. Whereupon *Ægeus*, who sat expecting them on the Top of a Rock, as soon as their Ship came in view, with a black or mourning Sail, knowing nothing of their Success, threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so made way for his Son's more early Accession to the Crown. *Theseus*, upon his Advancement, finding it inconvenient to have his People dispersed in Villages canton'd up and down the Country, framed a Project to gather all the People in *Attica* into one Town, encouraging them by the Promises of a Commonwealth, whereby the Government should be in the Hands of the People ; which they all agreed to. He dissolved distinct Courts of Justice, Council-halls and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* or Council-hall, which remained for a long Time (e). Out of the old and new City he made one called *Athens*, ordained a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observed, called *Panathenæa*, or, *The Sacrifice of all the united Athenians*. To enlarge the City further, he invited all Strangers to enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives, and then laid down his Charge,

(a) Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 1. Chap. 3 and 4. (b) Memoirs of Literature, Art. 43. (c) Plutarchus in Theseo, non longè ab initio. (d) Ibid. Vide etiam Jo. Meursium in Theseo, p. 36 & seqq. (e) Potter's Antiquities of Greece, Vol. 1. p. 11.

and settled a Commonwealth. After all his Services, he was ungratefully used by the *Athenians*, being banished, and forced to flee to the Isle of *Scyros*; where he was thrown over a Rock and killed by *Lycomedes*, who reigned there.

Lycurgus, the Son of *Polydectes* the Brother of *Eunomus*, (or, as other Authors (a) affirm, the Son of *Eunomus*) King of *Lacedæmon*, was the great Lawgiver of that State. *Eusebius* (b) placeth him about a hundred Years before the *Olympiads*; *Helvicus* (c) and others follow him: But I find *Plutarch* (d), from *Aristotle*, takes him to have lived in the Time of *Iphitus*, and that by his Advice the Regulations were made concerning the *Olympic Games*; and therefore I conceive it likely that he flourished about the Beginning of the *Olympiads*; that is, in the Year of the World 3174, the thirty eighth Year of *Uzziab* King of *Judah*. Indeed 'tis hard to be positive as to those antient Times of *Greece*; for, as *Plutarch* (e) also observes, there is such a Contrariety among Historians, that one knows not well what to fix upon: And if it was so in *Plutarch's* Days, 'tis much more so in ours, when many of the *Greek* Authors he had seen are now lost, without hope of Recovery. *Lycurgus* travelled over the Cities of *Greece*, *Crete*, and several Parts of *Asia* and *Afric*, to learn Wildom; and returning to *Lacedæmon*, gave Laws to that Commonwealth, ordering the Senate to consist of twenty eight Persons, who with the two Kings made up the Number of thirty. He made an equal Division of the Lands among the Citizens, forbade all Coins in Gold or Silver to be current (f), whereby he prevented Luxury, foreign Merchandice, Encouragements to Orators, Lawyers, Poets, and others of that kind. He appointed all the Citizens to keep a common Table of ordinary Fare, and that both Men and Women should harden themselves, by running, wrestling, and the like Exercises: And (which savours of heathenish Barbarity) he decreed, That a Man was not to be blamed, who being advanced in Years, and having a young Wife, brought a handsome Man home to his House to get his Wife with child, and owned that Child so procreated for his own; and if Parents found their Children deformed, mis-shap'd, lean or pale, they should throw them into a Pit, it not being fit for the Commonwealth that such should live (g). He allowed Children to steal, if they could do it so as not to be discovered. He taught the *Lacedæmonians* to bring in their Prisoners, when drunk to excess, into their common Halls, that Children might abhor Intemperance, and to sing immodest Songs, and act ugly Dances, unfit for honest Men. *Lycurgus* did not commit his Rules to Books, nor to any Writing; but established them in the Form of Government, which no Man ever before (says *Plutarch*) invented, nor could the like ever after be followed. At last, being old, and having got his Laws authorised by the *Delphic Oracle*, he starved himself to Death; and the *Lacedæmonians* did great Honour to his Memory.

I have discoursed of *Solon* the *Athenian* Lawgiver under the Head of Philosophers (b); and now that Republick being pretty well established, did produce many noble Captains and military Men, of great Valour and Conduct; among whom *Miltiades* the Son of *Cimon*, of an eminent and noble Descent, deserves the first Place. The *Athenians* being to send a Colony to the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where they might meet with Opposition (i), were advised by the *Delphic Oracle* to employ *Miltiades* to command in the Expedition; which he performed with such Success, as to bring that whole Country, and also, as he returned, several Isles of the *Cyclades* into subjection to *Athens*. At that time, *Darius Hystaspis* King of *Persia* being highly offended at the Part which the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* had acted, in burning of *Sardis*, a rich City in the Lesser *Asia*, sent a great Army, under the Command of *Datis* the Median, and *Artaphernes* the Persian, his Brother's Son, late Governör of *Sardis*, giving them particular Charge to execute Revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*. On their Arrival in the Coasts of *Ionia*, they drew together an Army of three hundred thousand Men (k), with a Fleet of six hundred Ships; and in the Beginning of the Spring, having shipped their Army, they rendezvoused their whole Fleet at *Samos*, and thence sailed to *Naxos*; where having burnt the chief City in the Island, with all the *Grecian* Temples, they shaped their Course directly for *Eretria*, and after a Siege of seven Days, took that City by the treachery of some of its Inhabitants, and burnt it to the Ground, making the People they found in it Captives: Then passing over into *Attica*, they were led by *Hippias*, late Tyrant of *Athens*, into the Plains of *Marathon*. The *Athenians* having little Time to prepare against so formidable an Enemy, sent to *Lacedæmon* for Help; but none came in Time. *Miltiades* advised them not to confide in their Walls, but to venture a Camp by Land; and he being again chosen Commander, rendezvoused ten thousand *Athenians*, with one thousand Men from *Platea*, and with this small Army routed the numerous Host of the *Persians*, in the Field of *Marathon*, with great Slaughter; forced the Remainder to retreat to their Ships, and sail back to *Asia* with Disgrace, having lost in this Expedition a great Number of Men (l). *Miltiades* returned to *Athens* with

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Victory;

(a) Meursius de regno Lacedæmoniorum, p. 73. (b) In Chronico, fol. 41. (c) In Theatro historico, p. 49. (d) In Lycurgo, ab initio. (e) Ibid. (f) Xenophon de republica Lacedæmoniorum, operum p. 675. (g) Plutarchus in Lycurgo (h) Above, p. 279, 280. (i) Corn. Nepos in Miltiade. (k) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 95, — 117. Plutarchus in Aristide. (l) Above, p. 241.

Victory; and all the Honour that was done him, was only, that the Battle of *Marathon* was painted over a Porch, and he was represented among the rest of the Officers encouraging his Men to the Fight (*a*). After this the *Athenians* gave *Miltiades* a Fleet of seventy Gallies, to make War on those Isles who had assisted the *Persians*. With this Force he punished some, made others submit, and besieged the chief City of the Island *Paros*, for refusing the Terms of Peace that were offered. While he was carrying on this Siege, a great Fire was seen in the Night-time in a Wood on the neighbouring Land, which being mistaken for the *Persian* Fleet coming to assist the *Parians*, *Miltiades* burnt his Machines employed in the Siege, and failed off. Upon his Return, the *Athenians* accused him of Treachery. His Brother defended his Cause, himself being then sick of some Wounds he had got: And tho' he was acquit from a Sentence of Death, yet he was fined in fifty Talents, that is, about thirty thousand Crowns; which he being unable to pay, was cast in Prison, where he died. Perhaps the *Athenians* feared that the Reputation he had gained by the Victory at *Marathon* might encourage him to affect Sovereignty over their City, which they took care to prevent: But this was a bad Requital for so signal Services.

The next famous *Grecian* Captain who comes on the Field, is *Themistocles*; a Man more renowned for his Vertue than for his Birth. He was so wild in his Youth, that his Father disinherited him (*b*); but instead of daunting, this did rather raise his Wit and Courage: For he gave early Discoveries of his great Genius even when a Boy at School (*c*), and when a Youth at the Battle of *Marathon*. Soon after this, he was often employed to judge private Affairs; and his Advice was also taken about the publick Safety, because he was found to have a great Dexterity, both in Contrivance and Execution. Being created Prætor for managing the War against *Corcyra*, he rendered the *Athenians* not only fit for that, but also for future Expeditions, by putting them on building a Fleet of a hundred Ships, out of the publick Stock arising from the Silver Mines, formerly distributed among the People. By this Fleet they cleared the adjacent Seas of Pirates, and rendered Commerce safe. But a greater Cloud was gathering against *Greece*: For *Darius Hystaspis* not having been able to the Day of his Death to execute his Revenge on the *Athenians*, for the Hand they had in the Burning of *Sardis*, and for the Affront he had sustained by them at the Battle of *Marathon*, left this to be performed by *Xerxes*, his Son and Successor; who entered into a League with the *Carthaginians*, whereby it was agreed, *That while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on all those who were of the Grecian Name in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one another.* The *Carthaginians* made Choice of *Hamilcar* to be their General; who raised what Forces he could in *Africa*; and with the Money remitted to him by *Xerxes*, hired others out of *Spain*, *Gaul* and *Italy*, to prosecute the Design of the League, to the Number of three hundred thousand Men (*d*), with a proportionable Fleet. Thus *Xerxes*, as foretold by *Daniel*, (*e*) by his strength and great riches, stirred up (almost all the known World) against the realm of *Grecia*; and in the Tenth Year of his Reign, which was the

Ant. C. 481. Tenth after the Battle of *Marathon*, set out from *Susa* to begin the War; and having marched as far as *Sardis*, wintered there (*f*). Early next Spring he set out for the *Hellepont*, over which two Bridges of Boats being laid, one for his Army and the other for his Carriages, he passed over in seven Days. Thence marching to *Doriscus*, at the Mouth of the River *Hebrus* in *Thrace*, he encamped his Army, ordering his Fleet to attend on the adjacent Shore; where he took Account of both. At the same Time he wept on the Thoughts that in less than one hundred Years all these must be gone (*g*). His Land Army on the Muster was found to be One Million seven hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore thousand Horse (*h*), besides Chariots and Camels, which might make twenty thousand more. His Fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven Ships of the Line of Battle, besides Gallies, Transports, Victuallers, and other Ships, which were three thousand more; on board of which were reckoned five hundred sixteen thousand six hundred and ten Men. After passing the *Hellepont*, the Nations on this Side, that submitted to him, added to his Land Army three hundred thousand Men and two hundred and twenty Ships to his Fleet, on board of which were 24,000 Men; all which being put together, make up two Millions, six hundred and twenty thousand, six hundred and ten; and the Servants, Eunuchs, Whores, Women, Sutlers, and such other People as followed the Camp, may be computed to no less than as many more. So that the whole Number of Persons of all Sorts that followed *Xerxes* in this Expedition, seem to be no less than five Millions. This is *Herodote's* Account of them; *Plutarch* (*i*) and *Isocrates* (*k*) agree with him: *Diodorus Siculus* (*l*), *Pliny* (*m*), *Ælian* (*n*), and others fall much short of this Number. But *Herodote* being the most ancient Author who hath written on this War, and having lived in the Age wherein it happened, and treated of it with more exactness than any other, his Computation seemeth most likely to be true; especially, since it is the general Opinion

(a) C. Nepos in Miltiade. (b) Id. in Themistocle. (c) Plutarch. in Themistocle. (d) Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 1. (e) Dan. xi. 2. (f) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 32, 37. (g) Ibidem, cap. 46. (h) Ibidem, cap. 60, 87, 184, ---187. (i) In Themistocle. (k) In Panathenaico. (l) Lib. 11. cap. 3. (m) Lib. 33. cap. 10. (n) Varia historia, lib. 13. cap. 3.

nion of all the Ancients, that this was the greatest Army that ever was brought into the Field ; tho' at the same Time I own, that *Herodote* tells odd strange Stories about it ; as that they digged thro' Mount *Athos*, drank Rivers dry, and that when the Sea broke some of *Xerxes's* Bridges, and drowned some of his Ships by a Tempest, he commanded to scourge the stormy Waves. All yielded to the *Persian*, till he came to the Streights of *Thermopylæ* ; where *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, with three hundred *Spartans*, and as many *Greeks* as made up a Body of four thousand Men, defended the Pass against him. For two Days they made it good against all the numerous Army of the Enemy, repulsing them in every Assault with a great Slaughter ; but on the third Day, being ready to be surrounded by the *Persians*, thro' the Treachery of a certain *Greek*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* (a) calls *Trachinus*, but *Herodote* (b) names him *Epialtes* ; who led them by a secret Way over the Mountains to fall on his Countrymen in the Rear, the greater Part of the *Greeks* retired, save *Leonidas* with his three hundred *Spartans*, and a few others, who chused rather to die than desert them : These resolutely abiding by their Post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the Spot. But the *Persians* paid dear for this Victory, having lost in gaining of it twenty thousand of their Men ; and among them two Brothers of *Xerxes*, named *Abrocomes* and *Hyperranthes*.

After this *Xerxes* entred thro' *Bootia* into *Attica*, having spent in his March (c), since he past the *Hellepont*, four Months, destroying most Places in his Way, and particularly all the *Grecian* Temples. The *Athenians* not being able to defend themselves against so great a Force, deserted their City, putting all their Men and best Effects aboard their Fleet, and securing their Wives and Children in *Salamis*, *Ægina* and *Træzene* ; which by the Sea intervening, were out of the Reach of the Enemy : So that on *Xerxes's* coming, he was Master of *Athens* without Opposition. In the mean time *Themistocles*, Admiral of the *Athenians*, having perswaded them, by pretending an Oracle, to save themselves in Walls of Wood ; and the *Persian* and *Grecian* Fleets lying near each other at *Artemisium* above *Eubæa*, had several Encounters with one another, in each of which the *Grecians* had the Advantage, their Ships being low built, snug (d), and more fit for the War than those of the *Persians*. These Advantages served to shew, that the Enemy was not invincible. But the *Athenians* having their Ships shattered, they were obliged to come into the Streights of *Salamis* to refit ; where they were reinforced by Ships sent from other Parts of *Greece* to their Assistance, till at length they made up a Fleet of above three hundred Sail. The Streights of *Salamis* was the most advantageous Place for the *Greek* Fleet to fight the numerous Ships of the Enemy ; for the *Persians*, by Reason of the Narrowness of that Sea, not being able to extend their Front beyond that of the *Greeks*, could there have no Advantage from their Numbers ; but tho' their Fleet was four Times as great, must in that Place fight upon equal Terms : Which *Themistocles* having wisely observed, did by his Prudence and Dexterity bring it to pass, that there it came to a Battle between them ; wherein the *Grecians*, by the Advantage of the Place, gained the Victory, and gave their Enemies such an Overthrow, as wholly dashed all the Designs of this prodigious Expedition ; which was one of the greatest, both for Expence and Number of Men, that ever was undertaken : For they having destroyed two hundred of the *Persian* Ships, besides these which they took, the rest fled away to the *Asian* Coast ; and having set in at *Cyma* (e), a City of *Æolia*, they there laid up for the Winter, and never came again into *Greece*. And *Xerxes* being frightened with an Apprehension that the Conquerors would sail to the *Hellepont*, demolish his Bridge of Boats, and obstruct his Return, (which *Themistocles* of Design caused (f) be told him) fled with all Haste and Precipitation. Having left *Mardonius* with three hundred thousand Men to carry on the War in *Greece*, who were afterwards defeated in the Battle of *Platea*, as shall be narrated in the Life of *Pausanias*, the King himself marched back with the rest to *Sardis*, and there took up his Winter-quarters for the ensuing Year. And it is remarkable, that at his coming to the *Hellepont*, finding the Bridge of Boats which he had left there broken by Storms, he who had past over that Sea but a few Months before with such Pomp and Pride, was forced to repass it in a poor Fisher-boat in great Distress (g).

About the same Time the *Carthaginians*, then confederated with the *Persians*, met with as great an Overthrow in *Sicily* ; for *Hamilcar* their General transported his numerous Army in two thousand Ships ; and having landed them at *Panormus* a Port in *Sicily*, laid Siege to *Himera*. *Gelo* was then King of *Sicily*, a Prince of great Wisdom, Conduct and Valour, who having drawn together an Army of fifty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, marched against the Enemy. Finding by intercepted Letters that *Hamilcar* was to celebrate a Feast to *Neptune* with his Marines next Morning, and had ordered his *Selinuntine* Horse then to wait on him, *Gelo* sent in a Party of his own Horse, who being received for *Selinuntines*, first slew *Hamilcar*, and then set his Fleet on Fire. Having Notice of the Success (h) of this Strata-

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(a) Lib. 11. cap. 8. (b) Lib. 7. cap. 214. (c) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 34, ---51. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 14, 15. Plutarchus in Themistocle. (d) See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. 2. p. 129, ---172. (e) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 130. (f) Ibid. cap. 110. (g) Ibid. cap. 118. (h) Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 20, ---24.

gem by an appointed Signal, he gave the Enemy Battle. In the Time of the Action, the *Carthaginians* seeing their Fleet on Fire; and a Messenger at the same Time bringing them Account of the Death of their General, they were so confounded that they were soon put to the Rout, and *Gelo* slew of them One hundred and fifty thousand, and took as many Prisoners as he pleased. The Defeat was so entire, that few returned to carry the dismal News to *Carthage*: And it happened that the same Day *Leonidas* was slain at *Thermopylae*.

When the War with *Xerxes* was ended *Themistocles* took Care to rebuild the Walls of *Athens*, and to make their *Piræum* a more convenient Port than formerly. But by advancing the Interest of the *Athenians*, he drew upon himself the bitter Enmity of the *Lacedemonians*, who were jealous of the flourishing of their rival State. And at last they prevailed to have him banished for five (a) Years by an *Ostracism*, which was a Way whereby the *Athenians*, for securing their Liberty, used to suppress those who were of great Power. He went to *Argos*; and the *Lacedemonians* taking the Advantage of his Absence, presented an Accusation against him before the general Council of *Greece*, then met at *Sparta*. He not daring to trust his Cause where his Enemies prevailed, retired first to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, thence to *Cyma* in the lesser *Asia*; where hearing that *Xerxes* had put a Price of two hundred Talents on his Head, which amounts to 37500 *lib. sterl.* and fearing that some body or other would hunt for the Reward, to avoid this Danger, he conveyed himself to *Susa* in a close Chariot; where being introduced by *Artabanus* into the Presence of *Xerxes*, he frankly told that he was *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; and tho' he had done the King great Hurt in the Wars, yet he had in many things also served him; particularly by hindering the *Greeks* after the Battle of *Salamis* from pursuing him, to obstruct his Retreat over the *Hellepont*; for which he was now driven out of his own Country, and had fled to him for Refuge. *Xerxes* at first said nothing to him, but was well pleased to see so great a Man as *Themistocles* come to him for Protection. At the next Audience the King told he owed him two hundred Talents, the Price set on his Head, and desired to hear him concerning the Affairs of *Greece*; but he excused himself till he had learned the *Persian* Language; that he might speak without an Interpreter, which in a Year's Time he attained, and grew so far in the King's Favour, that he assigned him an Equipage and Servants, with the yearly Revenue of three Cities, *Magnesia*, *Myrus* and *Lampsacus*, for his Maintenance, amounting to one hundred and fifty Talents a-year, which is little less than thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling*. Here he lived in a splendid Manner till the Death of *Xerxes*, and for some Years of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* his Son. At last *Artaxerxes* ordered *Themistocles* to command an Expedition against the *Athenians*. He not knowing how to refuse the Orders of a Prince to whom he was so much obliged, and being also unwilling to bring a War upon his own Country, invited his Friends together to an Entertainment; and having sacrificed a Bull, drank a large Draught of his Blood, and so died, in the sixty fifth Year of his Age (b), before our Saviour's Birth 458 Years. *Cornelius Nepos* (c), from *Thucydides*, says that he died of Sicknefs; but the above Account, given by *Plutarch*, is as generally gone into by Historians.

Aristides, the Son of *Lyfimachus* the *Athenian*, was contemporary with *Themistocles*, or a little elder than he; for *Aristides* was *Archon* or Mayor of *Athens*, at the Time of the Battle of *Marathon* (d), when the former was only a Youth. He has the Character of an impartial and very just Man, both in publick and private Affairs. *Themistocles* was his constant Enemy, and prevailed so far, as to have him banished *Athens* by an *Ostracism* for ten Years. The Manner of inflicting this Censure was thus: The Body of the People wrote the Person's Name they had a mind to condemn on a Shell, and threw those Shells into a railed Place of the Street appointed for that Use: The Magistrates counting the Shells; if they found the Person complain'd of had six thousand Votes of the Citizens against him, by his Name marked on those Shells, then he was declared a banished Man by Sound of Trumpet. But *Xerxes* having invaded *Greece* three Years after *Aristides*'s Banishment, the *Athenians* found it necessary to recall him; and indeed he proved a very useful Citizen to them during the whole Time of that War: For he was a faithful Counsellor and Assistant to *Themistocles* at the Sea-fight in the Streights of *Salamis*, and had the Command of the *Athenian* Army in the Battle of *Platæa*; where his Authority, Equity and Conduct did help to compose and prevent Differences among the *Grecians*, and did not a little contribute to that great Victory. Notwithstanding his publick Employments, he was so poor, that he was buried at the publick Charge; and the *Athenians* took care to marry his Daughters, and to give his Son a Maintenance. He died four Years after *Themistocles*'s Banishment (e).

Pausanias King of *Lacedæmon* flourished about the same Time with *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. The most memorable Action of his Life, was while General of the confederate Army of *Greece* against the *Persians* at the Battle of *Platæa*. On *Xerxes*'s Departure out of *Greece*, after his Fleet was defeat in the Streights of *Salamis*, he left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant to carry

Ant. C.
479.

(a) Plutarchus in Themistocle. (b) Ibid. (c) In Themistocle. (d) Plutarchus in Aristide. (e) C. Nepos in Aristide.

ry on the War against the *Grecians* by Land. *Mardonius* having wintered his Army in *Thes-
saly* and *Macedonia*, early next Spring marched with it into *Bœotia*. From hence he sent
Alexander King of *Macedon* to *Athens* with Proposals of Accommodation; offering in the King
of *Persia*'s Name to rebuild at his Charges whatever had been burnt or demolished in *Attica*
the former Year (a); and to permit them to live according to their own Laws. But the *A-
thenians* could not be induced at any rate to desert the Interest of *Greece*, nor to make a
League with the Barbarians, who had demolished and burnt the Temples of their Deities (b);
and therefore refused to hearken to their Proposals. Whereupon *Mardonius* being enraged (c),
marched with all his Army into *Attica*, destroying every thing wherever he came; and en-
tering *Athens*, burnt and demolished whatever he found there standing after the former Year's
Devastation: For the *Athenians* not being strong enough to resist such a Torrent, had for a
second Time withdrawn to *Salamis*, *Ægina* and *Træzene*, and left their own City empty. In
the mean time the joint Forces of all *Greece* being drawn up at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mar-
donius* thought fit to march back again to *Bœotia*: For that being an open level Country, was
by far fitter for him to fight in than *Attica*; which being rough, craggy, and full of Hills and
Defiles, could not afford him room to draw up his numerous Forces, nor Ground proper for
his Cavalry. Besides, if he should be put to the worse in *Attica*, he feared his whole Army
would be cut off before they could pass the Streights of *Thermopylæ*. The *Greeks* marched
after him, under the Command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*. They consisted of a hundred and
twenty thousand Men, and the *Persians* of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith *Herodote* (d);
of five hundred thousand, says *Diodorus Siculus* (e). *Mardonius* finding himself straitned for
Provisions to so great an Army, resolved to fight next Day; which was intimate to *Pausanias*,
General of the *Greeks*, in the Night-time, by *Alexander* King of *Macedon*, one of *Alexander*
the Great's Predecessors (f). So both Sides prepared for a decisive Battle; in which *Mar-
donius* was slain, and the *Persian* Army cut in Pieces. *Plutarch* (g) says, That the *Greeks*
lost only thirteen hundred and sixty Men, and that the Battle was fought on the fourth Day of
the Month *Boedromion*, which corresponds with our *July*. But as to the *Persians*, only *Ar-
tabazus*, who was aware of the Event, from the ill Conduct he had observed in *Mardonius*,
made an early Escape with forty thousand Men he commanded (h); and by his Speed out-
marching the Fame of the Defeat, got safe to *Byzantium*, and there passed over into *Asia*.
Besides these, not four thousand (i) of all the rest escaped the dreadful Carnage of that Day;
but were all slain or cut in Pieces. Their rich Tents, the Utensils of their Table, made of
Silver and Gold, their Baggage and Treasures were all taken by the *Greeks* (k): And this
quite delivered them from all further Invasions of that People; for from that Time a *Persian*
Army was never more seen on this Side the *Hellespont*.

On the same Day the naval Forces of the *Greeks* (l) got a memorable Victory over the Re-
mainder of the *Persian* Fleet in *Asia*: For the *Greeks* being rendezvoused at *Ægina*, under
the Command of *Leutyrbides* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, there came to
them Ambassadors from the *Ionians*, to invite them to deliver the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*, and
acquainting them also, that the *Persian* Fleet was then at *Samos*, and might there easily be de-
stroyed. Whereupon the *Grecian* Fleet, consisting of two hundred and fifty Sail, steered to-
ward *Samos* (m). The *Persians* hearing of their Approach, retired to *Mycale*, a Promontory
on the Continent of *Asia*, and there drew their Ships on Land, fortifying them with a strong
Rampart. The *Greeks* following them, by the Assistance of the *Ionians* vanquished their Ar-
my at Land, destroying forty thousand Men; took their Rampart, and burnt all their Ships.
Here ends the History of *Herodotus*; and here endeth all the great Designs of *Xerxes* against
Greece, in a great Disappointment. And hereby we have a signal Instance, that whatever the
Pride of Man may design, or the Power of Man think to effect, 'tis still the Providence of
God that governeth the World; and turneth all the Affairs thereof what Way soever he plea-
seth. After this Battle at *Mycale*, the *Grecian* Fleet sailed to the *Hellespont*, to seize the
Bridges *Xerxes* had laid over those Streights: But they found them all broken by Storms.
Then *Leutyrbides* with the *Lacedemonians* sailed home; but *Xantippus*, with the *Athenians*
and Allies of *Ionia*, made themselves Masters of *Sestos* and of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where
they took much Spoil and many Prisoners; and finding the Materials of *Xerxes*'s Bridge at
Cardia, they carried Part of the same with them to *Athens*, as a Memorial of their Victories;
and after this they sailed to *Cyprus*, where they freed several *Grecian* Cities from the *Persian*
Yoke.

Pausanias ascribing to himself the Honour of the great Victory at *Platea*, became exceed-
ing insolent; and having taken several *Persians* of eminent Note, some of the Kindred of
Xerxes, Prisoners at *Byzantium*, he entered into a Treaty with them to betray *Greece* (n), upon

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(a) Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 28. (b) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 140, — 144. (c) Idem, lib. 9. cap. 1, — 14. (d) Ibid. cap. 28, — 32. (e) Lib. 11. cap. 33. (f) Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 44. (g) In Aristide. (h) Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 33. Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 63. (i) Ibid. cap. 69. (k) Ibid. cap. 79, — 82. (l) Ibid. cap. 89. (m) Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. cap. 34, — 38. Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 89 & seqq. (n) Corn. Nepos in Pausania. Plutarch. in Aristide.

Condition *Xerxes* would give him one of his Daughters in Marriage ; which being agreed to by *Xerxes*, *Pausanias* took on him to live after another Rate than formerly, affecting the Grandeur of the *Persians*, and carrying himself haughtily to his Allies ; which they not being able to bear, put themselves under the *Athenians* ; who thus gained the Command at Sea, which they held for many Years. The *Lacedemonians* having received an Account of these Mis-carriages, deposed *Pausanias* from his Command ; and recalling him home, put him under a Fine and publick Censure. Notwithstanding this, next Year he went again to the *Hellefpont*, without any Commission, in a hired Ship, pretending to serve as a Volunteer against the *Persians*, but really to carry on his treasonable Designs with *Artabazus*. Whereupon the *Athenians* accused him, and drove him thence. The *Lacedemonians* summoned him home by a publick Officer ; and upon his Return one of the *Ephori* would have made him Prisoner, but he fled to the Temple of *Minerva*, where they immured (a) and put him to Death, in the Year 475 before the Birth of Christ.

About this Time *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* did notable Services to the *Athenians*. His Mother's Name was *Hegesipyle*, Daughter of *Olorus* ; which *Olorus* was Father to *Thucydides* the Historian (b). His Father *Miltiades* died in Prison, as we have already heard (c) ; and his Son *Cimon* being also detained there till he paid his Father's Fine, which he was unable to do, he was relieved in this Manner : *Elpinice*, *Cimon's* Sister and Wife (such Marriages of Children born of the same Father being then usual among the *Athenians* (d)), being asked in Marriage by *Callias* a rich Man, who had gained immense Treasures by the Metal Mines, with an Offer to pay the Sum for which her Husband was detained, she embraced the Offer, for she could not bear it, that the Son of the famous *Miltiades* should languish in a publick Prison. *Cimon* being thus set at Liberty, by his Eloquence and great Wisdom soon got into publick Employments, and being well acquainted with the Politicks of *Athens*, and expert in military Affairs, he became very considerable both among the Citizens and Soldiers. About nine Years after *Xerxes* had fled from *Greece*, *Cimon* commanding an *Athenian* Fleet, conquered *Eione* on the River *Strymon*, with some other Parts of *Thrace*, and then took the Isles of *Scyrus* and *Naxus*, which had revolted. While they were assaulting the last of these, *Themistocles* passed by them (e), as he fled to *Asia*, and with Difficulty escaped falling into their Hands. The next Year *Cimon* sailing from *Athens* with a Fleet of two hundred Sail, passed over into the Coast of *Asia*, where being reinforced with a hundred Sail more, he took the maritime Towns of *Caria* and *Lycia*, driving the *Persians* out of all the Cities they were possessed of in these Parts ; and then hearing that his Enemies had a great Fleet on the Coasts of *Pamphylia*, and were drawing down a considerable Army by Land for some Expedition, he hastned thither with two hundred and fifty Sail of his best Ships in quest of them ; and finding their Fleet of three hundred and fifty Sail at Anchor in the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*, and their Land Army encamped on the Shore hard by, he first assaulted their Fleet ; which being put to the Rout, and having no other Way to flee but up the River, they were all taken with twenty thousand Men in them. While his Forces were thus flushed with Success (f), he put them ashore, and fell on their Land-Army, which he overthrew with a great Slaughter, whereby he got two great Victories on the same Day ; and having got Information that there were eighty more *Phœnician* Ships coming to join the *Persian* Fleet, he surpris'd them in the Harbour before they had any notice of the late Defeat of their Friends, and destroyed every one of them. Then *Cimon* returned Home in great Triumph, and very much enriched and adorned *Athens* with the Spoils got in this successful Expedition. The next Year he sailed to the *Hellefpont*, where falling on the *Persians*, who had taken Possession of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, he drove them out thence, subjecting that Country to the *Athenians*, tho' he had as good a Title to it himself, as being the Principality that belonged to his Father *Miltiades*. After this he subdued the *Thasians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians* ; and landing his Army on the opposite Shore of *Thrace*, he seized all the Gold Mines on these Coasts, and brought under him all that Country as far as *Macedon*, which he might also have gained, if he had pursued his Opportunity ; for omitting of which he was condemned by the *Ostracism* at *Athens* into Banishment for ten Years, as many great Men had been before him. But a War being like to arise between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*, the latter found it necessary to recall *Cimon*, in the fifth Year of his Banishment (g). And indeed he did them signal Services ; for he settled a Peace between these two Cities for five Years : And being sent to command in an Expedition against *Cyprus*, after he had reduced a great Part of that Island, he died there at *Citium*. He was a Man who had acquired considerable Riches, but was very charitable in the use of them ; for he kept an open Table, clothed the naked, fed the poor, allowed them to pluck (h) the Fruits in his own Inclosures, and sometimes buried them at his own Charges.

Pericles, contemporary with *Cimon*, was a noble *Athenian*, the Son of *Xantippus* and *Agarista*

(a) Nepos in Pausania. (b) Plutarchus in Cimone. (c) Above, p. 290. (d) Corn. Nepos in Cimone. (e) Plutarchus in Themistocle. (f) Idem in Cimone. (g) Corn. Nepos in Cimone, cap. 3. 4. (h) Plutarchus in Pericle.

garista, a great Captain, a wise Man, and a good Orator. To satisfy his Inclination for Learning, he studied Philosophy under *Zeno* and *Anaxagoras*, and was a great Proficient. For some Time he declined to meddle in the Affairs of State or War. But after *Aristides* was dead, *Themistocles* had fled into *Persia*, and *Cimon* was employed in the Wars abroad (a), then he began to manage publick Affairs, but so cautiously, as to court the Favour of the common People, for fear of the *Ostracism*. When he appeared in the Pulpit to make any Oration to the People, he delivered what he had diligently prepared, in which he was very elaborate; but all his Speeches are now lost. He was a declared Enemy to *Thucydides* the Historian, and to *Cimon* the famous Captain of the *Athenian* Fleet and Forces, and was a main Instrument in the Banishment of both; yet was willing to recal the latter, when the Exigency of the State required it. In Times of Peace he encouraged publick Games and Feasts, sent Colonies abroad, and made sumptuous Buildings at *Athens*: But is blamed for plunging *Athens* into the *Peloponnesian* War, to prevent his being called to Account for a great Sum expended on publick Works. However, having got the Command of the Army, he obtained a Victory over the *Sicyonians*, plundered *Acarnania*, made a War upon the *Samians*, and took their City after a Siege of nine Months, where *Artemon* an Engineer, who was lame of a Leg, invented the first battering Ram. When the Plague broke out at *Athens* the People began to quarrel with him; and to divert them, he undertook an Expedition against *Epidaurum*; which proving unfortunate, they laid all the Blame upon their Leader, and fined him in fifteen, or, as others say, in fifty Talents, and laid him aside from publick Business; but soon found Reason to desire him to resume it. At last he had the Mortification to see severals of his best Friends and his own Children die of the Pestilence; and he himself was infected also, and died in the Beginning of the eighty eighth *Olympiad*, 428 Years before the Birth of Christ.

The *Peloponnesian* War, wherein all *Peloponnesus*, and especially the *Lacedemonians*, combined against the *Athenians*, began in the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, in the Year from the Creation of the World 3519, before the Birth of Christ 431, three Years before *Pericles*'s Death, and continued twenty seven Years. *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, two of the best Historians *Greece* ever produced, have adorned it by their Writings. It was now about fifty Years since *Xerxes* departed out of *Greece*, during which Time the *Athenians* had grown very powerful by Sea and Land, at Home and Abroad. This made their Neighbours jealous of them, and enter into an Alliance to humble them. I do not design to give all the Events of this War, but only to offer a short Account of the Lives of the principal Captains concerned in it.

To begin with *Nicias* the Son of *Niceratus*; he was a very wealthy *Athenian*, but timorous, who got himself into considerable Offices among his Citizens, about the Time of *Pericles*'s Death. Being General of their Army, he took the Isle of *Cythera* from the *Lacedemonians* (b), and from thence molested their Coast. He recovered several Cities that had revolted from the *Athenians* in *Thrace*, took the Isle *Minoa* and *Nicaea*, defeated the *Corinthians*; and would have concluded a Peace, but was disappointed by *Cleon* and *Brasidas*. However, in the tenth Year of the War, he got a Peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* for fifty Years, which is commonly called the *Peace of Nicias*. But this Treaty, as many others since, was not duly observed; the War revived in a few Years. The *Athenians* being jealous of the Power of their great Men, designed by the *Ostracism* to banish either *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, or *Phæax*. But these three managed the Matter so cunningly, that the Votes fell upon an obscure Fellow, one *Hyperbolus*, which ruined the Reputation of the *Ostracism*, so as it was not afterwards used. When the War kindled up again, the *Athenians*, moved by *Alcibiades*, resolved on an Expedition against *Sicily*, to add that Island to their Conquests; but they did not well consider the Force requisite to effectuate that End. Tho' *Nicias* with all his Eloquence dissuaded the Design, yet they intrusted him with the Command. In executing whereof, he landed his Men, laid Siege to *Syracuse*, and obtained several Advantages. But upon the Arrival of *Gylippus* the *Lacedemonian*, to conduct the *Sicilians*, the good Fortune of *Nicias* began to change. The *Athenians* indeed, at his Desire, sent him a considerable Reinforcement, of about eight thousand Men, under the Command of one *Demosthenes*, whose Rashness helped to ruin the whole Affair: For *Demosthenes*'s Men, with himself, were taken Prisoners; and *Nicias* being sick, and his Army distressed for want of Provisions, were also overcome. The *Sicilians* used the Prisoners very barbarously, which made *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* both to kill themselves; and almost none of the *Athenians* ever returned to their own native Country. *Plutarch* compares this Overthrow to that of *Marcus Crassus* with the *Roman* Army in *Parthia*. This Calamity happened to the *Athenians* in the nineteenth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War.

Alcibiades the Son of *Clinias*, was of an ancient House among the *Athenians*, a very comely Person, but given to his Pleasures, a Scholar, and favourite of *Socrates*, eloquent, and who

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made

(a) *Plutarchus* in *Pericle*. (b) *Idem* in *Nicia*.

made a fine Appearance at the *Olympick Games*. When he came to act a Part in the Commonwealth, he soon prevailed to have the Peace made by *Nicias* broken, to get himself chosen General, and to gain the *Argives*, *Eleans* and *Mantineans* to join in League to support the *Athenian* Interest (a), and to give Orders for fortifying *Athens* by Sea and Land. Being chosen to command in the Expedition against *Sicily*, in Conjunction with *Nicias* and *Lamachus*, he went ; but being accused for breaking the Images of *Mercury*, profaning the sacred Mysteries, and ridiculing the Goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, he was soon recalled ; and finding the Charge like to be proved against him, he concealed himself, and was condemned in Absence, had his Goods confiscated, and the Priests and religious Women were appointed to curse him. Whereon he retired to *Sparta*, where he conformed himself to the Laws of *Lycurgus* ; for *Chamæleon*-like he could turn himself into any Shape. While he was there, he advised the *Lacedemonians* to court an Alliance with the King of *Persia*, and perswaded *Ionia* to revolt from the *Athenians*. During the Course of the *Peloponnesian* War, both Parties had endeavoured to engage the *Persian* to their Side ; but the Policy of the *Persian* was sometimes to help the one and sometimes the other, that the Matter being equally ballanced between them, neither might be at Leisure to trouble that Empire, which had been so long Enemies to both. But in the twentieth Year of the War, *Darius Nothus* then King of *Persia*, observing the *Athenians* to have the Ascendant, especially on the *Asian* Coasts, where they highly provoked him, he entered into an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians* against them, which was treated of by *Tissaphernes* (b), and at last agreed to by both Parties ; whereby the *Persians* were obliged to furnish to the *Lacedemonians* large Subsidies for their Fleet, and the *Lacedemonians* in Consideration thereof, yielded that the *Persian* should have all these Countries and Cities, which he or his Ancestors had at any Time possessed ; which was afterwards limited to the *Asian* Provinces. To return to *Alcibiades* : Notwithstanding the Services he did to the *Lacedemonians*, he found they did not trust him, and that King *Agis* had a particular Quarrel with him for debauching his Wife ; and therefore apprehending himself to be in Danger among them, he put himself under the Protection of *Tissaphernes*, Governor of the Lesser *Asia* ; where he lived as magnificently as the *Persians* themselves. But hearing of the Misfortunes of his dear Countrymen the *Athenians*, by their Loss of *Nicias* and his Army in *Sicily*, and several other Ways, he pitied their Case ; and they finding the Want of him, his Friends easily procured to recall the Sentence against him, with an Order authorising him as their Captain General, and an Invitation to return. He knowing the Factions that were in his City, and the Necessity of their Affairs, thought it most to advantage, to perform some signal Service for them before his Return ; and therefore by his Interest with *Tissaphernes*, he endeavoured with good Success, that the Reinforcement of *Phœnician* Ships which the *Persian* had promised to the *Lacedemonians*, should not be sent them : And finding the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* engaged in a Battle at Sea near *Abydos*, he came in seasonably with eighteen Ships, whereby he not only supported the former, but also gave them the Victory. By the By, we may observe, that their Engagements at Sea in those Days, when they wanted all Fire-arms, was almost (except in some Engines for sinking Ships) like a close Battle at Land, with Sword, Pike and Target. But in short, *Alcibiades* won five Battles by Land and three at Sea against the *Lacedemonians* ; wherein he destroyed two hundred of their Ships (c) : And having recovered *Ionia* in *Asia*, with *Byzantium* in *Europe* to his Country, he returned, and was received with great Joy at *Athens*. Every Body flocked to see him ; his Goods were restored, and the Priests relaxed him from the Curses they had before laid upon him. Being sent out again to the Wars, as Captain General of their Forces by Sea and Land, he found himself straitned for Money to subsist and pay his Navy, of which *Lyfander* his Adversary had plenty from the *Persians* ; which made him sail to *Caria* to provide himself, ordering *Antiochus* his Lieutenant not to fight before his Return ; but he rashly engaging, lost several of the *Athenian* Ships, and was himself killed. Whereupon one *Thrasybulus* the Son of *Thrasion*, accused *Alcibiades* at *Athens*, for neglecting his Charge to follow his Pleasures ; and the fickle Multitude took away his Commission. Soon after this, *Lyfander* the *Lacedemonian*, ruined the *Athenian* Fleet at *Ægos-potamos* or Goats River, and brought many Miseries upon them, as shall be afterwards narrated. *Alcibiades* hearing of these Calamities, and having got a Sum of Money in *Thrace*, went to *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* ; and pitying the Case of his ungrateful Country, resolved on a Journey to the Court of *Artaxerxes Mueion*, hoping there to make such Discoveries of the Plots, which *Cyrus*, that King's Brother, and the *Lacedemonians* were hatching, as might merit his obtaining such Assistance as would set the *Athenians* as high as now they were low. But the *Lacedemonians* fearing the great Genius of the Man, acquainted *Lyfander*, That their Affairs could not long stand, unless he were cut off. Whereupon *Lyfander* sent to *Pharnabazus* to have him put to death, who employed *Magæus* and *Susamithres* to effect it ; who falling upon *Alcibiades*,
at

(a) Plutarchus & Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade. (b) Thucydides, lib. 8. (c) Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade, cap. 5. 6. Xenophon, hist. Græcorum lib. 1.

at his Lodging in a Village in *Phrygia*, set the House on fire (a). He escaping half naked, his Enemies killed him with their Darts. Thus died *Alcibiades*, in the 403d Year before the Birth of Christ, being the second of *Artaxerxes Mnemon's* Reign.

Lyfander was contemporary with *Alcibiades*. Being entrusted with the Command of the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, he acted a very cunning Part: For having got Money in abundance from *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes Mnemon* King of *Persia*, at *Ephesus* he increased the Pay of his Navy, whereby he not only pleased his own Men, but also made many of the *Athenian* Seamen revolt to him, and the rest turn mutinous; and taking the Advantage of *Alcibiades's* Absence, he fought with *Antiochus* his Lieutenant, and took fifteen Gallies from him. Afterwards he gained the City *Lampsacus*; and watching his Opportunity, when the *Athenian* Seamen were ashore, at *Ægos-potamos*, or *Goats River*, he attacked their Fleet, taking and destroying every one of their whole Navy, except one Galley called *Paralos*, and eight Ships (b) that fled with *Conon*. Three thousand *Athenians* were taken, and all put to death. *Athens* it self being blocked up by Sea and Land, was compelled to submit to very hard Conditions: For they were obliged themselves to pull down the long Wall by which the City was joined to the *Piræum* or *Harbour*; to deliver up all their naval Forces, excepting only twelve Ships, and to follow the *Lacedemonians* wherever they should lead them. Yea there was a Consultation held, Whether the City should be wholly destroyed, and the Lands about it laid waste? and *Agis* the *Spartan* had carried it in the Affirmative, had not *Lyfander* opposed him, urging, That one of the Eyes of Greece ought not to be plucked out. However, he forced them to change their Democracy into an Oligarchy, or the Government of the whole People into that of a few, this being the Form which the *Lacedemonians* affected. And here ended the *Peloponnesian* War, the Government of Greece being vested wholly in the Hands of the *Lacedemonians*: But it continued so only for a little Time. The Conquerors imposed upon *Athens* thirty Governors, commonly called *Thirty Tyrants*; who at first seemed to proceed with some Form of Justice, putting to death only some troublesome Fellows; but afterwards, by a Guard obtained from *Sparta*, they dispatched the principal Men of the City, who were like to make any Head against the new Government; yea put to death all the rich Men of the City, that their Money might fall into the Hands of the Tyrants; who were so transported with Cruelty, as every one named his Man whose Goods he would seize upon, the Owners being killed. Hence *Plutarch* compares this Inhumanity to the cruel Proscriptions of *Sylla* at *Rome*. *Lyfander* himself became very proud and imperious: And the Money carried to *Sparta* was like to corrupt the *Lacedemonians*, and make them depart from the Laws of *Lycurgus*; and therefore they laid it up, that it might serve only for the Exigencies of the State. At length, the Remainder of the *Athenians*, the *Thebans*, *Argives* and *Corinthians*, entering into a League to oppose the *Lacedemonians*, *Lyfander* being chosen to command in chief against them, was killed by the *Thebans* at *Haliartus*, 394 Years before the Birth of Christ, or thereby.

The *Athenians* being dreadfully harassed by their thirty Tyrants or new Governors, seventy Men, who had fled to *Thebes* to secure themselves from their Oppression, entered into a Conspiracy to deliver their Country. They chose *Thrasybulus*, the Son of *Lycus* an *Athenian*, a Man of good Fidelity and Courage, to be their Captain, who had done many signal Services to their State in the Time of *Alcibiades* (c). He seized upon *Phyle*, a strong Castle in the Territory of *Athens*; and encreasing in Strength by little and little, so far prevailed against the Tyrants, that they were forced to retire to *Sparta*; and then all their Laws were repealed, and that upstart Form of Government utterly dissolved. Thus the *Athenians* regained their Liberty, four Years after it was lost, and were re-established in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Lands and Fortunes, about the End of the ninety fourth *Olympiad*, 398 Years before the Birth of Christ: And to prevent Quarrels among themselves in Time coming, they proclaimed an Act of Oblivion, wherein all who had been concerned in the Barbarities committed during the Reign of the Tyrants were admitted to Pardon. *Thrasybulus* was crown'd with Olive, with which he thought himself highly honoured. Afterwards, when he commanded the *Athenian* Fleet in *Cilicia*, his Men not being careful to keep strict Guard, his Enemies came upon him, and killed him in his Tent.

Conon the *Athenian* further restored and confirmed the antient Condition of his native City. If we take a more particular View of his Actions, we may observe that he had done several signal Services to his Country in the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War: 'Tis true, at the Battle of *Ægos-potamos*, when he saw their Affairs desperate, he fled with eight Ships to *Cyprus* (d), where he contracted a Friendship with *Ewagoras* King of *Salamis*, and thus reserved himself for a better Occasion. *Artaxerxes Mnemon* King of *Persia* being about that Time vexed with the Incurfions of *Agesslaus* the *Lacedemonion*, was advised by *Pharnabazus* to equip a great Fleet, and to make *Conon* the *Athenian* Admiral thereof, as being the best Commander in his

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Time

(a) Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades, near the End. (b) Plutarch's Life of Lyfander, Xenophon. Hist. Græcorum, lib. 2. (c) C. Nepos in Thrasybulo, Diæd. Siculus, lib. 14. cap. 33, 34. (d) Plutarch. in Lyfandro.

Time for a War at Sea, and the most proper Person to repel the Insults of the *Spartans*. *Art. C.* *taxerxes* consented to the Proposal, and gave necessary Orders and Supplies for preparing the
 397. said Navy ; and *Conon*, then an Exile at *Cyprus*, having willingly accepted the Charge, sailed with his Fleet, whereby he protected the *Rhodians* from the Insults of the *Lacedemonians*, and would have done greater Services, had not his Men proved mutinous for want of Pay, which the King's Ministers fraudulently deprived him of. Whereupon *Conon* complained of this by Letters : But these not having the desired Effect, he went himself to the *Persian* Court, then at *Babylon* (a). *Tissaphernes* was found guilty of the Fraud, and lost his Head for it : But *Conon*, tho' he refused to adore the King after the *Persian* Manner, yet obtained a Redress of his Grievances, for upon his return he brought Money enough to pay his Soldiers and Seamen all their Arrears, and to supply them with every thing that was wanting. This being done, taking *Pharnabazus* on board, he set sail to seek the Enemy ; and finding their whole Fleet riding near *Cnidus*, under the Command of *Pisander*, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete Victory, having slain *Pisander* in the Fight, and taken fifty of his Ships, which did put an End to the Empire of *Lacedemon* in those Parts, and set *Athens* and all *Greece* at liberty (b). After this Victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* sailed round the Isles and maritime Coasts of *Asia* in the *Mediterranean*, and took in most of the Cities which the *Lacedemonians* had in those Parts ; only *Sestus* and *Abydus* held out against them. Then *Pharnabazus*, being on his Return home to his Province, gave *Conon* leave to go with eighty Ships of his Fleet, and fifty Talents of Money to rebuild the Walls of *Athens*, being well informed, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the Pride of the *Lacedemonians*, than to put *Athens* in a Condition to rival their Power. As soon as *Conon* arrived at *Athens*, he set about the repairing of the *Piræum*, (This is the Harbour of that City, of which *Joannes Meursius*, according to his Way, hath made a learned Collection of what antient Authors in *Greek* and *Latin* say concerning it.) making not only Workmen, but also all that could be spared from on board his Fleet, as well as the People of *Athens*, to set to their helping Hand. He caused rebuild both the Walls of the City and the Port, with that called *The long Wall*, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty Talents which he received from *Pharnabazus* among his Citizens ; whereby he restored that City to its antient State, and on that account may be reckoned the second Founder thereof. For these Actions the *Lacedemonians* hated *Conon*, and accused him to the *Persians* for purloining the King's Money, and of Designs to retake *Æolis* and *Ionis* from *Persia*, and subject them again to the *Athenian* State. Whereupon *Tiribazus* sent for him, clapt him up in Chains (c) ; and by Orders of the King he was put to death.

About this Time *Agésilas* the Son of *Archidamus* King of *Sparta*, makes a great Figure in the *Grecian* History, he not being born to the Kingdom, was taught in his younger Years how to obey, which made him in his riper Years to be mild and courteous (d) to his Subjects. When *Lyfander* had the chief Command in *Lacedemon*, he secluded *Leolychides*, Son of *Agis* the former King, as being a Bastard, and preferred *Agésilas* his Uncle, as next Heir to the Crown. One *Herod* a *Syracusan*, coming from *Phœnicia*, informed the *Lacedemonians* that a great Fleet was preparing on the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, with which the *Persians* designed to attack them ; whereupon *Lyfander* proposed that the *Spartans* should send *Agésilas*, one of their Kings, into *Asia* with an Army, that by making a strong Assault there, he might at least divert the Storm that was threatned by *Artaxerxes Mnemon* King of *Persia*. This Advice being approved of (e), *Agésilas* was accordingly sent to command the Forces that *Dercyllidas* had in *Asia*, and to carry over more with him, and *Lyfander* with thirty principal *Lacedemonians* were sent to assist him in the Expedition. The whole Matter was dispatched with that Secrecy, that *Agésilas* arrived at *Ephesus* with his Troops, before the *Persians* had any Notice of his coming : So that there being no Preparation made to obstruct him, he took the Field upon his Arrival with ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and bore all before him. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* the *Persian* sent to him to know for what End he came ? To which *Agésilas* answered, *To restore the Grecian Cities in Asia to their Liberty*. Wherefore the *Persian* desired a Truce till he should send to the King and receive his Instructions ; which was accordingly concluded for three Months. But *Tissaphernes* made no other Use of this Concession, than to write for more Forces and to stop the procedure of his Enemy till they should arrive, and then the War was declared. *Agésilas* not moved at this Conduct, said, *He was obliged to Tissaphernes, who by his Perjury had made the Gods his Enemies, and Friends to the Grecians* : And thereon drawing his Forces together, made a Feint as if he designed to invade *Caria* ; but as soon as he understood that he had drawn all the *Persian* Forces into that Province to defend it, he turned short, and marched into *Phrygia*, a Province under the Government of *Pharnabazus*, and where he resided. His coming thither being unexpected, he over-ran a great Part of the Coun-

(a) Justin. lib. 6. cap. 2. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & in Agésilao, Diod. Siculus, lib. 14. cap. 40. (b) C. Nepos in Conone, cap. 4, 5. Plutarch. in Agésilao. (c) C. Nepos in Conone, Xenophon in Hellenicis, lib. 4. operum p. 538. (d) Xenophon de Agésilao rege. (e) Xenophon in Hellenicis, lib. 3. Operum, p. 495. — 502. Plutarch. in Agésilao & Lyfandro. Nepos in Agésilao. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 2. Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. cap. 80.

Country, and returned loaden with Spoils. Next Spring *Agésilas* coming out of his Winter Quarters, prepared to invade the *Persians*, and gave Orders for his March towards *Sardis*. *Tissaphernes* thinking the true Design was on *Caria*, marched into that Province; but *Agésilas* led his Army into *Lydia*. Upon which *Tissaphernes* recalled his Forces; and because *Caria* is a rugged Country, unfit for Horse, he had gone thither only with his Foot, leaving his Horse behind him; and therefore when he marched back to relieve *Lydia*, his Horse being far before his Foot, *Agésilas* took the Advantage of falling on the former, before the latter could come to their Assistance; whereby having got a great Victory, he became absolute Master of the Field. Whereupon he over-ran all the open Country, and brought back great Spoils, with which he enriched himself and all his Army. The Loss of this Battle incensed King *Artaxerxes* against *Tissaphernes*; especially because at the same Time *Conon* complained that he had deprived his Navy of their Pay, and *Pharnabazus* with *Tithraustes* made other Remonstrances against him; wherefore he sent immediately *Tithraustes*, with Orders to take off *Tissaphernes*'s Head, and to govern in his Room the Maritime Provinces of the lesser *Asia*. *Tithraustes* having executed his Orders, and entred upon his Government, sent to *Agésilas*, signifying, that he being punished who had occasioned the War, he ought to return home, promising, that if he would do so, the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should be permitted to live according to their own Laws, paying their usual Tribute. As to this Point *Agésilas* referred him to the Magistrates of *Lacedemon*. However, for thirty Talents advanced in ready Money, the Storm was diverted from the Provinces under *Tithraustes*'s Government (a), and the *Lacedemonian* Army ordered to march to *Phrygia*. Mean Time a new Commission came to *Agésilas* from *Sparta*, making him Commander in chief of their Fleet. This drew him to the Sea Coast, where having put the Navy in Order, he made *Pisander* his Wife's Brother Admiral thereof. Having settled Sea Affairs, he invaded *Phrygia*; where having taken several Cities, he passed on to *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates* (b), a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the King: Where having made a League with *Cotys* King of the Country, and married a Daughter of *Spithridates* to him, he returned into *Phrygia*, taking *Dasceylium* the fine Palace of *Pharnabazus*, in which he wintered (c), and fed his Army with the Spoils of the neighbouring Country.

Ant. C.
395.

Tithraustes finding *Agésilas* intended to carry on the War in *Asia*, sent Emissaries to *Greece* with great Sums of Money, to divert the Storm; which had this Effect, that *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and some other Cities of *Greece* entred into a Confederacy against the *Lacedemonians*, to deliver themselves from their Servitude. In the Entry of this War *Lysander* was killed, as hath been before observed (d); which soon brought *Agésilas* home to defend his native Country. In the Beginning of the next Spring, when *Agésilas* was ready to take the Field, *Pharnabazus* desired a Conference with him; which being granted, *Pharnabazus* told him of the great Services he had done to the *Lacedemonians* during the War which they had with the *Athenians*; and indeed if he had not supported and supplied them with Money, they had neither been able to subdue the *Athenians*, nor attack the *Persians*, as now they did; and therefore he had just Ground to reproach them with Ingratitude; for spoiling his Palace, Parks, Enclosures, Gardens, and all his paternal Estate at *Dasceylium*, not leaving him so much as one Supper at his own Lodgings (e): And *Agésilas* with his *Lacedemonians* were so ashamed, as they had nothing to answer, but that they would not molest his Estate, nor any thing that belonged to him in Time coming. This Conference being over, *Agésilas* projected to invade the upper Provinces of *Persia*: But while he was forming this Design, a Message came from the *Ephori* of *Lacedemon*, ordering that he and his Army should return home and defend his own Territories against the Confederacy of the *Grecian* States, formed by the *Persian* Money. *Plutarch* (f) highly commends *Agésilas*, that he upon this Message returned with his victorious Army, and particularly describes his March by the *Hellepont* homeward, the same Road that *Xerxes* took when he invaded *Greece*.

Ant. C.
394.

About this Time the Peace of *Antalcidas* had considerable Influence on the Affairs of this Country. The Occasion thereof was thus; the *Lacedemonians* finding themselves hardly prest with the above Confederacy of the *Grecian* Cities, became desirous of a Peace with the *Persian* King, that they might not have to deal with two powerful Adversaries at once; and to this End appointed *Antalcidas* their Ambassador, whom they made Admiral of their Fleet. to go into *Asia*, and treat with *Tirzibazus* about it. On his Arrival at *Ephesus*, having appointed his Lieutenant to take Care of the Fleet, he went to *Sardis*, where he communicated his Commission to *Tirzibazus*. But he having no Powers to enter into such a Treaty, they went both to the *Persian* Court together, where the Matter was soon ended. For *Artaxerxes* desired it as much as the *Lacedemonians*, that he might be at Leisure to prosecute the *Cyprian* War. Accordingly the Peace was concluded on these Terms (g), That all the *Grecian*

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Cities

(a) Xenophon in *Hellenicis*, p. 502. (b) *Plutarchus* in *Agésilao*. (c) *Xenophon* *Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 509.* (d) Above p. 297. (e) *Xenophon. hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 511, 512.* (f) In *Agésilao*. (g) *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe* & *Agésilao*, *Xenophon hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 538. & lib. 5. p. 549. & seqq. Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. cap. 111. & lib. 15. cap. 5.*

Cities in Asia, with the Islands Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should be under the Power of the Persian King, and all the other Cities and Isles of Greece should be free, and left to be governed by their own Laws, except the Islands of Scyrus, Lemnus and Imbrus; which having been anciently subject to the Athenians, should still continue so; and that Artaxerxes should join with the Lacedemonians, and all others who accepted of the Peace, to make all the rest of Greece submit thereto. This Peace being ratified, under the Seal of King Artaxerxes, Tiribazus and Antalcidas returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the Cities of Greece. The Greek Cities in Asia, finding themselves betrayed by the Lacedemonians, were forced to submit; and scarce any of the Greek States in Europe were pleased. It was disadvantageous to most of them, and dishonourable to all. The Athenians and Thebans were most dissatisfied; but not being able to debate with the Persians and Lacedemonians, now their Allies, they were forced to acquiesce. Nay the Lacedemonians themselves were not long content with it; for after the Blow they received from the Thebans at Leuctra, needing the Assistance of the Persian Power to support them; and being made to believe that Antalcidas could do every thing at that Court since the making of the Peace, they sent him thither to solicit for Money to bear them up in their Distress: But King Artaxerxes finding his Interest no Way concerned in that Proposal, as in the former, rejected it with Contempt. Whereupon Antalcidas being sent away without Success, either out of Shame for being thus disappointed, or out of Fear of Resentment from his fellow Subjects, starved himself to Death. This Treaty is generally concluded by ancient Authors (a), to have been made the same Year that Rome was taken by the Gauls, which coincides with the Year of the World 3562, before the Birth of Christ 388 Years, and from the Author thereof, is called, *The Peace of Antalcidas*.

Ant. C. 362. Agesilaus upon his Return, found the Lacedemonians at Chæronæa ready to engage the States of Greece confederated against them, and he joined the former; but found fighting against the Greeks another Thing than against the Persians in Asia, for he got several Wounds in this Conflict, and had many of his Men slain, and after all made little more of it than a drawn Battle, so as neither Side could boast much of a Victory. After this he was at the Head of many other martial Enterprizes in Greece, with various Success for several Years, and defended Sparta from being taken by the Assault of Epaminondas. The last Action of his Life was in Egypt; where King Tachos gathered together all the Strength he could to defend himself against the King of Persia. To strengthen his Army he sent to Greece to raise Mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedemonians to aid him with a good Number of their Troops under the Command of Agesilaus; who either out of Fondness to be at the Head of Armies, or out of a greedy Desire to gain Riches, accepted the Charge, tho' it neither suited with his Age, which was above eighty, nor the Dignity of his Person, to become a Mercenary to a barbarous King. Tachos had indeed promised to make him Generalissimo of his Forces (b); but when he landed, and the Egyptians found him to be only a little old lame Man (for his one Leg was shorter than the other) ill cloathed, and without Ceremony, refusing their Confections and Perfumes, and accepting only Meal, Geese, Calves, and such coarse Things, for himself and his Men, they despised him: And Tachos would allow him no Command but that of the Mercenaries by Land, committing to Chabrias the Athenian, the Charge of the Fleet, and reserving to himself the chief Command over all. When he had joined the Grecian Mercenaries to the rest of his Army, he marched with his whole Strength into Phenicia, thinking it better to meet the War there, than to wait till it should be brought home to his own Doors. Tho' the old Grecian King advised him against this, telling, that in this unsettled State of his Kingdom, it was for his Interest to tarry in Egypt, and to manage the War abroad by his Lieutenants: But Tachos contemning his Opinion, and slighting him in almost every other Thing, so far alienated Agesilaus from him, that when the Egyptians set up Nectanebus to be King in his stead, Agesilaus joined the Revolters, who drove Tachos out of the Kingdom; whence he fled to Sidon, and thence to the Persian Court. And he was no sooner gone, but another from among the Mendesians did set up against Nectanebus, and got together an Army of one hundred thousand Men to support his Pretensions. Agesilaus advised to fall on them immediately, before they were disciplined; but he would not hearken to that Opinion: And in the mean time the Enemy gathering Strength, shut up Nectanebus in one of his Towns, and began to draw Lines of Circumvallation about it. Then Nectanebus seeing his Danger, would have Agesilaus to engage the Enemy; but this he refused, till the Lines were so far drawn round the Place, as only to leave an empty Space for the besieged to form their Army. Then he told was the only Time to fall on, since the Lines the Enemy had cast up hindered the greater Numbers to encompass the lesser, and the empty Gap gave the besieged Room enough to bring all their Forces to bear a Part in the Battle; whereon an Engagement ensuing, the Besiegers were put to the Rout; and after this Victory, Agesilaus managed the rest of the War, that he every where vanquished

(a) Strabo lib. 6. p. 287. Justin, lib. 6. cap. 6. Polybius lib. 1. & auctores proximè citati. (b) Plutarchus in Agesila. Diod. Siculus, lib. 15. cap. 92, — 94.

vanquished the King whom the *Mendesians* had set up, and at length took him Prisoner. Thus having settled *Nectanebus* in the full Possession of his Kingdom, and being well rewarded for his Pains, he returned home the ensuing Winter: But being driven by contrary Winds to the *African* Shore, at a Place called *The Haven of Menelaus*, he there sickned and died, being full eighty four Years old; of which he had reigned forty one as King of *Sparta* (a). His Men anointed his Body with Wax, and brought it home to their own Country.

In the Time of *Agésilas*, flourished *Epaminondas* a *Theban*, the Son of *Polyminis* (b). He was taught Music and Philosophy by *Lysis* a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, and was learned, modest, prudent, sober, skilful in War, stout in Action, courageous, and so great a Lover of Truth, that he would not tell a Lie in Jest. Tho' he was still poor, yet he would take nothing from his Friends, nor even from the *Persians* for saving the Liberties of *Greece*, and was so kind a Friend, that he ventured his Life to rescue *Pelopidas*, after he had got seven Wounds in Battle. By his great Eloquence and good Address, he perswaded the *Grecian* States to arm, and deliver themselves from the Yoke of the *Lacedemonians*, then wreathed about their Necks; and in order to that End, he began with seizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in *Thebes*: Which being done, a Bloody War ensued between the *Lacedemonians* on the one Side, and the *Thebans* with their Allies on the other; in which *Epaminondas* gave the former a terrible Overthrow at the Battle of *Leuctra*, killing their King *Cleombrotus* and about four thousand of his Men, whereas on the Part of the *Thebans*, there were only about three hundred found dead. This happened in the second Year of the 102 *Olympiad*, that is in the Year of the World 3579 (c), before the Birth of Christ 371 Years. He pursued the Victory so far as to plunder and lay waste all the Country of *Laconia*, which had not been done for six hundred Years before; and *Agésilas* himself could do no more than defend the City of *Sparta* (d), and admire the Courage of *Epaminondas*. The Power of the *Lacedemonians* by Sea being broke by *Conon* the *Athenian* about this Time, this Victory so weakned them by Land, as they never were able afterwards to be a Terror to the States of *Greece*. He fought a second Battle against the *Lacedemonians* at *Mantinæa*; wherein fighting resolutely, more like a single Soldier than a Commander in Chief, after several Wounds, he got one that was mortal, by a Dart struck into his Breast; which he would not suffer to be taken out till he had kissed his Shield, and heard that the Enemy was quite defeated; and then tearing the Iron out of his Body, he expired in the midst of Joy and Victory. To a Friend of his who bewailed his Dying without Issue, he said, *You are deceived, I leave two Daughters behind me, the Victories at Leuctra and Mantinæa*. The *Theban* Glory and Greatness, as it was raised and maintained by him and *Pelopidas*, so it also perished with them. So great Alterations may the Wisdom and Courage of a few Men bring to pass in a whole Kingdom. With the Battle of *Mantinæa*, *Xenophon* ends his History of *Greece*.

Pelopidas the *Theban*, was contemporary with, and an intimate Friend of *Epaminondas*. He was banished his Country by a Faction of the *Lacedemonians*, who feared his Courage. In the meantime *Phæbidas*, their General, took *Cadmea* the Citadel of the *Thebans*. *Pelopidas*, assisted by *Epaminondas* and others, retook it about four Years after, surprising and killing several *Lacedemonian* Officers by a Stratagem in the Night Time. Afterwards he was with *Epaminondas* in the chief Exploits of the *Bæotick* War, to deliver his Country from the Power of the *Lacedemonians*. He commanded three hundred select Men, called *The Holy Band* at the Battle of *Leuctra*, where he did signal Services, and also in invading *Laconia*. The *Thebans* sent him Ambassador to the King of *Persia*, who honoured him very much. Having after this received some Affront from *Alexander* Tyrant of *Phæres* (e), he perswaded the *Thebans* to make War upon him; wherein he was made General, and won the Battle; but in the Heat of the Action, having ventured himself too far before his Men, he was found slain among the dead. The Tyrant *Alexander* was afterwards killed by a Conspiracy carried on by (f) his own Wife. *Plutarch* seems justly to blame *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* (g) (and the same may be said of *Epaminondas*) for fighting so resolutely as private Soldiers, without taking any prudent Care of their own Lives, as becomes those to do, who have the Honour to command an Army in Chief, in whose Safety the publick Good is concerned.

Besides these already mentioned, there were other *Grecian* Captains about the same Time, who gained great Reputation; as *Iphicrates* an *Athenian* (h), very famous for martial Discipline and good Conduct, who made War with the *Thasians*, established *Seuthes* an Ally of the *Athenians* in his Kingdom, and trained a great Band of Men in the *Persian* Army in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Chabrias an *Athenian* (i), assisted *Nectanebus* King of *Egypt*, and *Evagoras* King in *Cyprus*. His Stratagem in the Battle of *Thebes*, when he supported the *Bæotians* against *Agésilas*, got him great Esteem; for when he saw the Mercenary Troops give Ground to the Enemy, He ordered his own Battalia to keep firm after they had thrown their Darts; and then putting one

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Knee

(a) *Plutarchus* in *Agésilao* in fine. (b) *Corn. Nepos* in *Epaminonda*. (c) *Helvici* *Theatrum* ad annum. (d) *Xenophon* in *Hellensis*, lib. 7. operum p. 643. (e) *Plutarch.* in *Pelopida*. (f) *Ibidem* in fine. (g) *Ibidem* non longe ab initio. (h) *Corn. Nepos* in *Iphicraté*. *Xenophon*, *hist. Græc.* lib. 4. prope finem. (i) *C. Nepos* in *Chabria*.

Knee to the Ground to cover themselves with their Bucklers and stand the Enemy's Charge. Which succeeded so well, that *Agefilas*, surpris'd with the Novelty, dared not venture further, but ordered a Retreat ; and therefore *Chabrias* chus'd to be drawn in this Posture, in a Statue the *Athenians* erected for him in the Market Place. He was afterwards killed in a Battle at Sea.

Timotheus the Son of *Conon* the *Athenian* added to the Honour his Father had gained ; for he was eloquent, and a good Captain (a). He subdued the *Olynthians* and *Byzantines*, overcame the City *Samos*, the Siege whereof in former Wars had cost the *Athenians* twelve hundred Talents ; but he delivered it to them without any Charge. He made War with King *Cotys*, and brought of the Spoil into the Treasury twelve hundred Talents. He rais'd the Siege of *Cyzicum*, join'd *Crithote* and *Sestus* to the Seigniorship of *Athens*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and spoiled all the Territories of *Sparta* by Sea, chas'd their Navy, and reduced *Corcyra* : All which Victories made the *Lacedemonians* yield to the *Athenians* the Command by Sea. The *Athenians* were so well pleas'd, that they built an Altar to *Peace*, and painted that Goddess leaning on a Cushion ; yea they also erected a Statue to *Timotheus* in the Market-place, near to one that had been done for his Father. When *Timotheus* grew old, and had left off dealing in publick Affairs, *Samos* and some other Isles in the *Hellepont* revolted, and *Philip* King of *Macedon* laid a Project to overturn the Liberties of Greece. The *Athenians* sent *Chabrias* with a Fleet against the Revolters ; but thinking him not sufficient, they made *Meneestheus*, the Son of *Iphicrates*, Son-in-law to *Timotheus*, Prætor, and gave him his Father and Father-in-law for his Counsellors. As they pass'd *Samos* by Sea, a great Tempest arising, the old Men thought fit to draw in to a safe Road till the Storm abated ; but the young Men contemning their Advice, stood to Sea, and after the Loss of many of their Ships, were forced to the same Place from which they had departed. Thence they wrote to *Athens*, That they had easily taken *Samos*, if *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* had not forsaken them. Whereupon these old Captains were summon'd to appear, and stand their Trial as Betrayers of their Country. So suspicious, so full of Ingratitude and Envy was this popular State of *Athens*, that many of their chief Captains cared not to stay at home with them (b), for fear of being so ill rewarded. Old *Timotheus* was condemn'd to pay a Fine of one hundred Talents ; which made him retire to *Chalcis*. After his Death, the People were so sensible of the Iniquity of their Sentence, that they remitted nine Parts of the above Sum, and order'd his Son *Conon* to pay the remaining ten Talents to repair a Breach of the Wall. Thus he repaired out of his own Pocket the Walls which his Grandfather had built out of the Spoils taken from the Enemy. This was the last Age of *Athenian* Captains ; for after the Death of *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, that City did never produce any commanding Officer worth the naming, says *Nepos* (c), tho' perhaps (in my Opinion) *Phocion* or some others might have been excepted.

Nor must we forget some other Greek Captains before we conclude this Digression, particularly *Dion* the Son of *Hyparinus* of *Syracuse*, which was a Colony from Greece. This *Dion* was a Platonic Philosopher, a rich Man, and a near Relation of *Dionysius* the Tyrant ; but hated his Manners : For the Tyrant, from being General of the *Syracusans*, having defeated the *Carthaginians*, and ruin'd *Rhegium* in *Italy*, rais'd himself to be King over *Sicily*, where he reigned thirty eight Years ; and in the latter part of his Days gave loose Reins to all Vice, especially Cruelty, killing some Thousands of his Subjects, and many even of his near Relations, hating those particularly who would not commend his Poems, tho' they deserv'd no Applause. *Dion* having spok'd freely against these Vices, was oblig'd to flee to *Corinth*. In his Absence, the Tyrant seiz'd his Estate, gave his Wife *Arete* to another Man, and did him many other Injuries. *Dion* being well apprised of these things, and knowing that the whole Island hated the Tyrant for his Wickedness and Cruelties, had the Interest to levy a great Army of Horse and Foot, whom he embark'd in five hundred Ships, which being landed in *Sicily* (d), on the third Day after their Arrival he enter'd *Syracuse*, in a little Time chas'd the Tyrant out of the Country, and was in a fair Way to have restor'd the *Sicilians* to their Liberty. But a Difference arising between his Friend *Heraclides* and him, for which the former was cut off ; upon this new Plots were laid against *Dion* himself, as if he had affect'd Tyranny ; and he was treacherously murdered in his Chamber, by his Friend *Calippus* and other Conspirators, in the fourth Year after he had from *Corinth* made a Descent into *Sicily*. After his Death, the *Sicilians* lamented the Loss of him, blaming themselves for Ingratitude to so virtuous a Man, who design'd to have been their Deliverer ; and *Calippus* his Murderer was killed by *Leptines*. This happened in the 106th Olympiad (e), 354 Years before the Birth of Christ.

The *Sicilians* being still oppress'd by terrible Factions, and by the Tyranny of *Dionysius* the younger, who was Heir to all his Father's Vices, they sent to the City *Corinth*, from which they

(a) Corn. Nepos in *Timotheo*, Xenophon, hist. Græca, lib. 5 & 6. (b) Corn. Nepos in *Chabria*, cap. 3. & in *Timotheo*, cap. 3. (c) In *Timotheo*, in fine. (d) Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in *Dione*, Diod. Siculus, lib. 16. cap. 2, — 19. (e) Eusebius in *Chronico*.

they owned themselves to be descended (a), for Aid against the Tyrant. The *Corinthians* granting their Request, made choice of *Timoleon* the Son of *Timodemus* and *Demareta* to command the intended Expedition. His Brother *Timophanes* had made himself Master of the Army of their City, and in order to usurp the Sovereignty, had put several honest Men to Death. *Timoleon* remonstrated the Danger of these Practices to his Brother; but when he could not be prevailed upon to desist, consented that *Satyrus* and some others should put him to death; for which he had an uneasy Life of his Mother. Having consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, he embarked about twelve hundred Men for Land-service, and landed (when the *Carthaginians*, who then sought to add that Island to their Territories, were not aware) at *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, where *Andromachus*, who was Lord of that Place, and had sent for *Timoleon*, joined him. With this small Army he defeated *Icetes*, and *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Syracuse* seeing himself hated and abandoned by his People, yielded up his Castle to *Timoleon* fifty Days after his landing; which the Conqueror having taken into possession, he afterwards razed it to the Ground, that it might no more be a Habitation for Tyrants. He sent *Dionysius* himself Prisoner to *Corinth*, where he lived as a poor condemned Exile (b) to the Day of his Death. Having taken the rest of the City *Syracuse*, *Mago* the *Carthaginian* was so terrified, that he shipped off his Army, and sailed homeward; where, finding he could not answer the Accusation that his Countrymen had to lay against him, he killed himself. *Timoleon* finding *Syracuse* and other Parts of that Isle in a manner desolate, by reason of the Tyranny of their former Masters, wrote to *Corinth* to send him new Colonies; and that City, by a publick Proclamation, invited all banished *Sicilians* to return, with Promises of Liberty and great Encouragements. Whereupon ten thousand People offered themselves, who were shipped off to repeople that Country. About the same time *Timoleon* took *Leptines* Tyrant of *Apollonia*, and sent him Prisoner to *Corinth*, and wrote for a Reinforcement of Soldiers. Accordingly the *Corinthians* sent him two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse. This was but a small Recruit, if we consider what was to do with them: For *Plutarch* (c) tells us, That the *Carthaginians* landed at *Lilybæum* in *Sicily* seventy thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*; but *Timoleon*, only with five thousand Foot and one thousand Horse, gave them Battle at the River *Crimefus*; where he watched all Opportunities: For he attacked a Part of the *Carthaginian* Army when new passed the River, before the rest could form or join with them. The Day blowing a Tempest of Thunder and Rain in the Faces of the *Carthaginians*, and the Ground being full of Marshes on the River-side; when the heavy armed Men fell, they were not able to rise again: So that *Timoleon* got a complete Victory, killing ten thousand of his Enemies, and taking their Baggage and Spoils; a great Part whereof he sent to *Corinth*. After this he made Peace with the *Carthaginians*, whereby they were obliged to live on the other Side of the River *Lycus*; and having defeated, taken and put to death *Icetes*, *Hippon*, *Mamercus* and other Tyrants, he quieted the whole Island in eight Years Time from his first landing. Thus *Sicily* had Peace in the 110th Olympiad (d), 338 Years before the Birth of Christ. *Timoleon* lived at *Syracuse* to the Day of his Death. He ascribed his good Success to the Favour of the Gods, and is highly commended for his Vertue, and Moderation in Government (e). In his old Age he became blind; yet the People had so great a Veneration for him, that he was commonly brought to the Market-place in his Litter, where his Opinion was asked upon any difficult Case that occurred, and his Judgment acquiesced in. He died of Infirmity and old Age, had a stately Monument erected for him called *Timolonteum*, and his Memory honoured. The Peace and good Constitutions he gave to the *Syracusans* continued about twenty Years after his Death, till the Reign of *Agathocles* the Tyrant.

About this Time the *Grecians* generally speaking, and particularly the *Athenians* gave themselves to Idleness and Luxury; they slighted the Virtue of their Ancestors; their hardy and thrifty Way of living they laughed at: The publick Revenues that used to be employed in paying the Fleets and Armies, they expended upon Sports, and lavishly threw away in sumptuous Festivals. They took greater Pleasure in going to the Theatre, to hear the insipid Jest of a Comedian, than in the manly Exercises of War, and preferred a Mimick or Stage-player before the most experienced and valiant Captain; nay they were so besotted with their Pleasures, that they made it capital for any Man to propose the re-establishing of their Army, as *Libanius* (f) observes. This degenerate Disposition of theirs gave Opportunity and Leisure to *Philip*, who had been educated under the Discipline of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, to raise the *Macedonians* from a mean underling Condition, to the Empire of all *Greece* (g): And his Son, *Alexander* the Great, advanced their Dominion also over *Asia*. The *Athenians* and the rest of the *Greeks* made some Resistance to the victorious Arms of *Philip*, but were overthrown in a pitched Battle at *Cheronæa*, in the third Year of the 110th Olympiad, before the Birth of Christ

(a) Plutarch. in *Timolonte*. (b) Justin. lib. 21. cap. 5. (c) In *Timolonte*. (d) Diod. Siculus, lib. 16. cap. 91. & in *Chronologia ad calcem operis*. (e) Plutarchus & Corn. Nepos in *Timolonte*. (f) Argument. ad *Demosthenis Olynthiacam* 1. (g) Justin lib. 6. cap. 9.

336 Years. This Victory put an End to the *Grecian* Liberty, which they had preserved for so many Ages, against the most puissant Monarchs in the World, and they were never again able to recover it. However *Philip*, to strengthen his Army by the Accession of their Forces, and that he might be declared Captain General of *Greece* against the *Persians*, without Trouble, did forbear any further Attempt upon the *Athenians*, and permitted them to enjoy a Shew of Liberty. No sooner was *Philip* dead, than they revolted, and endeavoured to free themselves from the *Macedonian* Yoke, but were easily brought into Subjection by *Alexander* his Son, and as easily obtained Pardon of him; he being then very keen to invade *Persia*; from which he was unwilling to be diverted by taking Revenge on these petty States. During his Life they continued quiet, not daring so much as to move their Tongues against him.

In the Time of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and *Alexander* his Son, flourished *Phocion* General of the *Athenian* Army. He had been Scholar to *Plato* and *Xenocrates*, and became a great Orator, a valiant Captain, and a wise Citizen. *Demosthenes* was so afraid of his Eloquence, that when he saw him standing at the Bar to answer, he said, *Here is the Ox that will cut me in pieces*; that is, the Man who will convincingly answer all my Reasonings. He moderated the Forwardness of *Chabrias*, when joined in Command with him, recovered some strong Holds to the *Athenians* in the *Hellepont* (a), and joined *Megara* to *Athens*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had so great an Esteem for his military Conduct that he dreaded him. At the Death of that King, the *Athenians* would have made Bonfires and Sacrifices to the Gods; but *Phocion* would not suffer them, saying, *It was a Token of a base Mind to rejoice at any Man's Death*; and they should consider, that the Army with which they had been overthrown at *Chæronea*, had lost only one Man. When *Demosthenes* spoke publicly opprobrious Things against *Alexander* the Great, *Phocion* said to him, *What! when thou sees so great a Fire kindled, wilt thou throw the City into it?* Being sent Ambassador to *Alexander*, that Prince was greatly delighted with him; for he told him, *That if he desired Quiet he should leave off War; if he took pleasure in the Name of a Conqueror, he ought to make War upon the Barbarians, and not upon the Greeks*. This great Prince finding his Counsel very good, by the signal Success that attended his Enterprises in *Asia*, sent him a Present of seven hundred Talents, after the last Victory that he won over *Darius*. *Phocion* declining to accept the Present, asked *Harpalus* who brought it, for what Reason his Master did distinguish him by so great Liberality? *Harpalus* answered, *That he looks on you as the only honest Man in Athens*. To which the other replied, *Then he should have left me so*. And yet in the mean Time his Wife was baking Bread, and himself drawing Water out of the Well. In a Word, no Money could corrupt him. When it was told him, that his Son might have Occasion for the Money, he said, *If he be virtuous, the little Spot of Ground that I leave him, will afford him Bread, and I don't design to provide a Fund for his Luxury* (b). After *Alexander* the Great's Death, *Antipater*, one of his Successors offered *Phocion* also great Sums of Money; but he would never take any. When he became old the *Piræus*, or Harbour of *Athens*, without which the City could not well subsist, being in Danger to be taken by *Nicanor*, *Phocion* said there was no Hazard, trusting too much to *Nicanor's* Word: But when, contrary to his Promise, he had seized that important Place, then *Phocion* would have led the *Athenians* out against him, they would not obey him, giving it up for lost. Yea *Phocion*, being then Governor of *Athens*, was accused of Treachery, cast in Prison; the Orators pled against him; the People condemned him with some of his Friends; and he suffered Death in the eightieth Year of his Age, 315 Years before the Birth of Christ. Soon after his Death, the *Athenians* found their Want of him, became sensible of their Error, erected a Statue to his Memory, and cut off *Agonides* his Accuser.

A little after this the *Athenians* being defeated by *Antipater*, were forced to entertain a Garrison in *Munychia* (c), and submit to what Conditions the Conqueror pleased to impose upon them. He changed their Form of Government, and instituted an Oligarchy, depriving all those who were not worth ten thousand Drachms of the Right of voting; and the better to keep them quiet, transported all mutinous and disaffected Persons into *Thrace*. Upon *Antipater's* Death, this City fell into the Hands of *Cassander* his Son: From him they endeavoured to free themselves, and recover their beloved Democracy or popular Government, but were in End forced to submit to the same Terms *Antipater* had imposed upon them. He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* to be their Governour, who used them with all possible Kindness and Moderation, enlarged their Revenues, beautified their City with magnificent Structures, and restored it almost to its former Lustre; and they in Requit of these Favours, bestowed on him all the Honours which their poor Condition was able to afford, erecting to him three hundred Statues. But all this was an Effect of Flattery and Dissimulation, for they still hated him. This was manifest, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, i. e. the Overcomer of Cities, the Son of *Antigonus*, took up Arms, as he pretended, for the Liberties of *Greece*: For they received him with loud Acclamations, compelling the *Phalerean* to flee; and in Absence condemned him

to

(a) Plutarchus in *Phocione*. (b) Corn. Nepos in *Phocione*. (c) Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

to die : And when they could not apprehend his Person, they demolished his Statues, so as scarce one of them remained. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* having got Possession of the City, restored to the *Athenians* their popular Government, retook *Munychia*, ejected the Garrison, promised to them 15000 Bushels of Wheat, and as much Timber as would enable them to build 150 Gallies to (a) defend their City. The *Athenians* were so transported with Joy for this Deliverance, that they bestowed not only upon *Demetrius* and *Antigonus* the Title of Kings, which they had before refused, but also called them *Tutelar Deities*, and *Saviours*. They instituted Priests to them, appointed Lodgings to *Demetrius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, and erected an Altar, where he first lighted from his Chariot, calling it the *Altar of Demetrius the Alighter*, and added many other Instances of fulsome Flattery. The *Athenians* having forgot how to use their Hands, made up this Defect with their Tongues. But when *Demetrius's* Fortune began to decline, he was no more their God, they basely deserted him, and denied him Entrance to their City ; tho' upon his Approach they were again forced to submit. After *Demetrius's* Death, *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon* put a Garrison into *Athens* which was continued by his Successor.

Ans. C.
260.

After this *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* gained considerable Reputation as a warlike Prince, and a valiant Captain. His Predecessor King *Agis*, for endeavouring to restore the Laws and strict Discipline of *Lycurgus*, was hurried by the *Lacedemonian Ephori* into Prison, and there strangled. His Mother and Grandmother coming to enquire for him, were also put to Death. *Cleomenes* upon his Accession to the Crown, abhorring this Murder, caused four of these *Ephori* (b) to be killed. This being done, he marched against the *Achæans*, and defeated them in a pitched Battle ; whereon *Aratus* being jealous of *Cleomenes's* Success, and of his being an uneasy Neighbour to the rising *Achæan* Republick, stirred up *Antigonus* the Tutor of *Macedon* against him, who fought several Times with him. At last *Cleomenes*, wanting Money to pay his Men, was forced to fight on unequal Terms, and was entirely defeated at *Sellasia* (c) : Whereon he fled to *Ptolemy Energetes* King of *Egypt*, and was kindly received by him : But that King dying, he enjoyed not the same Favour from his Successor. However, being looked on as a Person of great Wisdom and Sagacity, *Sofibius*, who was *Ptolemy Philopator's* chief Minister of State, thought fit to communicate with him his Master's Design to cut off *Magas* his Brother ; which *Cleomenes* dissawded him from for weighty Reasons, with which *Sofibius* being displeased, Occasion was taken from some other pretended Affair, to cast the *Spartan* King into Prison ; from whence having got loose, with some Friends he had brought from *Lacedemon*, he took the Advantage of *Philopator's* Absence from *Alexandria* (d), to excite the People to take Arms for their Liberty, and to free themselves from the Tyranny under which they at present groaned ; but not succeeding in this Attempt, he slew himself in the Streets of the City, as did also all the rest of his Friends and Followers that were with him. His Death happened in the 221st Year before our Saviour's Birth.

The *Achæans* in the declining Times of *Greece* had some famous Captains, particularly *Aratus* the Son of *Clinias*, General of the *Achæans* from his Youth. He had a great Hatred to Tyrants, and an Inclination to Liberty. Accordingly, with some Associates, he, by a Stratagem, seized the City of *Sicyon*, and expelled thence *Nicocles* the Tyrant without Bloodshed. This being done he recalled those who had been banished : But among them there arose great Confusions about the Restoration of their Lands, which was like to have put all into Disorder, because most of those Lands had been transferred to other Proprietors, and by Purchase and Sale had gone through several Hands before the Exiles were restored. There being no other Way to satisfy the Demands of the Possessors, but by refunding them their Money, *Aratus* made a Voyage to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to whom he offered a valuable Collection of Pictures, which that Prince was very fond of, and evidenced the same by bestowing on *Aratus* One hundred and fifty Talents (e), with which Money he returned and satisfied all the Demands of his Countrymen, and restored Peace to *Sicyon*. Several Years after this, he surprised the Castle of *Corinth*, called *Acro-Corinthus*, expelling the Garrison of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*. He delivered *Argos* from its Tyrants (f), and settled the *Achæan* Commonwealth (some Way resembling that of the *Dutch* in our Times) being made out of the Confederacy of several States and Cities in *Peloponnesus*, united together in one common League. He did many signal Services to *Philip* the second King of *Macedon* (the same who was afterwards defeated by the *Romans*) for which that ungrateful Prince caused him to be poisoned in the 540th Year of *Rome*, two hundred and eleven Years before the Birth of Christ.

Philopæmen Prætor of the *Achæans* was another who raised that Republick to Reputation. He had been educated by *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, Philosophers of *Plato's* Academy : But his beloved Study was the Discipline of War, wherein he brought his Men to have great Skill

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(a) Pluarchus in *Demetrio*. (b) Plutarchi *Agis & Cleomenes*. (c) Idem in *Cleomene* & in *Arato*. (d) Idem in *Cleomene*. (e) Idem in *Arato*. (f) Polybius, lib. 4.

Skill, and gave Proof of his Courage and Conduct, when his Country was invaded by *Cleomenes* the *Spartan*. Being chosen General of the *Achæans*, he defeated the *Lacedemonians*, and killed *Macbonidas* the Tyrant in a Battle near *Mantinæa* in *Arcadia*. His Name made the *Bæotians* to flee (a). He delivered the City *Messina* from *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, who succeeded *Macbonidas*. *Nabis* indeed defeated him by Sea, but he revenged himself upon him by Land; for he overcame him in Battle, and afterwards razed the Walls of *Sparta* to the Ground, took away most of their Territories, abrogated the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and made the *Lacedemonians* subject to the *Achæans*. Being chosen General of the *Achæans* for the eighth Time, when seventy Years of Age, and finding that *Dinocrates*, Tyrant of *Messina*, had made his City withdraw their Subjection from this Republick, *Philopæmen* marched against him; and tho' he put his Enemy to the Rout, yet *Dinocrates* having got a Recruit of five hundred Men, pursued the Conqueror as he was going home, where *Philopæmen* fighting in the Reer of his Men, caught a Fall from his Horse, and was taken Prisoner, carried to *Messina*, where he was shut up in a Pit, and the Executioner sent down to him with a Draught of Wine poisoned by Hemlock (an usual Way of killing those who were condemned in Greece) which he drank off and died, in the 556th Year of *Rome*, 195 Years before our Saviour's Birth. *Lycortas* the Father of *Polybius* the Historian being then Prætor of the *Achæans*, revenged his Death upon *Messina*, by taking their City, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword: *Dinocrates* to avoid publick Infamy killed himself; and the *Achæans* brought home *Philopæmen's* Ashes, and gave them a honourable Burial.

About this Time the *Romans* commanded by *T. Quintius Flaminius*, having subdued *Philip II.* King of *Macedon*, proclaimed Liberty to the *Greeks*, to live according to their own Laws (as shall be more fully related in its own proper Place.) But tho' they gilded their Condition with the specious Name of Liberty, they were no further free than it pleased those under whose Power they were; their Laws were of small Value when they seemed any Way to oppose the *Roman* Interest. Hence, without any Charge or Suspicion of Treason, the *Romans*, becoming jealous of what this growing Commonwealth of the *Achæans* might come to, carried off a thousand of their best Men (b), making them live in *Italy* after the Manner of Hostages, that this little Republick being deprived of its principal Supporters might sink and come to nothing. Of these Hostages *Polybius* the Historian was the chief.

But of the State of *Greece*, after it was conquered by the *Romans*, and made subject first to the Emperors at *Rome*, then to these at *Constantinople*, and now to the *Turks*, who possess this Country to this Day, and of the State of Christians there, I have no Design now to discourse. Having then given a compendious Account of the most famous Captains in the *Grecian* History before the Birth of Christ, besides those named in other Parts of this Work, and of other Things I promised in the Entry of this Digression (c), I here put an End to it.

(a) Plutarchus in *Philopæmene*. (b) Pausanias in *Achaicis* in editione Lipsiæ 1696, p. 549. (c) Above p. 271.

C H A P. III.

The History of the Jews under the Grecian Empire of Alexander the Great and his Successors, especially in the Kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, where the Affairs of these Nations are also explained.

IN the former Chapter I have carried on the History of *Alexander* the Great to the Death of *Darius Codomannus*, and the End of the *Persian* Empire (*a*) ; I shall now go on and particularly advert to the Affairs of the *Jews*, and the Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies.

Alexander finding that he could not overtake the Traitors who had killed *Darius*, returned to *Parthia* ; and having regulated his Affairs there, marched to *Hyrcania*, which submitted to him ; and then he subdued the *Mardians*, *Drangians*, *Arians*, *Aracansians*, and several other Nations, over which he flew with Victory swifter than others can travel, often with his Horse pursuing his Enemies upon the Spur whole Days and Nights. In Pursuit of *Darius* for eleven Days together, he proceeded at the Rate of forty Miles a Day ; so that he came upon his Enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered before they could be in a Posture to resist him. Which exactly agrees with the Description given of him by the Prophet *Daniel*, some Ages before he was born ; who describes him (*b*) under the Similitude of a Panther or Leopard with four Wings ; for he was impetuous and fierce as a Panther after his Prey, and came upon his Enemies with that Speed as if he flew with a double Pair of Wings. And in the same Prophecies, he is compared to a He-goat coming from the West (*c*), with that Swiftnefs upon the King of *Media* and *Persia*, that he seemed as if his Feet did not touch the Ground : And his Actions fully verified these Predictions.

While *Alexander* was among the *Drangians*, he caused *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* to be put to Death for a Conspiracy against his Life (*d*), with several other Accomplices, and sent for *Parmenio* from *Ecbatana*, and caused him also to be put to Death ; which brought great Envy upon him, this old Officer having been his chief Assistant in conducting his Armies to most of those Victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this he subdued all in his Way Northward as far as Mount *Caucasus*, and having there built a City which he called *Alexandria*, he terminated the Actions of this Year. About this Time begins our History of *Scotland*, in the Reign of *Fergus*, the first King of our Country ; but our Affairs being fully deduced by *Fordon*, *Boetius*, *Major*, *Lesly*, *Buchanan* and other Historians, and the Antiquity of our Royal Line as well vouched as most Matters of so old a Date, as is proved by *Sir George Mackenzie* and other *Scots* Antiquaries, I go on with the History of the World.

The next Spring, *Alexander* drove *Bessus* the Traitor out of *Bactria*, and having settled that Province, he followed him into *Sogdiana* ; where he passed the River *Oxus* by stuffed Skins and the like Devices, which was thought impracticable. *Bessus's* Followers despairing of his Cause, delivered him up to *Oxathres* the Brother of *Darius*, who now followed *Alexander*, and by him he suffered as his Treason deserved. *Sogdiana* breeding a great many Horses, *Alexander* there remounted his Cavalry (*e*). This Province found him Work a whole Year. At the Capital thereof, then called *Maranda*, now *Smaratand*, he in a drunken Fury murdered *Clitus* (*f*), one of his best Friends, for which he afterwards condemned himself, as did e-

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Ant. C.
329.
Alex. 2.

(*a*) Above, p. 271. (*b*) Dan. vii. 6. (*c*) Dan. viii. 5. (*d*) Q. Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 22, — 33, & lib. 7. cap. 1, — 8. Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. (*e*) Q. Curtius, lib. 8. (*f*) Ibidem cap. 4, — 8. Arrian. de expeditione *Alexandri*, lib. 4. p. m. 260.

very Body else. Then he took up his Winter Quarters at *Nautaca*, where he refreshed his Army for three Months. While he lay there, he fell in Love with *Roxana* the Daughter of *Oxyathres* a noble *Persian*, and married her, and encouraged many of his chief Officers to marry other *Persian* Ladies who were Prisoners in the Camp (a).

Ant. C. 328. Alex. 3. While these Things were a-doing, *Alexander's* Head was busy in projecting his Expedition into *India*. His main Motive to this dangerous Enterprize, was an Excess of Vanity. He had read in the old *Grecian Fables*, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, two Sons of *Jupiter*, and he pretended to be another, had made that Expedition. He then in Emulation of them would do the same. Yea, about this Time, he required divine Honours to be paid to him, and that he should be adored by every Body who addressed him, as formerly the *Persian* Kings had been. This displeased all his old Friends, and none more than *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, who was a Kinsman to *Aristotle* his Master, sent to give him good Counsel: But he not being able to bear the Freedom wherewith he expressed himself in this Matter, deliberately caused him to be put to Death (b); which bears very hard upon the Reputation of this Conqueror.

Ant. C. 327. Alex. 4. By the Time he did march into *India*, he had augmented his Army to one hundred and twenty thousand Men, *Grecians* and *Persians*, besides fifteen thousand left in *Bactria*, under the Command of *Amyntas*, to keep those Parts quiet. I have no mind to follow him in all his Rambles in this Expedition, but shall only observe, that he spent a whole Year in subduing Nations on this Side the River *Indus*. *Cleophis* Queen of the *Assacans* redeemed her Kingdom by prostituting her Body to the Conqueror, and had by him a Son named *Alexander*. Next Spring he passed the River *Indus* on a Bridge of Boats, and marched to the *Hydaspes*: King *Taxiles* submitted to him. *Porus* and his Army, after a Fight of eight Hours, were vanquished, and himself made Prisoner. *Alexander* asking him how he should be dealt with, he answered, *In a princely Manner*; under which Expression he comprehended all that he could desire (c). Accordingly *Alexander* was so generous, as to restore to him his Kingdom, and augment it. He went no farther than to this Side of the River *Ganges*, his Army being weary of those Wandrings; and therefore, having erected Altars on the Side of that River, and given Orders to build one City which he called *Nicaa*, in memory of his Victory over *Porus*, and another called *Bucephala*, for his Horse which died there, he returned. While he besieged one of the Cities of the *Mallians*, he was in danger of losing his Life: For being the first who scaled the Walls, and rashly leaping into the City before others were ready to support him, he was near wounded to Death (d). In his Way through the Southern Provinces of *Persia* (e), where the Country is overspread with barren sandy Desarts, many of his Army lost their Lives, by Sands, want of Water and other necessary Provisions, and by the excessive Heat of the Climate. *Nearchus* his Admiral, with his Fleet, having coasted from the Mouth of the River *Indus* to *Ormus* in the Bay of *Persia*, he gave *Alexander* an Account of his Voyage. With which he was exceedingly delighted (f), and proposed no less than to equip a Fleet that might sail round *Arabia* and all *Africa*, and return by *Hercules's Pillars*, now called *The Streights of Gibraltar*, into the *Mediterranean* Sea: But this he never accomplished. At *Susa* he married *Statyra*, the eldest of *Darius's* Daughters (g), and persuaded his principal Officers and Followers to marry the rest of them, to the Number of about one hundred: He paid their Dowries, gave liberal Gifts and Rewards to his Favourites, and cleared the Arrears of his Army. At last he returned to *Babylon*; and finding it a great and very pleasant Place, well supplied with all things necessary, he resolved there to fix the Seat of his Empire, to add all Improvements to it that it was capable of, and projected many other Designs which were never executed.

That which he chiefly set his Heart upon, was, to repair the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* (h), which *Xerxes* had ruined in his Return from *Greece* (i). This he proposed to make more magnificent than it had been before. In order thereto, he commanded the Ground to be cleared of its Rubbish; but finding the *Magians*, to whom he had committed the Care of this Work, to go on slowly with it, he employed his Soldiers to assist them: But tho' ten thousand of them laboured every Day in the Work, for two Months together, to the Time of his Death; yet they were forced to leave it imperfect, the Ground being still uncleared: So great were the Ruins of the Building. When it came to the Turn of the *Jews*, who then served *Alexander* among his *Asian* Recruits, to labour in this Work, they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping Hand to it; for which they gave this Reason, *That their Religion declaring against Idolatry, forbade them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous Temple* (k): So that tho' several Punishments were inflicted upon them for their Refusal, not one of them could be brought to recede from it. Whereupon *Alexander*, admiring their Constancy, dismissed them from his Service, and sent them all home to their own Country.

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(a) Arrianus de expeditione Alex. lib. 4. p. 284. (b) Plutarch. in Alex. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 27. (c) Plutarch. in Alexandro, p. m. 704. Arrian lib. 5. p. 349. (d) Idem, lib. 6. v. 394.—398. (e) Ibid. 425.—428. (f) Vide Arriani Indica, & Nearchi Periplum. inter geographiae veteris scriptores Graeciae minores. (g) Arrianus de expeditione, lib. 7. p. 447. (h) Ibid. p. 480. (i) Above, p. 242. (k) Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 1. ex Hecataeo.

But the greatest Part of the Time that *Alexander* lay in *Babylon* was spent in gratifying himself with the Pleasures and Luxuries of that Place, especially in drinking, which he carried to the utmost Excess, spending sometimes whole Days and Nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a Fever, of which in a few Days he died. Some Authors report many Omens that did prognosticate his Death, which I do not insist upon: Others say that he died of Poison, or that this was an Ingredient in the big *Herculean* Cup he drank. The Sons of *Antipater* are charged as guilty of this Treason (a), that *Cassander* brought it out of *Greece*, and that *Iolas* his Brother gave it to the Conqueror. *Alexander* having about this Time dismissed *Craterus* with ten thousand Veterans into *Greece*, with Commission to succeed *Antipater* in his Government of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Thrace* and *Thessaly*; and ordered *Antipater* to come to *Babylon*, he fearing that he was called to Account for Male-administration, took this Way to prevent it. *Pausanias* (b) tells us, and *Strabo* (c) agrees with him, of a Fountain in *Arcadia* called *Styx*, whose Water is so cold as to be poisonous; that this Water is distilled from the Rock *Nonacris* in small Quantities, and is of so piercing a Nature, that it breaks through any Vessel except a Mule's Hoof: And therefore they say it was carried in such a Hoof from *Greece* to *Babylon* for executing this Murder. But *Alexander* having sat one long Drinking-bout, was invited to another; where having drunk to great Excess, he called for the big *Herculean* Cup, which held six *English* Quarts (d), and drank this full to *Proteus* the *Macedonian*, and a little after pledged him again in the same; which was poison enough to kill any Man: For immediately after this last Cup, he dropt down, and fell into that great Fever which ended his Days. Thus died *Alexander* the Great, in the first Year of the 114th *Olympiad* (e), which fell in the Year before the Birth of Christ 324, when he had reigned six Years in the East after the Death of *Darius*. And here ended all the Designs of this great, tho' vain-glorious Prince. Never had any Man a greater Run of Success than he, for twelve Years and a half together; for so long he reigned from the Death of his Father *Philip*: And in that Time he subjected to himself all the Nations and Countries that lay from the *Adriatic* Sea to the *Ganges*, the greater Part of the then known habitable World. And tho' most of his Actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant Rashness, yet none of them failed of Success, God having ordained him to be his Instrument for bringing to pass all that was by the Prophet *Daniel* foretold concerning him: He did by his Providence bear him through in all things, for the accomplishing of it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his Hand; for he died in the prime Vigour and Strength of his Life, being thirty two Years eight Months old (f), and was afterwards buried by *Ptolemy* at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (g). There might perhaps a more accurate Account of his Life and Actions be given, if we had any contemporary Historian remaining; but the antient Authors transmitted to us, who wrote his History, lived all at a great Distance from his Time: For *Diodorus Siculus* wrote about the sixtieth Year before Christ, that is two hundred and sixty four Years after *Alexander's* Death. The rest are much later: *Justin*, who compendized the History of *Trogus Pompeius*, flourished in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, that is, in the second Century; *Quintus Curtius* in the Reign of *Vespasian*, in the first Century; *Plutarch* in the Reign of *Trajan*; and *Arrian*, *De expeditione Alexandri*, which in my humble Opinion is one of the most exact Histories of his Affairs, in the Reign of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus Pius* and *Philosophus* (h), that is in the second Century of the Christian Æra.

§ 2. AFTER his Death, there arose great Confusion among his Followers about the Succession (i). But after seven Days Contest, it came to this Agreement, That *Aridæus*, a bastard Brother of *Alexander*, should be declared King; and that if *Roxana*, who was then gone eight Months with child, should bring forth a Son, he should be joined with him in the Throne; and *Perdiccas* (to whom *Alexander*, when dying, had given his Ring) should have the Guardianship of both: For *Aridæus* being an Idiot, needed a Guardian as much as the Infant. After this, the Governments of the Empire being divided among the chief Commanders of the Army, every one of them went to take possession of his Part, leaving *Perdiccas* at *Babylon*, to take care of *Aridæus*, and to secure and direct for him the main Affairs of the whole Empire. For some Time they contented themselves with the Name of Governors, but at length took that of Kings, as they had the sovereign Authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the Provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making War against each other, till thereby they were in a few Years all destroyed to four. These were *Cassander*, *Lysimachus*, *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*; who thus divided the whole Empire between them: *Cassander* had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus*, *Thrace*, and those Parts of *Asia* that lay upon the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Palestine* and *Cœlesyria*; and *Seleucus* had the Provinces from *Cœlesyria* Eastward, to the River *Ganges*, or as far as *Alexander's* Conquests extended. Thus the Prophecies of *Daniel* were fulfilled, which

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foretold,

(a) Justin, lib. 12, cap. 13, 14. Curtius, lib. 10, cap. 26. Arrian, lib. 7, p. 500. (b) In Arcadicis, p. 635, 636. (c) Lib. 8, p. 389. (d) Plutarchus in Alexandro, Diod. Siculus, lib. 17, cap. 117. (e) Eusebius in Chronico. (f) Arrian, lib. 7, p. 502. (g) Q. Curtius, lib. 10, in fine. (h) Photii Eclogæ, ad calcem Arriani, p. 818. (i) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 18, cap. 1, — 4. Justin, lib. 13, cap. 1, — 4.

foretold, That the great Horn of the *Macedonian* Empire (that is *Alexander*) being broken, four stood up for it (a). Four kingdoms shall stand out of the nation, but not in his power, nor to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled. All which was literally accomplished.

Syfigambis the Mother of *Darius*, tho' she had born with great Patience the Death of her Father, her Husband, and of eighty of her Brothers slain by *Ochus* (b) in one Day, and since that the Death of her Son, and the Ruin of the *Persian* Monarchy with his Family; yet could not bear the Death of *Alexander* (c). He had shewn great Kindness to her; and not knowing where to expect any more, she took the Loss of him to be the finishing Stroke of her Calamities: And therefore, on hearing of it, she refused to take any more Sustenance, but in five Days famished herself to Death. This was accompanied with the Death of her two Granddaughters (d), *Statyra* the Widow of *Alexander*, and *Drypetis* the Widow of *Hephaestion*: For *Roxana*, having by the Concurrence of *Perdiccas* craftily got them into her Power, caused them both to be cast into a Well, and murdered. She feared *Statyra* might be with child, and if that proved to be a Son, the same might disturb the Settlement made in favour of her Son, in case she had one; and therefore she took this cruel Way to prevent it.

Aridæus being placed on the Throne, they changed his Name into that of *Philip* (e). Hence the *Philippic* Æra hath its Original, which the *Egyptians* computed from the first Day of that Year wherein *Alexander* the Great died. In a few Months *Roxana* was delivered of a Son, who was called *Alexander*; and his Name, with that of *Aridæus* or *Philip*, was afterwards joined in the Government of the Empire; tho' neither of them had any more than a Name of it, the Authority being wholly usurped by those who had divided the Provinces among them.

Tho' *Alexander's* Conquests in a few Years after his Death resolved into four Kingdoms, as hath been observed; yet at the first Division among his Officers, there were a great many more different Governments: For we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (f) and *Justin* (g), That *Ptolemæus* *Lagus* got the Government of *Egypt*; *Pithon* had *Media*; *Eumenes*, *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*; *Antigonus*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and the Greater *Phrygia*; *Cassander* had *Caria*; *Meleager*, *Lydia*; *Leonnatus* had *Phrygia* at the *Hellepont*; *Thracia* and *Pontus* were given to *Lyfimachus*; *Laomedon* had *Syria* and *Mitylene*; *Antipater* had *Macedonia*; *Perdiccas* had the Government of *Aridæus* and of the Infant *Alexander*; *Seleucus* had the Command of the Horse and the Allies; and *Craterus* was sent into *Macedon* with ten thousand Veterans to succeed *Antipater*. But most of these great Men were soon destroyed, and the Provinces assigned them were seized by others: For *Leonnatus* going to assist *Antipater* Governor of *Macedon*, against the *Greeks* in the *Lamian* War, was slain in Battle (h); *Meleager* was cut off by *Perdiccas*, rather to satisfy a private Grudge, than for any just Cause (i); *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were killed fighting against *Eumenes* (k). *Perdiccas* finding that *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, to whom *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia* were assigned, could not get possession of those Countries, by reason that *Ariathes* King of *Cappadocia* held them, they never having been thoroughly subdued by *Alexander* the Great; he then marched, with thirty thousand Foot and fifteen thousand Horse, taking *Aridæus*, and *Alexander* the Child with him; and having defeated *Ariathes* in Battle, in which four thousand were killed, and six thousand taken Prisoners (l), he then marched against *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, whom he hated, and would fain have ruined. But *Ptolemy* having by his Benignity and Justice gained the Affection of all *Egypt*, abundance of *Perdiccas's* Men revolted to him; and *Perdiccas* tired the rest by hard Enterprizes without Success. At last he endeavoured to pass a Branch of the *Nile* over against *Memphis*, where the Water was scarce fordable; yet he essayed it, by placing his Elephants above the Passage to break the Current, and his Horse below, to take up the Foot in case they should be carried down. The foremost got over, but these who were behind them could find no Ground, and so were obliged to return; and those who were got to the other Side, to swim back for their Lives, with the Loss of two thousand Men, who were either drowned, or devoured by Crocodiles. *Ptolemy* with great Civility ordered to bury the dead Bodies that were cast upon the Shore, and all this raised such a mutinous Spirit among *Perdiccas's* Men, as, being headed by *Pithon*, they went into their General's Tent, and murdered him (m). *Pithon* carried back *Aridæus* and young *Alexander* to *Macedon*. *Antipater* died there, when he was eighty Years old; and after some Difficulties was succeeded by *Cassander*. Thus many of those Captains came to an End, and of the rest we shall hear afterwards.

Eumenes, after several successful Enterprizes, at the Head of the *Argyraspides* (who were so called because *Alexander* the Great had honoured them with Bucklers adorned with silver Bars) invaded *Seleucus*, and advanced against *Antigonus*, over whom he gained the Victory: But the Dust raised by the Army, in a sandy Field, was so great, that nothing could be seen; of

(a) Dan. vii. 6. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4. (b) See above, p. 264. (c) Justin, lib. 17. cap. 1. Diod. Siculus, lib. 17. in fine, Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 14. (d) Plutarchus in Alexandro. (e) Justin, lib. 13. cap. 3. Ptolemæus in Canone. (f) Lib. 18. cap. 3. (g) Lib. 13. cap. 4. (h) Diod. Siculus, lib. 18. cap. 5. (i) Ibid. cap. 4. (k) Plutarchus in Eumene. (l) Diod. Siculus, lib. 18. cap. 16. (m) Ibid. cap. 33, — 37.

of which *Antigonus* took Advantage to seize *Eumenes's* Baggage with his Soldiers Wives and Children. The Men were so enraged with this Loss, that to ransom their Wives and Baggage, they bound their General with Chains, and notwithstanding all the Remonstrances he could make, delivered him to *Antigonus*; who would not see him, lest he should have been moved to compassionate the Case of his old fellow Soldier, but caused him to be put to death in Prison. Yet he gave him a decent Burial, and honoured his Memory after he was gone (a): And indeed he was one of the most wise and gallant Men of his Age.

In the Year before the Birth of Christ 321, *Jaddua* the High-priest of the Jews being dead, *Onias* his Son succeeded him in that Office (b), which he held twenty one Years. Ant. C.
321.

Ptolemy the Son of *Lagus* had a pretty easy Possession of *Egypt* (c). He was a virtuous and also a learned Man; for we are told that he wrote the History of *Alexander*, which had been valuable, in regard he was Witness to all his Wars, and had a great Share in them: But alas, 'tis lost. *Arrian* (d) owns that he had seen it, and that he for most part follows him. This *Ptolemy* finding that *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Judea* lay convenient for him to defend *Egypt*, of which he was already in Possession, and also in Order to make a Descent upon the Island of *Cyprus*, which he had in his Eye, resolved to make himself Master (e) of these Provinces. In the first Partition of the Empire, they were granted to *Laomedon* the *Mitylenæan*; and he refused on any Terms to part with them. *Ptolemy* therefore sent *Nicanor* one of his Captains with an Army into *Syria* to gain them by Force, while he with a Fleet invaded *Phœnicia*. *Nicanor* having vanquished *Laomedon* in Battle, and taken him Prisoner, seized all the Inland Country, and *Ptolemy* had the like good Success on the Coast. But when all other Parts readily yielded to *Ptolemy*, the Jews alone refused to submit (f). They having a just Sense of the Oath which they had sworn to the former Governor, would comply with nothing contrary to it. Whereon *Ptolemy* marched into *Judea*, and laid Siege to *Jerusalem*. The Place being strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, might have held out a long Time against him: But the Jews had then such a superstitious Notion for the keeping of their Sabbath, that they thought it a Breach of their Law even to defend themselves on that Day; which *Ptolemy* observing, made Choice of their Sabbath to storm the Town, and took it in the Assault, because none of them would on that Day defend their Walls against him. *Josephus* being unwilling to expose his Nation to the Contempt of the Greeks for so ridiculous a Folly, tells the Story otherwise, as if *Ptolemy* had taken the Place by breaking Articles of Composition. But other Historians, even these whom *Josephus* quotes (g), give the Account we have now related. And it seems to be true; for it appears from the Book of the *Maccabees* (h), that till *Mattathias* and these with him made a Decree to the contrary, it was the stated Opinion of the Jews to do nothing on the Sabbath Day, even for the saving of their own Lives against those who came to destroy them.

When *Ptolemy* had thus made himself Master of *Jerusalem* and all *Judea*, at first he dealt very hardly with the Inhabitants; for he carried above 100,000 of them Captives into *Egypt*: But afterwards reflecting on their Steadiness to their Oaths to former Princes and Governors (i), he thought them proper for the highest Trust; and therefore having chosen thirty thousand of them, whom he thought best qualified for military Service, he committed to them to garrison and keep the Towns which were of greatest Importance, and appointed the rest to be with them at their Desire, and assist them with all Necessaries. And whereas he had lately brought under him *Cyrene* and *Libya*, he placed several of them also there; and from them descended the *Cyrenian Jews*, of whom was *Jason* (k), who wrote the History of the *Maccabees* in five Books, of which the second Book of *Maccabees*, which we now have, is an Abridgment; and of whom also was *Simon* who bore Christ's Cross at his Crucifixion (l), and others that are mentioned in the *Acts* (m) of the Apostles.

In the Year before Christ 317, a great Change happened in *Macedonia*; for *Olympias* (n) Ant. C.
317. the Mother of *Alexander* having formerly fled out of *Epirus*, with *Alexander* her Grandson, and *Roxana* his Mother, for fear of *Antipater*, now after his Death she returned; and having got the Power of the Kingdom into her Hands, put *Aridæus* the nominal King (whom they called *Philip*) to Death, with *Eurydice* his Wife, after he had born the Title of King six Years and seven Months; and with him also she slew *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and one hundred more of his principal Friends and Adherents. Which Cruelty was retaliated upon her next Year; for then *Cassander* coming upon her with an Army, besieged her in *Pydna*; and having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in Prison, and afterwards caused her there to be put to Death; which she endured with a manly Courage. After the cutting off *Aridæus*, *Alexander* the Son of *Roxana* alone bore the Title of King, till at length he was also in like

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(a) Plutarch. in *Eumene*, Justin, lib. 14. cap. 3, 4. (b) Joseph. lib. 11. cap. 8. (c) Diod. Sicul. lib. 18. cap. 14. (d) *Arriani præfatio ad libros de expedit. Alexandri*, & lib. 6. p. 381. (e) Diod. Sicul. lib. 18. cap. 43. (f) Josephi Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. (g) *Agathircides* apud Joseph. lib. 12. cap. 1. (h) 1 *Maccab.* ii. 41. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. (k) 2 *Maccab.* i. 7. (l) *Matth.* xxvii. 32. *Luke* xxiii. 26. (m) *Acts* ii. 10. vi. 9. (n) Justin, lib. 14. cap. 5, 6. Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 11. & 51.

Manner cut off by the Treachery of those who usurped his Father's Empire ; and almost all the Time he bore the Title alone, he bore it in Prison : For *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pydna*, shut him up and his Mother in the Castle of *Amphipolis*, till at length he murdered them both, to make Way for himself to be King of *Macedon*.

When *Antigonus* had got *Eumenes* into his Hands, and put him to Death, as hath been before related, he looked on the whole Empire of *Asia* as his own. For the better securing of it, he made a Reformation thro' all the eastern Provinces, putting out all such Governors as he distrusted, and placing others in whom he had greater Confidence, in their Stead ; and such as he thought dangerous he cut off. As to the *Argyraspides*, who had betrayed *Eumenes* into his Hands, he sent them into *Arachosia*, the remotest Province of the Empire (a) with Orders to *Sibyritus* Governor there, that by all Means he should cause them all be destroyed, so as not a Man of them might ever return to *Greece* ; for tho' he had Profit by the Treason, he hated the Traitors.

In the mean Time *Seleucus* got into *Egypt*, where he so effectually represented to *Ptolemy* the formidable Power of *Antigonus*, as he also did to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, by Messengers, that he drew them all three into a League against him. But *Antigonus*, with his gallant Son *Demetrius*, whose Life and Actions are well described by *Plutarch* (b), gave them all for several Years enough to do. *Antigonus* had by this Time cut off *Pithon*, Governor of *Media*, (c) and seized his Country. He had taken *Joppe* and *Gaza*, and reduced *Tyre* after a Siege of fifteen Months : Tho' *Alexander* the Great, nineteen Years before this, had ruined this City, yet having a great Trade both from the East and the West, it had now (d) so far recovered Strength, as to be able to endure so long a Siege. *Ptolemy* with his Fleet having brought most of the Island of *Cyprus* under his Subjection, by the Advice of *Seleucus* he marched into *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, and at *Gaza* found *Demetrius* ready to obstruct his further Progress. This brought on a fierce Battle between them, in which *Ptolemy* gained the Victory, having slain five thousand of *Demetrius's* Men, and taken eight thousand Captives ; which forced *Demetrius* to quit all *Phœnicia*, *Palestine* and *Cœlesyria* to the Conqueror. Upon his asking Leave to bury the Dead, *Ptolemy* not only granted this, but also sent him all his Equipage, Tents, and Furniture, with all his Friends, Family and Servants, without any Ransom (e) : Which Kindness *Demetrius* had occasion to return, when he afterwards gained the like Advantage. All the other Captives *Ptolemy* sent to *Egypt*, and there employed them aboard his Fleet. All the Coast of *Phœnicia* surrendered to him, excepting *Tyre*, which also in a little Time mutinied against *Andronicus* their Conqueror, and delivered the Place to *Ptolemy*, and him with it.

Seleucus having obtained of *Ptolemy* a thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, marched eastward with him to recover *Babylon*, out of which he had fled for fear of *Antigonus*. With so small a Force did he undertake so great an Enterprize (f), and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, all the *Macedonians* who were there in Garrison joined with him : And as soon as he drew near *Babylon*, great Numbers of the Inhabitants of that Province flocked to him. Remembring his mild Government, and the Severity of *Antigonus*, they were glad of his Return : And therefore on his Approach to the City, he found the Gates opened ; and he was received into the Place with the general Acclamations of the People. These who were on the Part of *Antigonus* retired to the Castle ; of which *Seleucus* soon made himself Master : And with it he received his Children, Friends and Servants, whom, on his Flight into *Egypt*, *Antigonus* had shut up in Prison ; and then applied himself to bring together such an Army, as might enable him to keep Possession of what he had gotten ; which he effectually did : For having met with *Antigonus's* Army at an Advantage near the *Tigris*, he stormed his Camp in the Night, and put his whole Army to the Rout. Whereupon many of the conquered joined him ; whereby he was enabled to seize *Media*, *Sufiana*, and some neighbouring Provinces ; and so fixed his Interest by the Clemency of his Government, that at length he became the greatest of all *Alexander's* Successors.

From the Re-taking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, began the famous *Æra* of the *Seleucidae*, made use of all over the East, by *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Christians* and *Mahometans*. 'Tis called by the *Jews* the *Æra of Contracts*, because after they fell under the Government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to use it in all Contracts, and other Instruments about Civil Affairs. And it afterwards grew so much in Use among them, that till a thousand Years after Christ, they had no other Way to compute their Time, save by this *Æra of Contracts* : But when about the Year of our LORD 1040, they were driven out of the East, and settled here in *Europe*, they learned from some Christian Chronologers to compute the Years from the Creation of the World. *Seleucus* made himself Master of *Babylon* that Year *Polymon* was *Archon* of *Athens*, when the 117 *Olympiad* was celebrated, at which *Parmenio* of *Mytelene* was Victor ; *L. Papyrius* being then the fifth Time, and *C. Junius* the second Time Roman

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(a) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 48. (b) Plutarch. in Demetrio. (c) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 46. (d) Ibid, cap. 58, 59. (e) Ibid, cap. 91, — 96. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 1. (f) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 19. cap. 100, 101, Appianus in Syriacis.

Consuls (a); which Characters do agree to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4402, from the Creation of the World 3638; before the Birth of Christ 310, according to *Helvicius's* Chronological Tables. And 'tis the more necessary to understand this Epochæ, in regard 'tis frequently made use of in *Josephus*, and the Books of the *Maccabees*: And if you add the Number 3638 to the Year there given, the Product will be the Year from the Creation; and if you take the Year there given from the Number 310, the Remainder will show the Year before the Birth of Christ, only this does not exactly agree with the Years before Christ in *Prideaux's Connection*. The *Arabs* call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. the *Æra of the two horned*: Which Designation *Dr. Prideaux* (b) takes to have its Rise from what is said of *Seleucus*, that he was of so great Strength, that taking hold of a Bull by the Horn, he could stop him in his full Career; and therefore the Statuaries made his Statues with two Bulls Horns on his Head.

Ptolemy being at this Time Master of all *Phœnicia*, *Judea* and *Cœlesyria*, sent *Cilles*, one of his Generals, to take Possession of the upper *Syria* also, which *Demetrius* then held. But *Cilles* despising his Adversary, as already baffled, and making his Encampments with too little Care; *Demetrius* came upon him by a speedy March in the Night Time before he was aware, and got an absolute Victory (c), near the City *Myus*, taking his Camp, and making 7000 of his Men Prisoners of War; among whom was *Cilles* the General: But *Demetrius* sent back the Men without Ransom, as *Ptolemy* had done to him; after he had defeated his Forces at *Gaza* (d). *Antigonus* hearing of this Victory, joined his Son in upper *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* fearing that he would not be able to encounter the joint Forces of Father and Son, disinanted *Ace*, *Joppa*, *Samaria* and *Gaza*, and retired to *Egypt*: Whereupon all *Judea*, *Phœnicia* and *Cœlesyria*, returned under the Power of *Antigonus*.

A great Number of the Inhabitants of these Countries followed *Ptolemy*, rather out of Choice than Compulsion, and especially many of the *Jews* (e), whom he planted at *Alexandria*. By which Means there having been many of that Nation encouraged there by *Alexander* the Great, as hath been already (f) related, the *Jewish* Quarter in that City increased to several thousand Families. Many *Samaritans* as well as *Jews*, between whom were frequent Debates about their Temple, upon the like Encouragement became also Inhabitants of that City, where they multiplied to a great Number. Among these who followed *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* on this Occasion, there was one *Ezekias* a Priest, of eminent Note, of sixty Years of Age (g). *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, an Historian quoted by *Josephus*; (for his Book is now lost) takes particular Notice of him, as a Person of great Wisdom and Prudence, an eloquent Speaker, and one who thoroughly understood the World: And further says, That he having contracted Acquaintance with him, they had frequent Conferences together; by which he learned what was the Religion, Policy, and manner of living among the *Jews*, wherein they differed from other Nations. 'Tis likely from this *Ezekias*, *Hecataeus* was induced to have so favourable an Opinion of the *Jews* and their Religion; and that from him he received Information of most of these Things he wrote concerning them: For he composed a very particular History of the *Jews* (h), therein treating of them from *Abraham*, down to his Time; in which he speaks so honourably of them and their Religion, that *Origen* (i) tells us; that *Heremius Philo*, a Heathen Writer, about the Time of *Trajan*, did for this Reason question whether it was the genuine Work of *Hecataeus* or not, inferring that either it was composed by some *Jew*, under the Name of *Hecataeus*, or else, if he were the true Author thereof, he was corrupted to the *Jewish* Religion when he wrote it. *Josephus* tells us of another *Jew* called *Mosallam* (k), who about this Time followed *Ptolemy*, and had lifted himself a Horseman in his Army; and from the same *Hecataeus* gives this remarkable Story of him, saying, As I was travelling towards the Red Sea, there was in company with us a *Jew* named *Mosallam*, one of a *Jewish* Troop of Horse sent to be our Convoy, a valiant Man, remarkable for his Skill in Archery. As several of us were travelling together, a Soothsayer had us all stand still, and we did so. This *Jew* asked what we stood for? Look ye, answered the cunning Man, and shewed him a Bird, if that Bird stands, you are to stand, and if it riseth and flees on, you are to go forewards: But if it flees the contrary Way, you must all go back again. The *Jew*, without speaking a Word, lets flee an Arrow, and kills the Bird. Whereon the Diviner fell on him in most outrageous Terms. Why, says the *Jew*, are ye all mad, to make such a Bustle about a silly Bird! How could it foreshew us our Fortune that knew nothing of its own? If it could have fortold Good or Evil to come, it would have kept out of this Place for fear of being killed by the Arrow of *Mosallam* the *Jew*. Thus far *Hecataeus*, who tells this Story of Purpose to expose and condemn the Superstition of the Heathens which then obtained concerning these Matters, and to extoll the Wisdom of the *Jews* in despising and rejecting all these Follies.

Demetrius made a Peace with the *Nabathæan Arabs*, with which *Antigonus* his Father

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(a) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 87. 100, 101. Strauchii Brev. Chronolog. p. 346. (b) Connect. p. 540. (c) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 191. (d) Plutarch. in Demet. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. (f) Above p. 270. (g) Joseph. contra Appionem, lib. 1. (h) Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 9. (i) Origenes contra Celsum, lib. 1. (k) Contra Appionem lib. 1.

Father was not well pleased; for these wandering Robbers cannot be bound to Articles (a): But he was better satisfied with the Discovery that his Son had made of the Lake *Asphaltites* or *Dead Sea*; from which he expected to make Profit, by gathering the Bitumen, the Sulphur, or *Jews Lime*, which is there to be had in Plenty, and sent immediately *Jerom* the *Cardian*, an Historian of that Time (whose Works are now lost) with a Party of Men and Boats to gather it. But as soon as they had got together a considerable Quantity of the Bitumen, the *Arabians* came upon them, to the Number of six thousand, who destroyed the Boats, killed the Men, and put an End to this Project.

Antigonus being informed of the Successes of *Seleucus* at *Babylon*, and in these eastern Parts of the World, sent his Son *Demetrius* with an Army to recover *Babylon* out of his Hands. *Seleucus* being then absent in *Media*, *Demetrius* entred that City without Opposition: For *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left his Lieutenant, finding himself not strong enough to encounter so powerful an Adversary, retreated with his Forces into the Fens; where being surrounded with Ditches, Rivers and Morasses, he protected himself by the Inaccessibleness of his Camp, and ordered all his Friends to flee out of the City; which they did, and saved themselves till the Enemy retired. *Demetrius* took one of the Castles in *Babylon*, and expelling the Garrison of *Seleucus*, he placed there one of his own of seven thousand Men. But being recalled by his Father, he plundered the whole Province (b), and left only a thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, to carry on the Siege of the Castle that stood out. The Plunder alienated the Hearts of the People from *Antigonus* and his Party, and united them to *Seleucus* ever after. So that on *Seleucus's* returning to *Babylon*, after the Retreat of *Demetrius*, he soon expelled the Forces the other had left there, recovered the Castle, and settled his Interest in these Parts upon so solid a Foundation as it could never after be shaken.

Demetrius on his Return to the lesser *Asia*, raised *Ptolemy* from the Siege of *Halicarnassus*, which brought on a Treaty among the surviving Captains of *Alexander* the Great, who succeeded him in his Conquests; whereby it was agreed (c), That *Cassander* should have the Command of *Macedonia*, till *Alexander* the Son of *Roxana* should be of Age; that *Lyfimachus* should have *Thrace*, *Ptolemy* should enjoy *Egypt*, with the adjacent Parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*; that *Antigonus* should have all the lesser *Asia*, and that the Grecian Cities should enjoy their own Laws. But this Agreement did not last long; *Alexander* the Son of *Roxana* being now fourteen Years of Age, *Cassander* caused him and his Mother to be murdered in the Castle of *Amphipolis*. *Polysperchon*, who governed in *Peloponnesus*, pretended to be very much displeased with this cruel Action done by *Cassander*; and that he with an Army would settle *Hercules* the Son of *Alexander* by *Barsina*, the Widow of *Memnon*, in the Throne of his Predecessors: But *Polysperchon* having got all from *Cassander* that he wanted, this Son, then seventeen Years of Age, with his Mother, was also cut off (d). Thus were the Heirs of *Alexander* the Great treacherously destroyed, that these Usurpers might share the Inheritance. And *Cleopatra* the Sister of *Alexander* was murdered in like Manner by *Antigonus*.

In the Year before the Birth of Christ 306, *Demetrius* went to *Athens*, to restore, as he pretended, the Liberties of *Greece*, but in reality to expel thence the Garrison of *Cassander*, and depress his Power in these Parts; which he fully effected, by driving *Demetrius Phalereus* out of that City, as hath been observed when discoursing of the Affairs of *Greece* (e). Upon *Demetrius's* Return, his Father sent him with a great Fleet, and an Army aboard the same, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of the Island of *Cyprus* (f); which he did with great Success: For having taken *Urania*, he besieged *Menelaus* in *Salamis*, the chief Town of the Island; whereupon *Ptolemy* sailed with a great Fleet for his Succour. This produced a Fight at Sea, whereupon *Demetrius* obtained a signal Victory, and *Ptolemy* was forced with eight Ships only to take his Flight into *Egypt*, leaving all behind him in the Power of the Conqueror: Whereupon the whole Island of *Cyprus*, with all the Shipping, Forces and Magazines that *Ptolemy* had there, fell into his Hands. *Antigonus* being very much puffed up with this Success, assumed the Title of King, and wore a Crown, and sent another to *Demetrius*, giving him the Title of King also, which from this Time they used in their Epistles, Decrees, and publick Writings (g). When the *Egyptians* heard of this, that *Ptolemy*, to whom they bore a great Affection, might not seem lessened by his Misfortunes, they gave him the same Title. The Example was followed by *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, who about the same Time usurped the Title of Kings in their Territories, tho' they had exercised regal Authority for several Years before.

Seleucus was grown very great in the East: for having defeated *Nicanor*, who was sent against him by *Antigonus*, he not only secured to himself *Affyria*, *Media*, and *Babylon*, but carrying his Arms further, reduced under him *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania* (h), and all the other Provinces on this Side the River *Indus*. The Mildness of his Government, and the Sweetness of his Temper made him much beloved by his People; whereas *Antigonus* was rather hated for contrary Qualities.

(a) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 104.—111. (b) Plutarch. in Demet. (c) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 115. (d) Idem, lib. 20. cap. 28. (e) Above p. 305. (f) Diod. Sicul. lib. 20. cap. 48,—55. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 2. Plutarch. in Demetrio. (g) Idem ibidem. (h) Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

Antigonus, to pursue the Blow that *Demetrius* had given to *Ptolemy* at *Cyprus*, gathered an Army of one hundred thousand Men for invading *Egypt*, while *Demetrius* prepared with a strong Fleet to make a Descent upon the same Country by one of the Mouths of the *Nile*. But all Places were so well guarded, that they had no Success; and *Antigonus's* Army being weakened by Sickneſs and Desertions, and their Proviſions ſpent, he was forced to return to *Syria*. Whereupon the King of *Egypt* was more firmly ſettled in his Kingdom than ever heretofore; and therefore *Ptolemy* (a) the Aſtronomer here begins his Reign, giving it a new Epochs, which commenceth with the ſeventh of *November*, nineteen Years after the Death of *Alexander the Great*.

The *Rhodians* ſubſiſting by the Trade of *Egypt*, adhered to the Intereſt of *Ptolemy*; and therefore *Demetrius* endeavoured by his Fleet and Army to bring them to his Obedience. But *Rhodes* being ſupported by *Ptolemy*, after a Year's Siege *Demetrius* was not able to take it, but was content to make Peace with them on theſe Terms (b), *That they ſhould associate with Antigonus in all his Wars except againſt Ptolemy*. And the *Rhodians*, further to ſhew their Gratitude to *Ptolemy*, made for him a Grove, and gave him divine Honours, according to the profane Flattery of thoſe Times, and alſo gave him the additional Name of *Σωτήρ*, or *Saviour*, by which he is commonly called by Hiſtorians, to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Ptolemies* who reigned in *Egypt*. Ant. C.
304.
Ptolemæ
ſol. 2.

Seleucus having ſecured himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of all the Countries from the *Euphrates* to the River *Indus*, reſolved to make War upon *Sandrocottus* for making himſelf Maſter of *India* alſo. This *Sandrocottus* was an *Indian*, of mean Original, who under pretence of freeing his Country from Tyranny (c), had expelled the *Macedonians* out of thoſe *Indian* Provinces that had been conquered by *Alexander the Great*, and ſeized them for himſelf. *Seleucus* having paſſed the River *Indus*, when he found that his Adverſary had an Army of ſix hundred thouſand Men, with a great Number of Elephants managed for War, did not think fit to run the Risk of a Battle, but chuſed to conclude a Treaty of Peace, whereby it was agreed, *That Seleucus ſhould quit his Pretenſions to India, and Sandrocottus ſhould give him five hundred of his Elephants*. This being done, *Seleucus* marched into the Weſtern Parts to make War with *Antigonus*, the Neceſſity whereof haſtned on this Peace: For *Demetrius* having ended the War with the *Rhodians*, ſailed with a great Fleet into *Greece*, where he diſpoſſeſſed *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and moſt of the Places he held in that Country, and preſſed hard upon *Cassander* in *Macedon* (d). This with many other things made *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Cassander* and *Ptolemy*, to look upon *Antigonus* with his Son *Demetrius* as deſigning to ſuppreſs all the other Succeſſors of *Alexander the Great*, and to uſurp the whole Empire to themſelves; and therefore they all confederated to ruine them. In order to this End, while *Antigonus* was abſent in the Leſſer *Aſia*, and *Demetrius* in *Greece*, *Ptolemy* recovered all *Judea*, *Phœnicia* and *Cœleſyria*, excepting only *Tyre* and *Sidon* (e). But as he beſieged the latter of theſe, being informed that *Antigonus* had defeated *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, he was ſo far impoſed upon by this falſe Report, that he made a Truce with the *Sidonians*, and returned into *Egypt*. Here ends the twentieth Book of *Diodorus Siculus*, and we have no more of the other twenty he wrote, but ſome excerpted Fragments. And by the by we may obſerve, that in thoſe frequent Revolutions *Judea* was oft the Seat of the War; and the *Jews* to be ſure had but an uneaſy Life. Ant. C.
303.

Ant. C.
302.

Ant. C.
301.

Seleucus and *Lyſimachus* having joined their Forces, made up an Army of ſeventy four thouſand Foot, ten thouſand five hundred Horſe, four hundred Elephants and ſix ſcore Chariots of War (f). On the other Side, *Antigonus* with his Son *Demetrius* had ſeventy thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe and ſeventy five Elephants. Between theſe great Armies a fierce deciſive Battle was fought near *Ipsus*, a City of *Phrygia*, where *Demetrius*, who commanded the Horſe, defeated the Son of *Seleucus*; but purſuing him too far, before he returned his Father *Antigonus*, who was then above eighty Years of Age, was killed, his Foot entirely overthrown, and the confederate Kings gained an abſolute Victory. This Battle is placed by *Helvicus* (g) in the fourth Year of the 119th *Olympiad*, which falls in the 4413th Year of the *Julian* Period, from the Creation of the World 3649, after the building of *Rome* 452 Years. *Demetrius* finding the Battle loſt, and his Father ſlain, made his eſcape to *Ephesus* with five thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, which were all the Remains he could pick up of the great Army which his Father and he had led into the Field of Battle. With theſe he went aboard his Fleet he had left there; and ſhifting from Place to Place, ſometimes met with good Fortune, ſometimes with bad: But tho' he ſtill retained ſome Territories in *Greece*, and afterwards for ſome Years reigned in *Macedon*, yet he could never recover his Father's Empire; and in the ſeventeen Years which he afterwards lived, met with Diſappointments in all Attempts he made towards it. Among the Territories which he retained for ſome time after the Battle,

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were

(a) In Canone. (b) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 20. cap. 84. — 101. *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*. (c) *Justin*, lib. 15. cap. 4. (d) *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*. (e) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 20. cap. ult. (f) *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*, *Appianus* in *Syriacis*, p. 197. (g) In *Theatro*, p. 70, 71.

were *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and the Island of *Cyprus*; from which he made an Inroad into the Territories of the *Samaritans* (a), and did them great Damage.

After the Death of *Antigonus* the four confederated Princes divided his Dominions between them, whereby the whole Empire of *Alexander* the Great became parted into four Kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cælesyria* and *Palestine*; *Cassander*, *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus* had *Thrace*, *Bitbynia*, the *Bosphorus*, with some Provinces beyond the *Hellepont*; and *Seleucus* had all the rest. These were the four Horns of the He-goat mentioned by the Prophet *Daniel* (b), which grew up after the breaking of the first Horn. There were indeed former Partitions of the Empire into Provinces in the Time of the Brother and Son of *Alexander*; but this last was a Partition of it into Kingdoms among Kings: And therefore of this these Prophecies are to be understood. There were indeed five Kings who in a precarious Way assumed Crowns to themselves three Years before the Battle at *Ipsus*; but *Antigonus* not being King above three Years, and his Kingdom absolutely extinguished by his Death, these Prophecies take no Notice of him; but confine the Succession of the great Horn to these four who subdued him. But after this Battle, there being a League between the four who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their Dominions set out in so many Kingdoms, and were authorised by Consent of the whole to govern them as Kings, independent of all Superiors, from this Time only can their respective Divisions be properly reckoned Kingdoms. And in all their Contests which they or their Successors afterwards had about their Limits, they appealed to this League as the original Charter by which they reigned over those Kingdoms.

Ant. C. *Onias* the first of that Name, High-priest of the *Jews*, being dead, he was succeeded in the
300. High-priesthood by *Simon* his Son (c); who from the Holiness of his Life, and the Righte-
Ptol. Sor. 6. ousness of his Actions, was called *Simon the Just*. He was the first High-priest of that Name, and lived in that Office nine Years.

Seleucus, after his Victory over *Antigonus*, having seized the Upper *Syria*, he there built *Antioch*, on the River *Orontes* (d); which for many succeeding Ages became the Queen of the East: For here the *Syrian* Kings had the Seat of their Empire, and here the *Roman* Governors who presided over the East had their Residence; and when Christianity prevailed in the World, it became the See of the chief Patriarch of the *Asian* Churches. It was situated on the River *Orontes*, at the distance of about twenty Miles from the Place where it falls into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and is reckoned mid-way by Land between *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, being about seven hundred Miles distant from each. He called it *Antioch*, say some, from the Name of his Father; others, from that of his Son; and others, from that of both, they having the same Name. It was called *Tetrapolis*, because it consisted of four Quarters, as of so many Cities. The first of them only was built by this *Seleucus Nicator*, or the Conqueror; the second, by those who flocked thither on its being made the Capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* Empire; the third, by *Seleucus Callinicus*; and the fourth, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Each Quarter had its proper Wall, and one common Wall encompassed the whole. The Place was very subject to Earthquakes: However, it continued for near sixteen hundred Years to be the chief City of the East, till at length, in the Year of our Lord 1265, it was taken from the Western Christians by *Bibars* Sultan of *Egypt*, and utterly destroyed by him; and now it is remarkable for nothing but Ruins. *Aleppo* hath succeeded in its stead to be the Metropolis of the Eastern Parts. *Daphne* was counted a Suburb of this City, tho' at the distance of four or five Miles from it: There *Seleucus* planted a Grove ten Miles in compass, and in the middle thereof he erected a Temple, and consecrated both to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making it an *Asylum* or Sanctuary, as it indeed proved to be to lewd and effeminate People (e). *Seleucus* built sixteen other Cities, which he called by the same Name, whereof one was in *Pisidia*, mentioned in Scripture (f). But he razed *Antigonia* to the Ground, which *Antigonus* designed to have made the Seat of his Empire. He built also several other Cities, whereof three were of special Note, which for their good Agreement were called Sisters (g): One of them he termed *Seleucia*, from his own Name; another *Apamia*, from *Apama* his Wife; and the third *Laodicea*, from *Laodice* his Mother.

Ant. C. *Lysimachus*, to strengthen himself in his Kingdom, made a strict Alliance with *Ptolemy*
299. King of *Egypt*; and for cementing thereof, married *Arfinoe* one of his Daughters (h), and
Ptol. Sor. 7. sometime after took another of them to *Agathocles* his Son. *Seleucus* following this Example, married *Stratonice* the Daughter of *Demetrius*, whom he had by *Phila* the Sister of *Cassander*. *Demetrius* willingly accepting the Offer, carried his Daughter with him from *Greece* in his Fleet to *Syria*. In his Way he made a Descent upon *Cilicia*, which *Plistarchus*, the Governor of the Country, complained of to *Seleucus*; but seems to have received no Redress: For *Demetrius*, when he heard of the Complaint, marched to *Quinda*, where some of his Father's

(a) Eusebius in Chronico, sub Olymp. 121. (b) vii. 6. viii. 8, 22. xi. 3, 4. Above, p. 310. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. Eusebius in Chronico. (d) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750. in edit. Paris. 1620. Eusebius in Chronico. (e) See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 629, — 632. (f) Acts, xiii. 14. (g) Strabo, p. 749. (h) Plutarch. in Demetrio.

Father's Treasure yet lay, and carried off thence twelve hundred Talents to his Fleet; and then sailed to *Orassus*, where he delivered to *Selencus* his Bride; and after Feasts and mutual Entertainments failed off, and made himself Master of the whole Province of *Cilicia*. Thus *Demetrius* began to become again considerable in those Parts; for he had the Province of *Cilicia*, the whole Island of *Cyprus*, and the rich Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. *Selencus* offered him a Sum of Money for *Cilicia*; which *Demetrius* refused: Whereupon the former would have pick'd a Quarrel with him; but he said, *Though he should be defeated never so oft, he would never buy a Son-in-law at so dear a Rate*: And *Plutarch* (a) blames *Selencus*, that having so large Dominions, from the River *Indus* to the *Mediterranean*, he would not suffer his Father-in-law quietly to enjoy the Remains of his broken Fortunes. About this Time flourished *Me-gasthenes*, who wrote the *Indian History*; for he was employed by *Selencus* in his Transactions with *Sandrocottus* (b). His Book is now lost, except some Citations pick'd out of it by some antient Writers.

Ant. C.
298.
Ptol. Sec. 8.

Cassander having governed *Macedon* from the Death of *Antipater* his Father nineteen Years, died of a Dropsy (c), leaving behind him, by *Thessalonice* his Wife, one of the Sisters of *Alexander* the Great, three Sons, *Philip*, *Antipater* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, who succeeded first, dying soon after, left the Crown to be contested for between his two Brothers that survived (d). *Demetrius* having forced the *Athenians* to surrender by Famine, resolved next to subdue the *Lacedemonians* (e); and having overthrown them in two Battles, would in all likelihood have taken the City *Sparta*: But a Message came to him, that *Lyfimachus* had taken from him all his Cities in *Asia*, and that *Ptolemy* had taken from him the Island of *Cyprus*; which drew back *Demetrius* from *Lacedemon* to look after his other Affairs. In a little Time he had an Account that *Salamis* was also lost; but *Ptolemy*, like a generous Conqueror, sent him back his Mother, Wife and Children, without Ransom, with all their Servants and Effects, adding other magnificent Presents. 'Tis probable that at the same time also *Tyre* and *Sidon* fell into *Ptolemy's* Hands, and *Cilicia* into the Hands of *Selencus*, it being no longer in *Demetrius's* power to defend them.

Ant. C.
297.

The Contest going on between *Antipater* and *Alexander*, the Sons of *Cassander*, about the Kingdom of *Macedon* (f); *Thessalonice*, the Mother of both, favouring the younger Son, this so exasperated *Antipater*, the eldest of them, against her, that in a most inhumane Manner he slew her with his own Hands (g), tho' she intreated him by the Breasts that he had sucked to spare her Life. This Parricide made him so far to be abhorred by all Men, that so soon as *Demetrius's* Army came to the Borders of *Macedon*, he was abandoned by his People, and forced to flee into *Thrace*, where he died. *Alexander*, who survived, laid a Plot to kill *Demetrius* at an Entertainment, which being discovered, *Demetrius* was before-hand with him, so as to cut off *Alexander* at a Feast, and reigned as King of *Macedon* for seven Years, till another Turn of Fortune threw him also out of that and all his Possessions, as shall be afterwards related. Thus the whole Royal Family of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and of *Alexander* the Great his Son, who had ruined many other Princes, was utterly extinguished; and the Cruelties which *Cassander* had exercised on the Offspring and Kindred of *Alexander* the Great (h) were also recompensed: Which Retributions of Providence ought to be remarked.

About this time *Selencus* built *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty Miles from *Babylon*. It was situated on the Western Side of the River, over against the Place where *Bagdad* now stands on the East, and it soon encreased to be a very great City: For *Pliny* (i) tells us, that it had in it six hundred thousand Inhabitants. By reason of the breaking down of the Banks of *Euphrates*, the Country near *Babylon* being drowned, and the Branch of that River which passed thro' the middle of that City being shallowed; and rendred innavigable, this made the Situation of *Babylon* by this time to be very inconvenient; and therefore this new City soon drained the other of all its Inhabitants: For *Seleucia* being situated more commodiously, and by the Founder made the Metropolis of all the Provinces in the Empire beyond *Euphrates*; and his Residence when he came into those Parts; and besides he having honoured it with many Privileges beyond all the Cities of the East, as bearing his own Name; all these things invited the *Babylonians* to transport themselves to it. By these means old *Babylon* became wholly desolate; nothing of it was left remaining but the Walls: And therefore *Pliny* (k) tells us, *That it was exhausted of its Inhabitants, and brought to Desolation by the Neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator had built for that very End*. *Strabo* (l) saith the same; and *Pausanias* (m), who wrote about the middle of the second Century, assureth us, *That Babylon, once the greatest City that the Sun ever shined upon, had at that Time when he wrote nothing left but its Walls*. These remained long after this: For the Space within the City being made a Park by the *Parthian* Kings, for keeping of wild Beasts for Hunting and Pleasure,

Ant. C.
293.
Ptolem. Sec. 13.

L I I I

(a) In *Demetrio*. (b) *Arrian*. de expeditione *Alexandri*, lib. 5. (c) *Eusebius* in *Chronico*, fol. 59 & 60. (d) *Justin*. lib. 15. cap. 4. & lib. 16. cap. 1. *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*. (e) *Ibid*. (f) *Ibid*. *Justin*, lib. 16. cap. 1. (g) *Ibid*. (h) See above, p. 312 & 314. (i) *Nat. Hist.* lib. 6. cap. 26. (k) *Ibid*. (l) *Lib*. 16. p. 738. (m) In *Arca-dicis*, p. 668.

the Walls were kept up to serve for a Fence to the Inclosure ; and in this State *Babylon* was in *Jerom's* Time, who lived in the fifth Century : For he (a) tells us, *That except the Brick-walls, that were repaired for inclosing the wild Beasts, all within was Desolation and Solitude.* And in another Place (b) he says, *That at Babylon there are all Signs of Devastation and Solitude : So wonderfully is that once powerful City depopulated, that for the multitude of Dæmons and Beasts, no Shepherd, nor any that loves a solitary Life, dare enter there.* And (he adds) *I have learned from an Elamite Brother, who came out of these Bounds, and now lives as a Monk at Jerusalem, that the King's Hunting is now within Babylon, and only all Sorts of wild Beasts are kept within the Circuit of its Walls.* In *Jerom's* Time, the *Parthians* being extinguished, there reigned over those Countries a Race of *Persian* Kings, who continued to the Time that they were conquered by the *Saracens*. But when or how these Walls of *Babylon* became demolished, as they have been for many Ages, is no where said. *Benjamin* (c), a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*, who wrote in the twelfth Century, for he died in the Year 1173, tells, *That being upon the Place where the old City Babylon formerly stood, he found it wholly desolate, only some Ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's Palace were then still remaining ; but Men were afraid to go near them, by reason of Serpents and Scorpions that fill the Place.* The same may be confirmed by the Travels of *Peter Texeira* (d) a *Portuguese*, and *Rawolt* (e) a *German*, who passed that Way in the Year of our Lord 1574. All which put together, shew how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled every thing that the Prophet *Isaiah*, xiii. 19, — 22. foretold concerning this Place, where he says, *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation : neither shall the Arabian pitch tents there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the deserts shall be there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyres shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces : and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged* (f). Thus the Desolation of *Babylon* was begun in the Time of *Seleucus Nicator*, and advanced by degrees to the Pitch we have heard. If *Lucan*, or some antient Author about the *Augustan* Age, speak of *Babylon* as remaining ; Poets are allowed a Licence, or it is to be understood of *Seleucia*, which was called *Seleucia-babylonia*, or *Seleucia* in the Province of *Babylon*.

Seleucus built many other Cities, both in the Greater and Lesser *Asia*, sixteen of which he called *Antioch* (g), from the Name of his Father ; nine *Seleucia*, from his own Name ; six *Laodicea*, from *Laodice* his Mother ; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first Wife ; and one *Stratonicea*, from *Stratonice* his last Wife : In all which he planted the *Jews*, giving them equal Privileges and Immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* (h) ; especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they settled in great Numbers, and became almost as considerable as at *Alexandria*, being allowed to use their own Religion, and to enjoy many Immunities : And hence they became dispersed over all *Syria* and the Lesser *Asia*. In the Eastern Countries beyond the *Euphrates* they had been settled before, even since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Captivities, and multiplied there in great Numbers. But it was *Seleucus Nicator* who first gave them Settlements in those Provinces of *Asia* which are on this Side the *Euphrates* : For they having been very faithful to him in his Wars, and other Trusts committed to them, he therefore gave them great Privileges in all the Cities which he built. And it seems most likely that they were descended of the *Babylonish Jews*, who were very numerous, and where *Seleucus* first laid the Foundation of his Power, who prevailed with him to be so favourable to all their Nation ; for the *Jews* in *Palestine*, who were under *Ptolemy*, were not in a Capacity to do him such Services.

Ant. C.
290.
Irol. Sol.
14.

Simon the Just, High-priest of the *Jews*, dying after he had been nine Years in that Office (i), left behind him a Son, called *Onias* : But he being an Infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the High-priesthood (k), *Eleazar* the Brother of *Simon* was substitute High-priest in his stead. This *Simon*, for the Uprightness of his Actions, merited the Surname of *Just* ; and he was in all respects a very extraordinary Person, which the Character given of him in the fiftieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* does declare. Dr. *Prideaux* (l) conceives, that he put the last Hand to the finishing of the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, putting into the Canon the two Books of the *Chronicles*, with *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Malachi*. If he did so, he was inspired by the Holy Spirit of God in this Work. After this followed the *Mislonical* Times ; that is, the Time of Traditions. Hitherto the holy Scriptures were the only Rule of Faith and Manners ; but after this, oral Traditions began to be too much

(a) In *Esaie* cap. 14. operum Tom. 5. fol. m. 26. (b) In *Esaie* cap. 13. (c) In *Itinerario*, p. m. 386. (d) Ch. 8. (e) Part. 2. Ch. 7. See *Prideaux's* Connection, Part. 1. p. 569. (f) See also *Isaiah*, xiv. 22, 23. *Jerem.* l. 39. 40. (g) *Appian.* in *Syriacis*, p. 201. (h) *Joseph.* Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. Contra *Appian.* lib. 2. (i) *Eusebius* in *Chronico*, ad *Olymp.* 120. (k) *Joseph.* Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (l) Connection, Part 1. p. 573, 574. See above, p. 251, 252.

much regarded, till in our Saviour's Time, they made the law of God of none effect (a). But of the Jewish oral Law, of their *Mishnah*, wrote a hundred and fifty Years after Christ, and their Doctors, I shall have occasion to discourse more particularly before I have done with this Work.

Eleazar the Brother of *Simon* the Just succeeded him in the High-priesthood at *Jerusalem* (b), where he executed this Office fifteen Years. But whereas *Simon* the Just had been also President of the Sanhedrim, or national Council of the Jews, in this Charge he was succeeded by *Antigonus* of *Socho* (c): To which he was recommended by his great Learning; for he was an eminent Scribe in the Law of God: And he being the first of the *Tannaim* or *Mishnaical* Doctors, all those who were afterwards called by that Name had hence their Origin. In the Gospels they are called *Scribes*, *Lawyers*, and *These who sat in Moses seat*, which different Titles do all denote the same Profession. Out of the Number of those Doctors were chosen all the Members of the chief Courts, as of the Great Sanhedrim of Seventy two, which was for the whole Nation, and of the Sanhedrim of Twenty three, which was in every City of *Judah*. Such were *Nicodemus*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and *Gamaliel*; in respect whereof they are called *Elders*, *Counsellors* and *Rulers*, because being of the Number of those who were chosen into those Councils, they did there declare and execute those Laws by which they governed the People. The Jews tell of great Alterations that happened, on the Death of *Simon* the Just, in some Parts of their Worship, and in the Signs of divine Acceptance which had till then appeared, but now were wanting: For it is said in the *Jerusalem Talmud* (d), *That at the Time of Simon, the scape Goat had scarce come to the middle of the Mountain from whence he was cast down but he was broken into Pieces; but when Simon the Just was dead, he fled away alive into the Desert, and was eaten by the Saracens*.

Leaving the Jews, if we look into the Affairs of other Nations, we may find that *Demetrius* Ant. C. 288. Ptol. Sor. 17. having reigned in *Macedon* seven Years, thought he had thoroughly settled his Affairs there: For he had reduced the City of *Thebes*, that had revolted, after a long Siege (e), had defeated *Pyrrhus* Prince of *Epirus*, and brought many Parts of *Greece* to submit to him; and therefore he set his Mind yet once more to recover his Father *Antigonus*'s Empire in *Asia*. To this End he got together an Army of above one hundred thousand Men, and a Fleet of five hundred Sail of strong Ships. These Preparations alarming *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*, they all entered into a League to prevent the Designs of *Demetrius*, and drew in *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to join with them. In consequence of which Alliance, while *Lyfimachus* invaded him on the one Side, *Pyrrhus* did the same on the other; which obliged *Demetrius* to stop his *Asian* Expedition, and go back for the Defence of *Macedon*: But before he arrived, *Pyrrhus* having taken *Beræa*, where many of *Demetrius*'s Soldiers had their Families, Friends and Effects, this made them all mutiny, and declare they would follow him no further, but return and defend their own Country. Accordingly they revolted to *Pyrrhus*, and the *Macedonians* easily submitted to him. Perhaps *Demetrius*'s haughty Temper, and refusing to hear the Petitions of this People, of which *Plutarch* (f) gives many Instances, made them so ready to accept of his Rival. Whereupon *Demetrius* fled into *Greece*; and having there ordered his Affairs the best Way he could, and committed the Conduct of them to *Antigonus* his Son, he with eleven thousand Men sailed to *Asia* to seek his Fortunes. There he took the City *Miletus* and some others, and married *Ptolemaida* the Daughter of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*: But not being able to stand against *Agathocles* the Son of *Lyfimachus*, who came with an Army against him, he was forced to quit all. His Army being troubled with Sicknes, Want of Forage and Desertions, and pent up between the Forces of *Lyfimachus* on the one Side, and of *Seleucus* on the other; and being himself taken with a dangerous Illness, which lasted forty Days, during which Time many of his Men left him: Upon his Recovery he found himself in great Distress, and his Projects all turn to nothing: And therefore he surrendered himself into the Hands of *Seleucus*, who being his Son in Law, by marrying *Stratonice* his Daughter, he expected he would be kind to him. But all Tyes of Relations among Princes signify little, when they cross their Interests and politick Views. Wherefore *Seleucus*, thinking he had got his dangerous Enemy into his Hands, sent him under a strong Guard to the *Syrian Chersonesus* near *Laodicea*, where he allowed him the Freedom of some Enclosures to hunt in, and all other Accommodations for the Pleasures and Necessaries of Life; and *Demetrius* gave himself up to eating, drinking, gaming and Lazines, and so passed away the Remainder of his Life, till at length he fed his Body into excessive Fatness, whereby he fell into Sicknes of which he died in the third Year of his Confinement, and fifty fourth of his Age, after he had undergone as many Turns of Fortune as most Men.

About this Time *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus*, fell in Love with *Stratonice* his Father's Wife, and not daring to own his Passion, fell desperately sick of it (g). *Erasistratus* a Greek Phy-

(a) Mark, vii. 13. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (c) R. Abraham Levita, in hist. Cabbala. (d) Mishna & Gemara Hierosol. in yoma, Sec Prid. Connect. p. 2, — 4. (e) Plutarch. in Demet. & Pyrrho. Justin, lib. 16. cap. 2. Diod. Sicul. Eclogæ, lib. 21. (f) In Demetrio. (g) Ibidem ibid. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 204, — 207. V. Max. lib. 5. cap. 7.

Physician who attended him, found out his Trouble ; and by a cunning Discourse, prevailed with his Father to give her to his Son to Wife, in order to restore him to Life and Health. Thus *Stratonice*, after she had born Children to the Father, became Wife to the Son, and she with her Husband *Antiochus* were crowned King and Queen of upper *Asia*, and sent thither to govern these Provinces. Of this abominable incestuous Marriage, sprung all that Race of *Syrian* Kings, who afterwards so grievously persecuted and oppressed God's People in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*.

Ann. C.
185. *Ptolemy Soter* having reigned in *Egypt* twenty Years, from the Time of his assuming the Title of King, and 39 from the Death of *Alexander (a)* the Great, placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his Sons by *Bernice*, on his Throne. His Mother *Bernice* had come into *Egypt* only as a Companion to *Eurydice* the first Wife of *Ptolemy Soter* : But the King falling in Love with her, married her ; and she by her Beauty and Charms had gained so mighty an Ascendant over the old Prince, who was now past the eightieth Year of his Age, and apprehended the Day of his Death not to be far off, that he determined to crown this her Son in his own Life, that there might be no Contention about the Succession after his Death ; and perhaps he thought him the most deserving of any of his Children. *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or, *the Thunderer*, Son of the same Father by *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Antipater* of *Macedon*, not bearing the Preference of his younger Brother before him, first fled to *Lyfimachus*, whose Son *Agathocles* had married his Sister ; and upon *Agathocles's* Death, went to *Seleucus*, who received him with great Kindness.

Ann. C.
184. In the first Year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, was finished the great Tower or Light-house in the Island of *Pharus*, over against *Alexandria (b)* which was reckoned by the Ancients among the seven Wonders of the World. It was a large square Pile of Building (*c*), all of white Marble, which had constant Fires on the Top of it, for the Direction of Seamen. The Building thereof cost Eight hundred Talents ; which if computed by *Attick* Talents, amounts to One hundred and sixty five thousand Pounds *Sterling*, but if by *Alexandrian* Talents, it will come to twice as much. The Tower it self was both large and high, so as it might be seen at a hundred Miles Distance. The Architect was *Sostratus* of *Cnidus*, who endeavoured to usurp the Honour thereof to himself by this Device. Being ordered to inscribe upon it, *King Ptolemy, to the Gods the Saviours for the Benefit of those who pass by Sea* ; he did write this upon Plaister-work, but in the solid Marble below the Plaister, he had his own Name engraven ; so that in a Course of Years, when the Plaister was worn off by the Weather, the Inscription appeared thus, *Sostratus the Cnidian, the Son of Dexiphanes, to the Gods the Saviours for the Benefit of those who pass by Sea*. Which lasted as long as the Tower it self ; but is many Ages ago utterly demolished, as is also the *Heptastadium*, or the Bank of seven Furlongs in Length joining the *Pharus* to the main Land, built at the same Time with the Tower by *Dexiphanes* the Father of *Sostratus*.

Towards the End of this Year died *Ptolemy Soter*. He was the wisest, best, most just and merciful Prince of any of his Race, who brought *Egypt* into a flourishing Condition : But his Successors improved the Plenty of the Country as a Fund to their Luxury. A little before his Death was brought out of *Pointus* into *Alexandria* the Image of *Serapis*, after three Years Pains in seeking of it (*d*), which was not worth all this Pains and Expence, tho' *Ptolemy* gave to the City of *Sinope* the Loading of a Fleet of Corn, when they were perishing by Famine, before they would part with their Deity : But I have elsewhere (*e*) given an Account of the Overthrow of this Idol, and of the Temple built in the Honour of it, when Christianity prevailed over the World in the fourth Century, and therefore now leave it.

Within the Verge of the Temple of *Serapis*, there was a Library of great Fame in after Ages, both for the Number, and also for the Value of the Books it was replenish'd with. *Ptolemy Soter* being a learned Prince, as appeared by his History of *Alexander* the Great (a valuable Work, tho' now lost, as has been already (*f*) observed :) From a Love to Learning, founded a *Museum* at *Alexandria*, or College for improving Philosophy (*g*), and other useful Parts of Literature. And for this End he got together a Library of Books (*h*) ; which being augmented by his Successors, grew to a great Bulk. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his Son left in it at the Time of his Death, one hundred thousand Volumes. These who reigned after him of that Race, still added more, till the whole amounted to seven hundred thousand Volumes. Every Book that was brought by any *Greek* or other Foreigner into *Egypt*, was seized, and there copied out by these employed for that Purpose. The Transcripts were sent to the Owners, and the Originals laid up in the Library. Thus *Ptolemy Euergetes* borrowed from the *Athenians* the Works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus* ; and having caused transcribe them, sent them back fair Copies, with fifteen Talents, which comes to above thirty thousand Pounds

(a) Justin, lib. 16. cap. 2. Diog. Laert. in Demet. Phalereo. (b) Eusebii Chron. ad Olymp. 124. (c) Suidas in 34p. Strabo. lib. 17. p. 791. (d) Vide Taciti Annales, lib. 4. cap. 83, 84. (e) Propagat. of Christian. Vol. 1. p. 653, — 659. (f) Above p. 311. (g) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 793, 794. Plutarch, That a Man cannot live pleasantly, according to Epicurus's Doctrine. (h) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 16. A. Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 17.

Pounds sterling for the Originals. The *Musæum* was placed at the *Bruchium*, where the Library was at first (a); but when it was filled with four hundred thousand Books, another Library was erected within the *Serapæum*, which was called (b) the Daughter of the former. When *Julius Cæsar* made War at *Alexandria*, the Library in the *Bruchium* was burnt to Ashes (c); but that in the *Serapæum* remained; and we may suppose that *Cleopatra* laid up there these two hundred thousand Volumes of the Bibliothek at *Pergamus* (d), which *Marc Antony* seized and gave to her. Tho' the Library at the *Serapæum* was sometimes rifled, as *Orosius*, who wrote about the Year of our LORD 417, owns (e), yet it continued a long Time, and with the *Musæum* was very useful to many learned Fathers in the Christian Church; as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Ammonius*, *Origen*, *Anatolius*, *Athanasius* and others, who were educated at *Alexandria*. But it was also burnt up, and finally destroyed, about the Year of our LORD 642, by the *Saracens*, who were so dull and barbarous as to care for no other Books but the *Alcoran*; and therefore gave this noble Library to heat the Baths at *Alexandria* for six Months; which shews the great Number of Volumes that were there consumed (f), to the incredible Loss of the learned World. *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* seems to have been the first President and chief Director both of the *Musæum* and Library in the Time of *Ptolemy Soter*. This *Phalerean* was a great Philosopher and Lawgiver, who had governed *Athens* with absolute Authority for ten Years, till being expelled thence by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* the Son of *Antigonus* (g), he retired to *Cassander* King of *Macedon* his Friend, with whom he staid till his Death: But disliking the brutish Cruelty of *Antipater* his Son, who murdered his own Mother, he withdrew into *Egypt*, where he was kindly received. And *Plutarch* (h) tells us, That *Demetrius Phalereus* persuaded *Ptolemy* to get together Books which treated of the Government of Kingdoms and States, and read them; for in these he would find such good Advice as none of his Friends would dare to give him. But he having advised *Ptolemy Soter* against giving the Succession to his younger Son secluding the elder, this exceedingly provoked *Philadelphus* and his Mother against him; and as soon as he came to reign after his Father's Death, *Demetrius* was sent under a Guard to a remote Fortrefs, where he was bitten with an Asp and died (i); yet *Philadelphus* carried on the Designs which he had begun, both as to the *Musæum* and Library.

After the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, only two of *Alexander* the Great's Captains survived; namely *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*, then about the eightieth Year of their Age; who by their mutual Wars opened a Way to their Destruction. The Occasion whereof was thus: *Lyfimachus* had married his Son *Agathocles* to *Lyfandra*, one of *Ptolemy Soter*'s Daughters; he took another, named *Arsinoe*, to Wife himself, and these two Sisters constantly disagreed. *Ptolemy Ceraunus* being secluded from the Crown of *Egypt*; coming to *Lyfimachus*'s Court, *Arsinoe* feared his Conjunction with *Agathocles* and *Lyfandra*, might procure something to her Prejudice: To prevent which, she infused Jealousies into the old King, as if *Agathocles* had been laying Plots against his Life and Crown, and prevailed so far as to get him cast into Prison (k), and cut off by Poison. Whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, with his Sister *Lyfandra* and her Children, fled to *Seleucus*, and persuaded him to make War on *Lyfimachus*, which he himself was inclined to. *Seleucus* then with a great Army marched to the West, subduing the Country all the Way to *Sardis*; which he besieged; and having taken it, made himself Master of all *Lyfimachus*'s Treasure, that was there (l). This brought on a Battle at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia*, where *Lyfimachus* was vanquished and slain, and *Seleucus* became Master of all his Dominions; which made him boast, that he was the Conqueror of Conquerors, and the last Survivor of all *Alexander*'s Captains. But seven Months after, as he was marching to take Possession of the Country he had subdued, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who had received great Kindness from *Seleucus*, with a Prospect of much more (for he designed to have restored him to his Father's Dominions in *Egypt*) with Cruelty and Ingratitude came behind him, and thrust him through, at a Place called *Argos* (m), and then went to take Possession of the Territories of *Lyfimachus*. Some who pretended that *Ceraunus* was a Revenger of *Lyfimachus*, stuck by his Interest. But he was guilty of so many wicked Facts, as soon gave them Ground to alter their Thoughts: For thinking himself not secure of his Possessions, as long as any of *Lyfimachus*'s Children were alive, he therefore pretended to take *Arsinoe* his Sister to Wife, and adopt her two Sons, the one of sixteen, and the other of thirteen Years of Age; which by many solemn Vows and Oaths, even at the Altars, of his sincere Affection, he persuaded her to comply with: But the very Day of the Nuptials, when his Bride had ordered his Entry into the City *Cassandra* with great Solemnity and Pomp, he, with great Barbarity, plucked the Boys from their Mother's Arms, and murdered them (n): And having spoiled her of all she had, banished her into *Samothracia*.

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motbracia

(a) Epiphan. de ponderibus & mensuris, operum Tom. 2. p. 166. (b) Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 18. (c) Plutarch. in J. Cæsare. Marcellin. ubi supra. (d) Plutarch. in Anton. (e) Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 15. (f) Vide Camerarii Medic. histor. cent. 3. cap. 72. (g) See above, p. 304, Diog. Laertius in Dem. Phalereo. Plutarch. in Demetrio. (h) Plutarchi Apophthegmata regum. (i) Cic. in oratione pro. C. Rabirio Postumo, cap. 9. (k) Justin lib. 17. cap. 1. Pausanias in Atticis, p. 25. (l) Polyæni Stratag. lib. 4. cap. 9. § 4. p. m. 313. (m) Justin, lib. 17 cap. 2. (n) Idem, lib. 24. cap. 2, 3.

motbracia. Divine Providence did not suffer such monstrous Wickedness to go long unpunished; for the next Year, this *Ptolemy* waging War against the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedon*, he was taken Prisoner in the Battle; and the next Day being known, was torn by them in Pieces, which was a Death he sufficiently deserved. *Arfinoe* fled to *Egypt*, and there married her Brother *Philadelphus*, and lived with him till her Death.

On the Death of *Seleucus Nicator*, *Antiochus* surnamed *Soter* (a) succeeded him in the Empire of *Asia*, and reigned over it nineteen Years.

About this Time (for it was the Year after *Pyrrhus* passed into (b) *Italy*) the *Gauls* being overstocked at Home, sent out a vast Number of their People to seek new Habitations. One Company of them marched into *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, being commanded by *Brennus*; the second went into *Thrace* under *Cerethorius*; the third under the Command of *Belgius*, invaded *Illyrium* and *Macedon*: And by this last named Party *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was slain. But they having dispersed themselves into Companies to plunder the Country, *Softhenes* a *Macedonian* got some Forces together, and killed a great many of them (c), and forced the rest to retire out of the Country. *Brennus* came in their Stead, who after several Marches and Losses, went to the Temple of *Delphos*, in order to plunder the same of its vast Riches, ordering *Acichorius* to follow him, and share of the Spoil. But these *Barbarians* met there with a wonderful Defeat; for there happened a terrible Storm of Thunder, Lightning and Hail, which destroyed great Numbers of them (d). And at the same Time there was a dreadful Earthquake which rent the Mountains, and threw down whole Rocks upon them; by which the *Gauls* being dismayed, they were seized with such a pannick Fear, that every one killed another. The *Greeks* who came to defend the Temple fell furiously upon them; and *Brennus* himself having received several Wounds, at last killed himself with a Dagger. *Acichorius* led back the broken Army; but many of them being destroyed at *Thermopylae*, and others killed with Famine, and Want of Necessaries (e), very few of them returned. These of the *Gauls* who remained in *Thrace*, making War on *Antigonus Gonatas*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, who on the Death of *Softhenes* reigned in *Macedon*, were almost all destroyed (f) by him.

§ 3. In the Year before the Birth of Christ 277, the eighth of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the Greek Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, which we call the *Septuagint* (g) was finished. The most ancient Account we have thereof is from a Book extant under the Name of *Aristeas*, who is said to have been a prime Officer in the Guards of this King of *Egypt* when this Affair was transacted. The Sum of his Account is as follows (h): *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being intent on gathering a great Library at *Alexandria*, committed the Care of that Affair to *Demetrius the Phalerean*, a noble *Athenian*, then at his Court, directing him to search all Nations for Books of Note. In the Search that he made, he heard of the *Book of the Law of Moses* among the *Jews*, and acquainted the King, who signified his Pleasure that the Book should be sent for from *Jerusalem*, with Interpreters from the same Place, to render it into *Greek*. *Aristeas*, *Sofibius* of *Tarentum*, and *Andreas*, three Nobles at King *Ptolemy's* Court, who had a Favour for the *Jews*, took this Opportunity to move the King in Behalf of these of that Nation, who had been taken Captive by *Ptolemy Soter*, and were then in Bondage in *Egypt* (i). The King granting their Request, ordered their Release; and that twenty Drachms a Head should be paid out of his own Treasury to those who had them in Servitude, and the like for their Children, and Mothers who bore them. This made the whole Expence to amount to six hundred and sixty Talents, which proves the Number of those who were so ransomed, to have been one hundred ninety eight thousand Men, Women or Children; for so many might have been ransomed at the rate of 20 Drachms a Head. This being done, *Aristeas* proposed that a Letter should be writ to *Eleazar*, High-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to send from thence a true Copy of the *Hebrew* Original of the Law; and with it six Men out of each Tribe of *Israel*, to translate it into the *Greek* Language. Which was accordingly done; and *Aristeas*, the pretended Author of this History, and *Andreas* were sent with the Letter, who carried with them from the King several Gifts for the Temple, and Money for the Sacrifices there to be offered, and for other Uses of the Sanctuary, one hundred Talents; in Utenils of Silver, twenty Talents, and of Gold fifty Talents. The precious Stones that adorned these Utenils were twice the Value of the Gold. On their coming to *Jerusalem*, they were received with great Respect by the High-priest, and all the *Jews*, and had these Things granted them they were sent for. And having received from the High-priest a true Copy of the *Law of Moses*, all written in golden Letters, and six Elders out of every Tribe, which is seventy two in all, to translate it into *Greek*, they returned with them to *Alexandria*. On their Arrival, the King calling these Elders to Court, made Trial of them by seventy two Questions to each in Order; and approving their Wisdom discovered by their Answers, he gave to each of them three Talents, and sent them to the Island *Pharus*, adjoining to *Alexandria*, to perform the Work they

came

(a) Eusebii Chron. ad Olymp. 125. (b) Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 6. (c) Justin, lib. 24. cap. 6, 7, 8. (d) Pausan. in Phocis, p. 843. — 857. (e) Diod. Siculi Eclogæ, lib. 2. num. 13. (f) Justin, lib. 25. cap. 1, 2. (g) Usserius in annalibus, sub Anno Per. Jul. 4437. ante Christum 277. (h) Aristeas in Annexis ad Josephum, in Edit. Colon. 1697. (i) Above, p. 311.

came for : Where *Demetrius* having conducted them over the *Heptastadium* (a Bank of seven Furlongs in Length, which joined that Island to the Continent) into an House there provided for them, they forthwith betook themselves to the Business of the Interpretation : And as they agreed to the Version of each Period, by common Conference together, *Demetrius* wrote it down. And thus in the Space of seventy two Days, they performed the whole Work ; whereon the whole being read over, and approved of in the King's Presence, the King gave to each of them three rich Garments, two Talents of Gold, and a Cup of Gold of a Talent Weight, and then sent them home into their own Country. Thus far *Aristæas*.

Aristobulus an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a *Peripatetic* Philosopher, is the next who makes Mention of this Version. There is a Letter written to him by the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judea* (a) in the 188th Year of the *Æra of Contracts*, by which it appears that he flourished in the 122d Year before our Saviour's Birth. He is said to have wrote a Comment on the five Books of *Moses*, dedicated to *Ptolemy Philometor* (b), to whom he had been Preceptor ; and therein to have spoke of this *Greek Version*, made by the Care of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. All that remains of him now, is some Fragments quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (c) and *Eusebius* (d) ; in which having asserted that *Plato*, *Pythagoras* and others, had borrowed most of their Philosophy from the *Hebrew Scriptures* ; to make this seem more probable, he tells that the Scriptures had been translated into *Greek* before the Time of *Alexander* and the *Persians* (e) ; but under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* a more exact Translation was made of the whole. But that there ever was a Version of the holy Scriptures into *Greek* before that in the Time of *Philadelphus*, I cannot affirm.

Philo the Jew, is the next who speaks of this Version. He was an *Alexandrian*, contemporary with our Saviour, and agrees with *Aristæas*, only with this Addition (f), That the Interpreters all so well agreed, as not to differ in a Word, and therefore were divinely inspired : And the *Jews* in *Alexandria* kept an Anniversary Day, feasting and rejoicing in the Isle *Pharus*, and giving Praise to God for assisting these Men in so wonderful a Manner. *Josephus*, who wrote about the End of the first Century of the Christian *Æra*, abridges *Aristæas* (g) ; and *Eusebius* who flourished two hundred and twenty Years after him (h), doth the same : Only *Josephus* makes the Sum given to ransom the Captives greater (i) than *Aristæas*.

Justin Martyr (k), who flourished in the middle of the second Century, having been at *Alexandria*, and there discoursed with the *Jews* concerning this Matter, tells of the wonderful Agreement of the Interpreters in making that Version ; and adds, *That they had distinct Cells in which they were shut up, one by one in a Cell ; and that therein each of them made a distinct Version by himself, and all agreed together to a Word.* *Irenæus* (l), *Clemens of Alexandria* (m), *Hilary* (n), *Augustin* (o), *Cyril of Jerusalem* (p) ; and the Generality of the antient Fathers after *Justin*, follow him in the Matter of the Cells, and the wonderful Agreement of all the Versions made in them : And some Moderns also contend for the Truth of the Story. *Ephiphanius*, who was made Bishop of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* in the Year of our Lord 368, has improved, or rather corrupted the Story : For tho' he quotes *Aristæas*, yet he gives a different Relation from him and *Justin* both (q), telling, *That the Jews sent Ptolemy twenty two Canonical Books, with several Apocryphal ones, all written in Hebrew, (of which twenty two were translated.)* But *Ptolemy* not being able to read them in that Language, sent a second Embassy, for Interpreters, to make a Version of them into *Greek*. On the Receipt of this, the *Jews* sent seventy two Interpreters, according to the Number of *Moses's* Elders, six chosen out of every Tribe. *Ptolemy* sent these Interpreters to the Isle *Pharus*, and there shut them up in thirty six Cells, with two Servants to afford them Necessaries, and Writers to set down their Versions. These Cells had only Sky-lights. The Interpreters were carried every Evening, in thirty six Boats, to *Ptolemy's* Palace, there to sup with him, and lodged in thirty six Bed-chambers, and returned to their Cells next Morning. To each Interpreter one Book was given, and so went round the Cells, till each Book had been translated into *Greek* by each Pair. When all was finished, the King sitting upon his Throne, thirty six Readers came before him, with thirty six Translations ; and while one did read, the rest attended, one having also the original *Hebrew* in his Hand ; and no Variety or Difference was found in any one of them.

Upon the whole, there was without doubt a Version made of the *Hebrew Scriptures* in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ; but the *Jews* being then much given to religious Romances, this Narrative of *Aristæas* appears to be one of that kind, writ by some *Hellenistical Jew* or other : For tho' the Author pretends to be a *Heathen Greek*, yet he every where speaks as a *Jew*. He makes *Ptolemy* advance an incredible Sum for redeeming Captives and making this

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Version;

(a) 2 Maccab. i. 10. (b) Euseb. de præp. Evang. lib. 13. cap. 12. (c) Stromatum, lib. 1. p. 305. & 342. & lib. 5. p. 595. (d) De Præp. Evang. lib. 7. cap. 13. lib. 8. cap. 9. lib. 13. cap. 12. (e) Clemens Strom. lib. 1. p. 342. Vide Jamesoni Spicilegia, p. 242. (f) Philo de vita Mosi, lib. 2. (g) Josephi Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. (h) Præp. Evang. lib. 8. cap. 2. — 5. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. (k) Cohort. ad gentes, operum p. 13, 14. (l) Adversus hæreses, lib. 3. cap. 15. (m) Ubi supra. (n) In Psalm. 2. (o) De civitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 42, 43. (p) Catechesis 4. p. 53. (q) Ephiphani. de ponderibus & mensuris, operum Tom. 2. p. 161, — 168. edit. Colon. 1683.

Version, which Dr. *Prideaux* (a). computes to near two Millions *Sterling* Money, which is more than the whole Library was worth. The Questions proposed to the seventy two Interpreters, and their extemporary Answers, seem very much to carry the Air of a Fiction. The making of seventy two Elders to be sent to *Alexandria* from *Jerusalem*, and those to be chosen six out of every Tribe, looks like a *Jewish* Invention, with respect to the *Jewish* Sanhedrim, and the Number of the twelve Tribes, it not being likely that a Heathen *Greek* should know any thing of them; for the Names of the twelve Tribes being then sunk into that of *Jews*, few knew them by any other Designation. How comes all this to be done by the Advice of *Demetrius Phaleræus*, when it appears from History (b), that by the time this Version was made, he was banished, imprisoned or dead? Nor is it probable, that six of every Tribe in the holy Land should be found so skilled in both Languages as to make an exact Version out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*. Neither can any probable Reason be given, why seventy two should be sent, when seven were sufficient for that Work. Many other Grounds are given to prove the Spuriousness and Fiction of *Aristeas's* Book by learned Men; as, *Du-pin*, in his *History of the Writers of the Old and New Testament*; *Richard Simon*, in his *Critical History*; Dr. *Hoddy*, Professor of *Greek* at *Oxford*, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versione Græcâ, & Latinâ vulgatâ*; Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Connection*. Besides, the Curious may consult Archbishop *Usher's* *Syntagma de septuaginta interpretum versione*; *Morini Exercitationes Biblicæ, parte primâ*; *Wotton's*, *De Græcâ & Latinâ Bibliorum interpretatione*; *Walton's* *Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta, capite nono*; *Vossius*, *De septuaginta interpretibus*, and others.

As to those who have continued the Story of *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus* is said to have lived in the 188th Year of the *Æra* of Contracts (c), that is, 155 Years after making this Version; which was long enough to form the Story, and gain Credit to it among the *Jews*. What *Philo* adds, was from such Traditions as had obtained among the *Jews* of *Alexandria* in his Time, to gain the greater Authority to that Translation, then so much used. Where *Josephus* (d) differs from *Aristeas* in the Price paid by King *Ptolemy* for Redemption of the captive *Jews*, there is a manifest Error; for the Sum total doth not agree with the Particulars. The Number of the *Jews* ransomed from Slavery, according to *Josephus*, was one hundred and twenty thousand; and the Redemption of these, at twenty Drachms a Head, as *Aristeas* lays it, comes to four hundred Talents; but *Josephus* says the Redemption-money was one hundred and twenty Drachms a Head, which is six Times as much, and yet he makes the total Sum no more than four hundred and sixty Talents. The Mistake then lyes in the Price given for each Person to be ransomed. As to *Justin Martyr*, and the rest of the Christian Writers who followed one after another, these good Men told what they wished to be true. *Justin* finding these Traditions among the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, was easily persuaded to believe them, and to make use of them in his Writings against the Heathens, to gain Credit to the Version that was then commonly used. But *Jerom* (e), who was a Person of far greater Learning, being well skill'd in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee* and other Languages, and also far more judicious, rejects the Story of these Cells with Scorn and Contempt, saying, *I know not what Author it was; who by his lying first built the seventy Cells at Alexandria, in which the seventy Elders being divided wrote the same Things, since neither Aristeas, who was one of Ptolemy's Guards, nor Josephus, who lived long after him, say any such Thing; but write that they conferred together in one and the same Room, and did not prophesy; for to be a Prophet is one Thing, and to be an Interpreter is another*. As to *Epiphanius*, his Account differs from all the rest, pick'd up, I know not where, from some Fiction of the *Jews* in his Time, which weakens the Authority of the whole Story.

That which seems to come nearer to the Truth in this Matter is, That *Alexander* the Great, on building *Alexandria*; a City called by his own Name, and *Ptolemy Soter* after his Death having fixed the Seat of his Government there, both these Princes set their Hearts much on enlarging and adorning that Place, and for that purpose brought many *Jews* thither; to whom they gave the same Privileges with the *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, as has been already (f) related. These *Jews* soon grew to be a great Part of the Inhabitants of that City, and their constant Intercourse with the other Citizens, among whom they were mingled, necessitated them to learn, and constantly to use the *Greek* Language; and by this, as before at *Babylon*, by accustoming themselves to a foreign Tongue, they forgot their own: And therefore, no more understanding the *Hebrew*, in which the holy Scriptures were originally writ, nor the *Chaldee*, in which they were interpreted in every Synagogue, they had them translated into *Greek*; which Version, from the Story of *Aristeas*, is called the *Septuagint*. At first the Law seems only to have been translated; for so *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, *Josephus* and *Philo* (g) directly tell us. It was done at *Alexandria*, as appears by the *Alexandrian* Dialect through the whole Version. Afterwards the rest of the Books of the *Old Testament* were translated; for the

(a) Connection, Part 2. p. 135, 36. (b) Above, p. 321. (c) 2 Maccab. i. 10. (d) Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. p. 390. in edit. Colon. 1691. (e) Præfatio ad Pentateuchum, & in Apologia secunda adversus Rufinum, & in præfatione ad libros Paralipomenon. (f) Above, p. 270 & 311. (g) Locis citatis,

the different Stiles, and the different Ways in which the same *Hebrew* Words and Phrases are rendred in various Places, and the greater Accuracy with which some of the Books are translated above others, plainly discover this. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* having been intent upon augmenting his Library with all manner of Books, 'tis not to be doubted but that a Copy of this Version was put there, and kept till that noble Repository of Learning was accidentally burnt by *Julius Cæsar's* Wars against the *Alexandrians*. However, none of the *Greek* or *Latin* Heathen Authors now extant speak one Word about it : All (a) of them that write of the *Jews* give Accounts of them vastly wide of what is contained in the holy Scriptures ; so as they seem either not to have read, or not to have credited them. The *Jews*, who were the first Composers of this Version, kept most of the Copies for their own Use, both for their Synagogues, and at home in their Families and Closets. Dr. *Lightfoot* (b) is of opinion that the *Jews* never had any Esteem for the *Septuagint*.

But when the Gospel was propagated to all Nations, this *Septuagint* Version of the *Old Testament* went abroad up and down the World among all Christians who used the *Greek* Tongue, yea to every body who desired it. Hence *Celsus*, *Porphry*, the Emperor *Julian* and other Heathens, read the Scriptures, tho' they made no good Improvement of them. The Evangelists and Apostles, who were the holy Penmen of the *New Testament*, all quoted it, and so did all the primitive Fathers after them. All the *Greek* Churches used it ; and the *Latins* had no other Copy of the *Old Testament* till after *Jerom's* Time (that is, the Beginning of the fifth Century) but what was translated from it. Whatever Comments were written on any Part of the *Old Testament*, this was always the Text ; and we may expect the Explications were made according to it. When other Nations were converted to Christianity, the Versions they had of these Scriptures were all from the *Septuagint* ; as, the *Illyrian*, *Gothic*, *Arabic*, *Ethiopic* and *Syriac*. There is indeed another old Version in *Syriac* of the holy Scriptures (c), translated immediately from the *Hebrew* Original, which is still in being, and at this Time made use of by the *Syrian* Churches, called *Maronites*, in the East. The *Syriac* Version from the *Septuagint* was not made till six hundred Years after Christ, and is still extant in some of their Churches. But the old *Syriac* Version of the *Maronites* seems to be made in the first Century of the Christian Æra (d), and had for its Author some Christian of the *Jewish* Nation, who was thoroughly skill'd in both Languages, *Hebrew* and *Syriac*. It is accurately done, and expresseth the Sense of the Original with greater Exactness than any other Version of the *Old Testament*, before the Revival of Learning in these last Ages ; and excepting the *Septuagint*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphrases of *Onkelos* on the Law, and *Jonathan* on the Prophets, is the oldest Translation that we have of the *Old Testament*, and the best made by the Antients in any Language, and this last Character belongs to it in respect of the *New Testament* as well as the *Old*. To this purpose the very Nature of the Language doth contribute ; for it having been the Mother-tongue of those who wrote the *New Testament*, and a Dialect of that in which the *Old* was first given to us, many things of both are more happily expressed in it than can be done in any other Language. The learned *Charles Schaaf*, Professor of Oriental Languages at *Leyden*, has published the *Syriac* New Testament, with a *Latin* Version, (the Copy before me is printed in the Year 1717 ;) and has wrote to *Maha Thome*, Bishop of the antient *Syrian* Churches in *Malabar* in the *East Indies* (e), for other *Syrian* Books. But I go on with the *Septuagint*.

As this Version grew in use among the Christians, it became out of Credit with the *Jews* ; for they being pinched by the Christians out of this Version, they entred into the same Design against the *Septuagint* as the *English* Papists at *Doway* and *Rheims* did against our *English* Version ; that is, of making a new one that might better serve their Purpose. The Person who undertook this, was one *Aquila*, a *Jew* of *Sinope* in *Pontus*, bred a Heathen, addicted to Magic and Astrology ; but who became a Convert to Christianity (f), as *Simon Magus* before him ; to be able to do wonderful Works : But not having attained to this Gift, he went on with his Magic to bewitch the People. For which Practices, the Governors of the Church, after many Admonitions, excommunicated him ; and he apostatised to the *Jews*, and was circumcised. Becoming a Disciple of Rabbi *Abiba*, he thought he had got sufficient Knowledge for this Work (g), and ventured to publish his Version in the Year of our Lord 128, the twelfth of *Hadrian's* Reign. Afterwards he made it more correct, and published a second Edition ; which the *Hellenistical* *Jews* received, and used for a long Time in stead of the *Septuagint*. But when the *Talmuds* were written, the Notion grew among them, that the Scriptures ought to be read in the *Hebrew*, and by way of Interpretation in the *Chaldee*. The *Hellenistical* *Jews* could not come easily into this, which caused great Disturbances among them. For

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(a) Diod. Siculus in Eclogis, lib. 34 & 40. Justin. lib. 36, cap. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Tacitus, lib. 5, cap. 2. and others. See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 173, — 193. (b) Opera posthuma, p. 1, — 18. (c) Vide Waltoni Prolegomena, cap. 13. (d) Dr. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary on Micah, Prideaux's Connection, Part 2. p. 47, 48. (e) See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 2, p. 225. (f) Epiphanius de ponderibus, operum Tom. 2. p. 170, 171. (g) Hieronymi Comment. in Esaiam, cap. 6, operum Tom. 5. fol. m. 18.

quieting of which, the Emperor *Justinian* published a Decree, ordering the *Jews* to read the Scriptures in their Synagogues, either in the *Septuagint* Version, or in that of *Aquila* (a). But the *Jewish* Doctors determined otherwise; and the solemn Reading of the Scriptures in their publick Assemblies hath been since used in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Languages (b). Not long after the Time of *Aquila*, there were two other *Greek* Versions made, one by *Theodotion* (c), who was educate a *Samaritan*, but afterwards became a Christian, of the Sect of the *Ebionites*; and another by *Symmachus*, a Man of the same Stamp. These *Ebionites* professed to believe in Christ as the true *Messiah* (d), but held him to be no more than a mere Man, and thought themselves under the Obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and therefore were circumcised, and observed the Rites of the *Jews*; for which Reason the antient orthodox Christians called them sometimes *Jews*. These Interpreters took different Ways of making their Versions. *Aquila* rendred Word for Word as near as he could, whether the Idioms and Property of the Language would bear it or no. Hence his Version is said to have been a good Dictionary rather than a good Interpretation (e). *Symmachus* run into a contrary Extreme, endeavouring only to express what he thought the true Sense of the Text, without having much Regard to the Words; whereby he made his Version rather a Paraphrase than a Translation. *Theodotion* went the middle Way, to express the Sense of the Text in such *Greek* Words as could best answer the *Hebrew*, as far as the different Idioms of the two Languages could bear; and therefore his Version had the Preference with all, except the *Jews*, who adhered to that of *Aquila* as long as they used any *Greek* Version at all.

All these four different Versions the learned *Origen*, who from his Diligence was called *Adamantius*, that is, *laborious*, collected together into one Volume, called *Tetrapla*. In the first Column of this Edition was the Version of *Aquila*, in the second that of *Symmachus*, in the third the *Septuagint*, and in the last that of *Theodotion*. Afterwards he added two other Columns, and called it *Hexapla*, and afterwards *Octapla*, that is, *The eighth-fold Edition*. In the first Column was placed the *Hebrew* Text in *Hebrew* Letters (f), in the second the same Text in *Greek* Letters, in the third the *Greek* Version of *Aquila*, in the fourth that of *Symmachus*, in the fifth that of the *Septuagint*, in the sixth that of *Theodotion*, in the seventh that which was called the fifth *Greek* Version, and in the eighth the sixth *Greek* Version. *Origen* also laboured to clear the *Septuagint* from the Errors of Transcribers, and by comparing it with the *Hebrew*, to vindicate it from the Errors of Composers; and in order to this, he made use of Marks, called *Asterisks*, *Obelisks*, *Lemniscs* and *Hypolemniscs*; which I need not particularly describe, this Book of *Origen* being lost: The Curious may find them fully explained by *Epiphanius* (g) and *Jerom* (h), and from them by Dr. *Prideaux* (i). He seems to have finished it in the Year of our Lord 250, which was four Years before his Death. The original Copy of the whole Work was laid up in the Library of the Church of *Palestine*, where *Jerom* (k) many Years after consulted it. *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* wrote out Copies thereof, and it was dispersed over several Churches; but it being troublesome and expensive to write out such a bulky Book, and difficult to find Scribes among Christians fit to copy the *Hebrew* Text, there were not many Transcripts of this Book made, and these not very correct; yet it was consulted in publick Libraries. But at length, about the middle of the seventh Century, the Inundation of the *Saracens* destroyed like a sweeping Scourge all Libraries wherever they came in the Eastern Parts of the World, and this great Work of *Origen's* was never more seen. About the same time two other Editions of the *Septuagint* Bible came abroad, one by *Lucian*, a Presbyter in *Antioch*, and the other by *Hesychius*, a Bishop in *Egypt* (l). These Authors having suffered Martyrdom in the tenth Persecution, their Books obtained great Reputation in the *Greek* Church. Hence *Jerom* (m) says, *That Alexandria and Egypt approve Hesychius's Version; Antioch and Constantinople, and the Countries lying between them, make use of the Edition of Lucian; and all from Antioch to Egypt that of Pamphilus: So the World is divided into a threefold Variety.*

Thus also among the Moderns there are three principal Editions of the *Septuagint*; namely, That of Cardinal *Ximenes*, printed in the Year of our Lord 1515, in his *Polyglot* Bible, by the Care of the *Spanish* Divines at *Alcala* and their Assistants. Secondly, the *Aldus* Edition, published at *Venice* in the Year 1518, which by collating many antient Copies and Manuscripts, was prepared for the Press by *Andreas Asulanus*, Father-in-law to the Printer, and according to it have been printed many of the *German* Editions. Thirdly, the *Roman* Edition, which hath obtained the Preference in the Opinion of many learned Men. It was set on foot by Cardinal *Montalto*, afterwards Pope by the Name of *Sixtus Quintus*; and was published in 1587, mostly from an old Manuscript in the *Vatican* Library, writ in capital Letters,

(a) Novel 146. (b) Lightfoot in 1 Corinth. cap. 9. (c) Epiphanius de ponderibus. operum Tom. 2. p. 172. (d) Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 17. (e) Hieronymus in Comment. ad Amos, cap. 3. & in præfatione ad librum Job. (f) Idem, in præfatione ad Pentateuchum, & ad libros Paralipomenon, & ad Suniam & Fretelam, Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 16. Epiphanius de ponderibus, ubi supra. (g) Ibid. (h) Locis citatis. (i) Connection, Part 2. p. 55. (k) Epist. 74. ad Augustinum, & in Catalogo scriptorum in Origene. (l) Hieronymus in Catalogo, & in præfatione ad Paralipomena. (m) Ibidem.

ters, without Accents or Points. According to this hath been published many *Septuagints* in England, as at London in 1653, that in Walton's *Polyglot* in 1657, and that at Cambridge in 1665, with a learned Preface by Bishop Pearson. In the Opinion of many great Men, the *Alexandrian* Copy in the King's Library at St. James's is the most antient and best Manuscript of the *Septuagint* now extant. It was sent as a Present by *Cyrillus Lucaris*, then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (who had been before Patriarch at *Alexandria*, and brought the Manuscript with him) to King *Charles I.* Dr. *Ernestus Grabe*, a learned *Prussian*, had undertaken to publish it, and accordingly gave us two Parts thereof; but Death prevented him from proceeding farther. So far concerning the *Septuagint*. To go on with our History :

§ 4. *ANTIGONUS GONATAS*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, having defeated his Competitors, at this Time reigned in *Macedon*, where he continued near thirty six Years; and his Posterity enjoyed it, till *Perseus*, the last of the Race, was defeated by *Paulus Æmilius*, and the Country made a Province of the *Roman* Empire. The *Romans* having forced *Pyrrhus*, after a six Years War, to leave *Italy*, and return again to *Epirus* with Disappointment, their Name began to grow famous among foreign Nations. Whereupon *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, sent Ambassadors to desire their Friendship, *C. Fabricius Luscinus* and *Claudius Cinna* being then Consuls (a). The *Romans* were so well pleased with this Offer, that next Year they sent *Q. Fabius Gurges*, *Cn. Fabius Pittor* and *Q. Ogulnus*, their Ambassadors into *Egypt*. They were kindly received at *Alexandria*; where King *Ptolemy* presented them, after an Entertainment, with Crowns of Gold; with which next Morning they crowned his Statues. At taking their Leave, he gave them other rich Gifts; which they accepted, but as soon as they came to *Rome*, they delivered them all to the publick Treasury (b). This was not the Practice of after Times, when Men served the State only in order to plunder it: But this shews what was the publick disinterested Spirit of the *Romans* at that Time, which the Senate rewarded with Gifts suitable to the Service.

Pyrrhus, the valiant King of *Epirus*, after many great Actions abroad and at home, being slain in an Attempt he made upon the City *Argos* (c); *Antigonus Gonatas*, King of *Macedon*, having much enlarged his Power, and made himself very formidable to the *Grecian* States, the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* entred into Confederacy against him, and got *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to join with them (d). Whereupon *Antigonus* besieged *Athens*; for the Relief of which, *Ptolemy* sent a Fleet under the Command of *Patroclus*, one of his chief Officers; and *Arens* King of the *Lacedemonians* sent a Land-army thither for the same purpose. But the Provisions of the *Lacedemonians* being spent, *Arens* thought fit to retreat, and march home: And *Patroclus* was obliged to do the same, without doing any thing for the Relief of *Athens*, which soon fell into *Antigonus*'s Hands, who placed a Garison there. *Magas*, Governor of *Cyrene* and *Libya* for King *Ptolemy* (e), rebelled against him, and made himself Sovereign of those Provinces. This *Magas* was Half-brother to *Ptolemy*, being Son of *Berenice*, by *Philip* a *Macedonian*, who had been her Husband before she married *Ptolemy Soter*; and he had married *Apame*, Daughter to *Antiochus Soter* King of *Asia*; and in confidence of this Alliance, he thought to dispossess his Brother of *Egypt*; but being recalled by an Insurrection in *Libya*, was not able to effectuate this wicked Design.

Towards the End of the Year before Christ 263, which coincides with the Year from the Creation of the World 3687, died *Antigonus* of *Socho* (f), who was President of the Sanhedrim at *Jerusalem*, and the great Master and Teacher of the *Jewish* Law in their prime Divinity School in that City, where he had been in both these Offices, say the *Jews*, from the Death of *Simon the Just*, who was the last of those who were called the Men of the great Synagogue. These taught the Scriptures only to the People; they who succeeded them, added the Traditions of the Elders, obliging their Scholars to the Observance of the one as well as the other, as if both had proceeded from Mount *Sinai*. They were called the *Tanaim*, or *Mishnaical Doctors*. The first of which was *Antigonus* of *Socho*; who being now dead, was succeeded by *Joseph* the Son of *Joazer*, and *Joseph* the Son of *John*. The first of these was *Nasi*, or the President of the Sanhedrim, and the other *Ab-betdin*, or Vice-president; and both taught together in the chief Divinity School at *Jerusalem*. At that Time began the Sect of the *Sadducees*, to the Rise of which this *Antigonus* gave Occasion: For having in his Lectures often inculcated to his Scholars, That they ought not to serve God in a servile Manner with respect to the Reward, but only out of filial Love and Fear, which they owed to him; *Sadoc* and *Baitos*, two of his Scholars, inferred from thence, that there was no Reward after this Life; and separating from the School of their Master, taught there was no Resurrection or future State; but that all Rewards that God gave to those who served him, were in this Life only. Many being perverted by them to this Opinion, began that Sect among the *Jews*, who, from the Name of *Sadoc*, the first Founder thereof, were called *Sadducees*, who differed from *Epicurus*

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(a) Eutropius, lib. 2. Livius, Epit. lib. 14. (b) Val. Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 3. § 9. (c) Plutarchus in Pyrrho. (d) Paulanias in Laconicis, p. 218. (e) Idem in Atticis, p. 17, 18. (f) Juchasin. Ganz. Ismach David, p. m. 67.

only in this, That tho' they denied a future State, yet they allowed the Power of God to create the World, and his Providence to govern it ; whereas the *Epicureans* deny both. A fuller Account of the *Sadducees* we may have afterwards.

Antiochus Soter at *Antioch*, put to death one of his Sons, who had raised some Disturbances while he was absent near *Sardis*, and made his other Son, who was also named *Antiochus* King. *Ant. C.* 261. And a little after *Soter* himself dying, after he had reigned twenty one Years (a), left to his Son the sole Power of all his Dominions.

Ptol. Philadelp. 24. This *Antiochus* in a few Years assumed the Title of *Theus*, or *Divine*, by which he is usually distinguished from other Kings of *Syria* of his Name. He was born of *Stratonice* the Daughter of *Demetrius*, who had been first his Father's Mother-in-law, and afterwards his Wife, as hath been before (b) observed. He had to his Wife *Laodice* his Sister (c), by the same Father. The Name of *Theus* was first given him by the *Milesians*, on his delivering of them from the Tyranny (d) of *Timarchus*.

In the Beginning of his Reign lived *Berosus* the famous *Chaldean* Historian ; for he dedicated his History to him. So says *Tatian* (e) : *Berosus* the *Babylonian*, who was a Priest of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and lived in the Time of *Alexander*, dedicated to *Antiochus*, the third after him, his History, which he wrote in three Books, of the Affairs of the *Chaldeans*, and the Actions of their Kings. Now the third after *Alexander* was certainly *Antiochus Theus* ; for *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and *Antiochus Theus* the third : And therefore, according to *Tatian*, it must be to him that this Dedication was made. But it being said by *Tatian* that *Berosus* lived in the Time of *Alexander*, who died sixty four Years before *Antiochus Theus* began to reign, the Age of the Historian makes it necessary to place this Dedication in the first Year of his Reign : For supposing *Berosus* to have been twenty at the Death of *Alexander*, he must have been eighty four, in the first Year of *Antiochus Theus*. Several valuable Fragments of this History are preserved by *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, which give Light to some Passages of the *Old Testament*, and help to make out the Series of the *Babylonish* Kings : But the Book it self is lost.

Ptolemy Philadelphus being intent to advance the Riches of his Kingdom, contrived to bring all the Trade of the East that Way by Sea. It had hitherto been managed by the *Tyrians*, who carried it on by Sea to *Elath* ; and from thence by Way of *Rhinocorura* to *Tyre* ; *Elath* being on the East Side of the *Red Sea*, and *Rhinocorura* at the Bottom of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Palestine*, near the Mouth of that which the Scriptures call the River of *Egypt*. To draw that Trade into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a convenient Port at *Myos Hormus*, in the Confines of *Æthiopia*, to which the Merchandice of *Arabia*, *India*, *Persia* and *Æthiopia* were carried by Sea ; and from thence on Camels Backs to *Coptus* on the *Nile* ; and thence down that River to *Alexandria* ; from whence they were dispersed all over the West, and the Commodities of the West carried back the same Way to the East, which continued for seventeen hundred Years, till *Vasco di Gama*, a *Portuguese* discovered a Way to the *East Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, about the Year 1493. The Road from *Coptus* to the *Red Sea*, being thro' dry Desarts for six or seven Days Journey (f) ; to remedy this Inconveniency, *Ptolemy* caused draw a Ditch from *Coptus*, which carried the Water of the River *Nile* all along that Road, and caused erect several Inns for refreshing Men and Beasts to all that passed that Way, and built a great Fleet in the *Red Sea*, and in the *Mediterranean* to protect his Trade.

Magas King of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, growing old and infirm, expressed a Desire of composing Differences with King *Ptolemy* his Brother ; and in order thereto, proposed to marry *Bernice*, his only Daughter to *Ptolemy's* eldest Son ; and with her to give the Inheritance of his Kingdoms after him. Which being accepted of by *Ptolemy*, Peace was made between them on these Terms : But *Magas* in the Year following died, before the Treaty was executed, after he had governed his Territories fifty Years. In the latter part of his Life he gave himself so much to eating, drinking, Ease and Luxury, as it hastned his Death. He being gone, *Apame* his Wife, whom *Justin* (g) calls *Arfinoe*, did all she could to hinder the Marriage contracted between her Daughter and the Son of *Ptolemy*. To this End she invited *Demetrius* the half Brother of *Antigonus Gonatas* out of *Macedon*, to marry her Daughter, promising him the Kingdoms of *Libya* and *Cyrene* with her. Upon this Invitation the young Man willingly came : But he being very beautiful, *Apame* fell in Love with him her self ; and he complying with her Humour, behaved himself with great Insolence towards the young Princess, and all the Court, whereon they conspired against him and murdered him as he was in Bed with *Apame*. This being done *Bernice* went to *Egypt*, and consummated the Marriage which her Father had contracted for her ; and *Apame* was sent to the Court of *Antiochus Theus* her Brother, whom she so far exasperated, as he entred into a destructive War against King *Ptolemy*, which lasted

(a) *Helvici Theatrum*. (b) Above p. 319. (c) *Polyæni Stratagem*. lib. 8. cap. 50. tit. *Laodice*. (d) *Appian*. in *Syriacis* p. 210, 211. edit. 1670. (e) *Tatian Assy. cum annexis ad Just. Martyr*. edit. 1686. (f) *Strabo*, lib. 17. p. 815. (g) *Justin*, lib. 26. cap. 3.

lasted very (a) long, tho' we have but few Particulars concerning it recorded in History. Amidst the Flames of this War, *Ptolemy* did not omit to search for Books for his Library at *Alexandria*, and for Pictures done by the most eminent Artists. The famous *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* being one of his Agents in *Greece*, so far merited his Favour, as for a valuable Collection of Pictures, he gave him one hundred and fifty Talents, with which *Aratus* restored his City to Liberty and Peace, as hath been before (b) observed.

While *Antiochus* was carrying on this War against King *Ptolemy*, there happened a great Defection from him, in the eastern Provinces of the Empire; which he not being at Leisure to suppress immediately, it grew to that Height, as to be too hard for him and his Successors: For *Arfaces* about this Time killed *Agathocles* Governor of *Parthia* (c), to rescue *Tiridates* from his unnatural Lust; and gathering a Company to defend himself, expelled the *Macedonians*, and set up for himself as King of *Parthia*. The same Year *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, where from being Governor under *Antiochus*, he declared himself King of that Country (d), and got a thousand Cities there to subject themselves to him. Which Example being followed by other Nations in these Parts, *Antiochus* lost almost all the eastern Provinces that lay beyond the *Tigris* (e). This happened, according to *Justin* (f), while *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were Consuls at *Rome*; that is, in the fifteenth Year of the first *Punick* War.

At the same Time, on the Death of *Manasseh*, High-priest of the *Jews*, *Onias* the second of that Name (g) succeeded him in that Office. He was the Son of *Simon* the *Just*; but having been left an Infant at his Father's Death, *Eleazar* the Brother of *Simon* was made High-priest in his stead. And he also dying before *Onias* was of Age capable for executing that Office, *Manasseh* the Son of *Jaddua*, and Uncle of *Simon* the *Just*, was called to it; and now he being dead, *Onias* came into that Office: But being a Man of an heavy Temper, and of a very sordid Spirit, he behaved himself very meanly in that Station, as we shall see afterwards.

The Revolts which happened in the East, making *Antiochus* uneasy, and weary of the War with King *Ptolemy*, Peace was made between them on these Terms (h); That *Antiochus* divorcing *Laodice* his former Wife, should marry *Berenice* the Daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and entail his Crown upon the Male-issue of this last Marriage. This being ratified on both Sides, *Antiochus* put away *Laodice*, tho' she was his Sister, and had born him two Sons; and *Philadelphus* carried his Daughter aboard his Fleet from *Pelusium* to *Seleucia*, a Sea-port Town near the River *Orontes* in *Syria*, where the Marriage was celebrated with great Solemnity. Thus, as the Prophet *Daniel* xi. 5, 6. foretold, *The kings daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North*; and, by virtue of that Marriage, the two Kings shall join themselves together. For by the King of the South, the Prophet understands the King of *Egypt*, and by the King of the North, the King of *Syria*; both being so called, in respect of *Judea*; which lying between these two Countries hath *Egypt* on the South, and *Syria* on the North.

Arfinoe the beloved Wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* dying, he did all he could for her Honour, calling several Cities he had built by her Name, and erecting Obelisks to her Memory: But he himself, tho' he once imagined that he would never dye (i), did not long survive her; for being of a Tender Constitution, and having further weakned it by Pleasures (k), he could not bear the Approach of old Age, nor the Grief which he fell under on the Loss of his beloved Wife; but sinking away under these Burdens, died in the sixty third Year of his Age, after he had reigned over *Egypt* thirty eight Years. He left behind him two Sons and one Daughter, which he had by *Arfinoe* his first Wife. The eldest of the two Sons was *Ptolemy Energetes*, who reigned after him; the other was called *Lysimachus*, who was put to Death by his Brother, for some Infurrection against him. The Daughter was *Berenice*, lately married to *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*. This *Philadelphus* was not only a great Collector of Books, but also a great Patron of Learning (l). Many of these who were eminent for any Part of Literature resorted to him from all Parts, to partake of his Favour and Bounty. Seven celebrated Poets of that Age are said to have lived in his Court (m); four of which *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophron* and *Aratus* have some of their Works yet remaining: And the first of them hath an *Idyllium*, the second an Hymn in his Praise. *Manetho* the *Egyptian* dedicated his History, which is now lost, to him. Even *Zoilus*, the snarling Critick, came to his Court. He had written against *Homer* (n); whom all other Men valued, and had barked against many valuable Authors, in a detracting Stile. *Ptolemy* would give him nothing, and he died miserable. This King also had built many new Cities, and repaired old ones, giving them new Names (o). Two of this Sort were in *Palastine*; namely *Ace*, a famous Port which he called

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(a) Hieron. in Dan. xi. 5. Tom. 5. fol. m. 281. (b) Above, p. 305. (c) Arrian. in Parthica apud Photium, cod. 58. (d) Strabo lib. 11. p. 515. Justin, lib. 41. cap. 4. (e) Ibidem ibidem. (f) Justin, lib. 41. cap. 4. (g) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (h) Hieron. in Daniel. xi. Polyani Stratagem. lib. 8. tit. Laodice. (i) Athen. Delpnosoph. lib. 12. cap. 17. (k) Ibidem, & lib. 13. cap. 13. (l) Strabo lib. 17. p. 789. (m) Vide Vossium de histor. Græcis, lib. 7. cap. 12. (n) Ibid. cap. 15. (o) Strabo, lib. 14. p. 666.

Ptolemais (a), and *Rabbah*, of the Children of *Ammon*, which he named *Philadelphia*. And he left so many other Monuments of his Sumptuousness and Magnificence behind him in Cities, Temples and publick Edifices, that it afterwards grew into a Proverb, when any Work of that Kind was erected, to call it *Philadelphian*. Notwithstanding all this, and that he had great Fleets by Sea, and Armies by Land, he died possessed of vast Riches; for he left in his Treasury seven hundred and forty thousand *Egyptian* Talents; which shews how vast his Revenues were, and that he had the Art of gathering (b) and improving them.

Antiochus Theus, when he heard of the Death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his Father-in-law, removed *Berenice* from his Bed, and again recalled *Laodice* and her Children. But she fearing his fickle Temper, and that he might bring back *Berenice*, and settle the Succession of her Son, as had been contracted with *Ptolemy*, did procure her Husband to be poisoned (c), after he had reigned fifteen Years: And on his Death put one *Artemon*, who was very like him, into his Bed, to personate him as sick; who acted his Part so well, that the King's Death was not known, till by Orders counterfeited in his Name, his Son *Seleucus Callinicus* by *Laodice* was secured in the Succession; and then his Father's Death being published, he ascended the Throne, and sat on it twenty Years. But *Laodice*, not thinking him safe in the Possession, while *Berenice* and her Son were alive, designed also to cut them off; which *Berenice* being informed of, fled with her Son to *Daphne*, and there shut her self up in the Asylum: But being circumvented by the Fraud of her cruel Rival, she and her Son were both slain, with all the *Egyptian* Attendants who came with her. Hereby was exactly fulfilled what *Daniel* xi. 6. had foretold, *That neither he*, (that is *Antiochus Theus* King of the North) *shall stand, nor she* (that is *Berenice*, Daughter to *Philadelphus* King of the South) *should retain her power*: But she (that is *Berenice*) being deprived of him that begat her and strengthened her; that is, of her Father, who died a little before these Calamities, *should be given up with these that brought her*; that is, these who came with her out of *Egypt*, who with her Son were all cut off and destroyed; And thus the Prophecy was accomplished.

While *Berenice* was shut up in *Daphne*, the Cities of the lesser *Asia*, sent an Army to *Antioch* for her Relief, and *Ptolemy Euergetes* her Brother hastned thither with a greater Force; but they came too late. Therefore they turned their Designs into Revenge; and *Ptolemy*, at the Head of them, not only killed *Laodice* (d), but also made himself Master of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and brought all the Provinces as far as *Babylon* under his Power, and would have subdued other Parts, had he not been recalled to suppress an Insurrection in *Egypt*. Leaving his Lieutenants to carry on the War, he carried with him into his own Kingdom vast Treasures got by the Plunder of the conquered Provinces, even forty thousand Talents of Silver (e) with a great Number of precious Vessels of Silver and Gold, with two thousand five hundred Images, among which were many of the *Egyptian* Idols, that *Cambyses* on his conquering that Country had carried into *Persia*. These *Ptolemy* restored to their former Temples, for which the *Egyptians* gave him the Name of *Euergetes*, that is, *Benefactor*. Thus was accomplished another Part of the Prophecy of *Daniel* xi. 7, 8, 9. *That there should one arise out of a branch of her roots, in his Estate* (that is *Ptolemy Euergetes*, Brother to *Berenice* by the same Father and Mother, succeeding his Father *Philadelphus* in his Kingdom) *and he should come with an Army, and enter into the fortress of the king of the North, and prevail against him: and should carry captive into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold, and so should return into his own kingdom, and his own land; and that the king of the south should continue more years than the king of the north*: For *Ptolemy Euergetes* outlived *Seleucus Callinicus* four Years.

Euergetes on his Return from this Expedition came to *Jerusalem* on his Way (f), where, He did not sacrifice to the Gods of *Egypt*, in testimony of his Thankfulness for the Victory, but did offer Victims after the Manner of the Jews to God, and dedicated to him the most excellent Ornaments of his Victory. Upon this Passage of *Josephus*, Dr. *Prideaux* (g), remarks That the Reason of this Conduct probably might be, that being shewn the Prophecies of *Daniel*, he inferred from thence, that he owed his Victories only to that God, whose Prophet had so fully foretold them.

When *Ptolemy Euergetes* was returned to *Egypt*, *Seleucus Callinicus* prepared a great Fleet on the Coasts of *Asia*, for reducing the revolted Cities; but by a violent Storm (h) he lost all his Ships, and scarce any thing remained but himself, and a few of his Followers, who escaped almost naked ashore. The revolted Cities hearing of this Loss, whereby they thought the Murder of *Berenice* and her Son sufficiently revenged on *Seleucus*, returned to his Obedience (i). And he provided another Army to recover his other Dominions from King *Ptolemy*; but

(a) Vide Relandi *Palæstinam*, p. 534 & 958. (b) Vide Appianum in *Præfat. ad opera Histor.* (c) Hieron. in *Dan.* cap. 11. operum Tom. 5. fol. m. 281. Valerius Max. lib. 9. cap. 14. Extern. 1. Plin. *hist. nat.* lib. 7. cap. 12. (d) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 1. Appian. in *Syriacis*, p. 211. Hieron. in *Daniel.* cap. 11. Polyæni. *Stratag.* lib. 8. Tit. *Laodice.* (e) Hieron. in *Dan.* cap. 11. (f) Joseph. *contra Appion.* lib. 2. (g) *Connect.* part 2. p. 82. (h) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 2. (i) Idem *ibid.*

but he was overthrown in Battle, and lost the greatest Part of his Army, himself escaping to *Antioch*. In this broken State of his Affairs, he invited *Antiochus* his Brother (who then tho' but a Boy of fourteen Years of Age, commanded in the lesser *Asia*) to join his Forces with him : And he accepted of the Proposal, not so much from a Design to save any Part of the Empire to his Brother, as to gain it all to himself: For he was of a greedy catching Disposition, taking all he could get right or wrong ; and therefore was called *Hierax* (a), that is, the *Hawk*. The Cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in the lesser *Asia*, out of Affection to *Seleucus*, entred into a League to join all their Power to support his Interest ; which they caused to be engraven on a large Column of Marble, now standing in the Theatre Yard at *Oxford*, in *Greek* Capital Letters very legible ; which, with other Marble Inscriptions brought home by the Earl of *Arundel*, and gifted by *Henry Duke of Northfolk*, his Grandson, to that University, in the Reign of *Charles II.* the learned *Mr. Selden* hath printed in a Book (b) now before me. *Euergetes* hearing of these Things, that he might not have to Debate with both the Brothers at once, came to an Agreement with *Seleucus*, whereby a Peace was concluded between them for ten Years (c). But the two Brothers, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* continued in War ; the latter claiming the Sovereignty of the lesser *Asia*, and the former refusing to give it him. Whereon the Matter came to a bloody Battle near *Ancyra* in the lesser *Asia*, in which *Seleucus* being overthrown, hardly escaped with his Life. And it fared little better with *Antiochus* ; for having won the Victory by the Assistance of the *Galatians* or *Gauls* of *Asia*, these Barbarians, on a Rumour spread that *Seleucus* was slain in Battle, plotted the Death of the other Brother also, reckoning that if both were cut off, all *Asia* would be theirs ; and *Antiochus* having no other Way to save himself, redeemed his Life (d), by giving them all his Treasure. *Plutarch* tells (e), That when *Antiochus* heard that his Brother was killed, he put on Mourning, and caused his Gates be shut : But when he understood that he was alive, he came abroad, gathered new Forces, sacrificed with Thanksgiving, and ordered all Cities under his Dominion to keep holy Day. In the Progress of this unnatural War, *Seleucus* had at length the Advantage ; *Antiochus Hierax* being broken, and finding no place where he could be safe in the *Syrian* Empire, fled to *Ariathes* King of *Cappadocia*, whose Daughter he had married. But he soon grew weary of an Exile ; and *Antiochus* finding he was in Danger to be cut off, made his Escape to *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* ; where as soon as he arrived, he was clapped up in Custody, and there kept several Years, till by the Help of a Courtezan, with whom he had been familiar, he got out (f) : But when he was flying, he fell among Thieves, and was slain by them.

This War seems to have been carried into *Mesopotamia*, where 'tis likely happened that Battle in *Babylonia*, which *Judas Maccabæus* makes mention of in his Speech to his Army, in 2 *Maccab.* viii. 20. where he says eight thousand *Babylonish Jews*, joining with four thousand *Macedonians*, vanquished the *Galatians*, and slew of their Army One hundred and twenty thousand Men.

But while these Brothers went on with Wars between themselves, their Father's Kingdom was torn in Pieces by others, who were Enemies to both. *Eumenes* set up a Kingdom in *Per-gamus* (g), which continued for four Descents, till it was added to the *Roman* Empire. *Ar-saces* seized on *Hyrkania*, and *Parthia* in the East ; and *Theodotus* upon *Bactria*. *Seleucus*, so soon as he was at leisure after the Troubles created to him by his Brother, marched to reduce *Ar-saces* ; but was unfortunate in two several Expeditions, and in the last of them was defeated and taken Prisoner (h) ; which Day the *Parthians* observed for a long Time as a solemn Festival, for recovering their Liberty. *Ar-saces* being encouraged by this Victory, took on him the Title of a King, and from him his Successors were called *Ar-sacidae* ; and their Kingdom became so great and powerful, as to be a Terror even to the *Romans* themselves, who terrified all the World.

In the mean time *Ptolemy Euergetes* having full Peace, applied himself to advance the Library which his Father had founded at *Alexandria*. *Zenodotus* was the first Library-keeper there (i) ; and after him *Eratosthenes* was invited from *Athens* to take this Charge. He was a Man of great Reputation for Learning and universal Knowledge. We have had already (k) occasion to mention his Catalogue of the Kings at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, preserved by *Syncellus*, which is of singular Use.

Onias the High-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* growing very old, encreased in Covetousness with his Age ; and being a weak inconsiderate Man, neglected to pay to *Ptolemy Euergetes* the usual Tribute of twenty Talents, which had been paid annually by his Predecessors to the Kings of *Egypt* (l). The Arrears now growing to a great Sum, the King sent *Athenion* to demand the Money of the *Jews*, threatening, that if it were not immediately paid, he would send his Soldiers to dispossess them of their Country, and divide it among them. By this Message *Je-*

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(a) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 2. (b) Seldeni Marmora Arundel. p. 15, — 33. (c) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 754. (d) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 2. in fine. (e) Περὶ φιλαδελφίας. (f) Justin, lib. 27. cap. 3. (g) Ibidem. (h) Ibidem, lib. 47. cap. 4, 5. (i) Suidas in Zenóδοτος. & in Ερατοσθένης. (k) Above, p. 83 & 168. (l) Eusebius in Chronico, ad Olymp. 134. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. in fine.

Jerusalem was put into a great Fright, not knowing what Course to take. But at this Time there happened to be a young Man named *Joseph*, *Onias's* Sister's Son, of great Reputation among the *Jews*. He coming to *Jerusalem*, severely upbraided his Uncle for bad Management of the publick Interest, and told him there was no Remedy for the present Danger, but that the High-priest should go to the *Egyptian* Court, and there by Application to the King to make up the Matter. *Onias* wanting Vigour for such an Undertaking, utterly declined it: Whereupon *Joseph* offered to go in his stead; which being agreed to, and cheerfully approved by the People, this prudent and generous Youth invited *Athenion*, the *Egyptian* Ambassador, into his House, where he entertained him with a splendid Hospitality, presented him with valuable Gifts, engaging him to represent the Affair to the King as favourably as possible; and assured him that he would soon follow him to *Alexandria*, and there give the King full Satisfaction. *Athenion*, on his Return to *Egypt*, represented *Joseph's* Conduct and Character to so great Advantage, that the King was very desirous to see him, and prepared to receive him with all manner of Respect: And *Joseph* having borrowed from the Bankers in *Samaria* twenty thousand Drachms, which amounted to about seven hundred Pounds *Sterling*, he thereby prepared for himself an Equipage to appear at Court, and set out for *Alexandria*. By the Way he met with several of the Nobility of *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnicia* travelling to the same Place, and went on with them. Their Business was, to farm the King's Revenues in those Provinces: And they having provided themselves in splendid Equipages, laughed at *Joseph*, as far inferior to them: But he observing their Discourse with one another about their Business, got such a View of it as enabled him to laugh at them ever after. On their Arrival at *Alexandria*, they found the King gone to *Memphis*. *Joseph* alone hastned there after him, and had the good Fortune to meet him on the Road returning, *Athenion* and the Queen being with him in the same Chariot. As soon as *Athenion* had pointed him out as the young Man, Nephew to *Onias*, of whom he had spoken so much, the King called him, and took him into his own Chariot (a), where he discoursed him of the bad Conduct that *Onias* was guilty of, in not paying the Royal Tribute; which *Joseph* excused by reason of his Uncle's old Age and Weakness, in so handsome a Manner as raised in the King so good an Opinion of the Advocate, that he ordered him to be lodged in the Palace; and maintained at his own Table. And *Joseph* afterwards did him that Service as made him sufficient Recompence for the Favour: For when the Day was come that the King used to farm the Revenues to the highest Bidder, and the highest which the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, *Joseph's* fellow Travellers, would offer for the Provinces of *Cœlesyria*, *Judea* and *Samaria*, being no more than eight thousand Talents, *Joseph* offered sixteen thousand Talents for the same Provinces, over and above the Forfeitures; for he proposed to give so much for the ordinary Revenues only, and to return all the Forfeitures into the King's Treasury, which used before to belong to the Farmers. *Ptolemy* lik'd very well the advancing of his Revenues, but asked what Security he would give him for Payment. *Joseph* facetiously replied, he would give him Security of Persons beyond Exception; and when desired to tell who they were; he named the King and the Queen. The King was so taken with the pleasant Answer, that he trusted him upon his Word, without any other Security. Whereupon *Joseph* having borrowed five hundred Talents at *Alexandria*, with which he paid his Uncle's Arrears, was admitted to be the King's Receiver-general of all his Revenues in the Provinces above mentioned; and having got a Guard of two thousand Men for supporting him in the Execution of his Office, he immediately left *Alexandria* to enter on it. The City *Askelon* refused Payment, and gave him opprobrious Language; whereupon having commanded his Guard to take up twenty of the Ringleaders, he executed exemplary Justice upon them, and sent their forfeited Estates, amounting to a thousand Talents, into the King's Treasury: And having done the like at *Scythopolis*, another City of *Palestine*, where he was resisted in the same Manner; these two Examples so terrified all the rest, that after this in every Place the King's Dues were paid to him without any Opposition. Of which he having given the King a full Account, the Steadiness of his Conduct met with such thorough Approbation, that he continued in his Office, under *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Ptolemy Philopator* his Son, two and twenty Years, till *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, the Son of *Philopator*, lost those Provinces to *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, in the Beginning of his Reign.

Seleucus having continued a Prisoner in *Parthia* till this Time, *Athenæus* (b) says that *Arsaces* maintained him royally during his Captivity; and *Justin* (c) tells us, that being spoiled of his Kingdom, he died in Banishment by a Fall from his Horse. By his Wife *Laodice*, Sister to *Andromachus* one of the Generals of his Armies, he had two Sons and one Daughter. The Sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*; and the Daughter he married to *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and with her he gave him *Phrygia*.

Ant. C. *Seleucus* being the eldest of the two Sons, succeeded his Father *Callinicus* in the Throne, and took the Name of *Ceraunus*, that is, *The Thunderer*: A Title which very little became him;
225.
Ptol. Euerget. 22.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4. (b) Deiphnosoph. lib. 4. cap. 13. (c) Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3.

him ; for he was a very weak Prince in Body and Mind, in Purse and Estate. His Reign was short, about two Years, and his Authority low both in the Army and in the Provinces. His main Support was *Achæus*, Son of *Andromachus* his Mother's Brother ; who being a wise and valiant Man, guided his Affairs as well as the shatter'd State that his Father left them in would admit. *Andromachus* himself being detained Prisoner in *Parthia*, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* having possessed himself of all the Lesser *Asia*, from Mount *Taurus* to the *Hellepont*, this *Seleucus Ceraunus* marched with an Army against him. But Money being wanting to pay the Army, and the Weakness of the King rendring him contemptible to his Soldiers, *Nicanor* and *Apaturius*, two of his chief Commanders, conspired against him while he lay at *Phrygia*, and by Poison put an End to his Life (a). *Achæus* being then in the Army, revenged his Death, by cutting off the Traitors and all that were concerned in the Treason, and managed the Army with that Prudence and Resolution, as prevented *Attalus* from reaping any Advantage : Yea tho' the Army offered to make *Achæus* himself King, he utterly declined it, but took care to have the next righteous Heir set on the Throne.

This was *Antiochus* second Son to *Callinicus*, and Brother to *Ceraunus* lately deceas'd. He was afterwards, for his great Actions, and long Reign, of thirty six Years, called *The Great*. At this Time he was only fifteen Years of Age, and was at *Babylon*, or rather at *Seleucia* in the Province of *Babylon*, for his Education. Thither they sent for him to *Antioch*, where he ascended the Throne (b). Being invested in the Government, he sent *Molon* and *Alexander*, two Brothers, into the East, making the former Governor of *Media*, and the other of *Persia*. The Provinces of the Lesser *Asia* he committed to *Achæus* ; he made *Epigenes* General of the Forces, and retained *Hermias* the *Carian* to be chief Minister of State, as he had been under his Brother. *Alexander* and *Molon*, when they were settled in their Provinces, despising the Youth of the King, set up for themselves, declaring they were Sovereigns.

While these things were a-doing, there happened a violent Earthquake in the East, which made great Devastations, especially in *Caria*, and in the Island of *Rhodes* ; where the great Colossus or Statue of Brais erected to the Sun, of one hundred and five Foot in Height, and every thing else in proportion, was overthrown (c). *Chares* of *Lindus* had been twelve Years in completing that Work, and sixty six Years after, it was thrown down by an Earthquake. Thus it was finished in the Year 288 before the Birth of Christ, and thrown down in the Year 222, and was never afterwards rebuilt. It lay in Ruins till the Year of our Lord 672, when *Mowawias*, Caliph of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, sold the Brais to a Jew ; with which he loaded nine hundred Camels : And allowing each Camel to carry eight hundred Pound-weight, the whole Brais, after the Loss and Imbezilements of so many Years, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand Pound-weight.

Towards the End of the Year before the Birth of Christ 222, which is from the Creation of the World 3728, died *Ptolemy Energetes* King of *Egypt* (d), after he had reigned twenty five Years, being the last of that Race that governed himself with any Temper or Vertue (e), all that succeeded him being Monsters of Luxury and Vice. *Ptolemy Philopator* his Son entred next upon the Government of *Egypt* : A most profligate and vicious young Man, who was supposed to have made away his Father by Poison ; and he had not been long on the Throne, ere he added to that the Parricide of his Mother (f), of *Magas* his Brother ; and by the like wicked Measures, the Death of *Cleomenes* of *Sparta* was accomplished, as hath been before (g) related.

Antiochus, taking the Advantage of *Energetes*'s Death, and the Succession of so voluptuous a Prince in *Egypt*, thought it a proper Time to attempt the Recovery of *Syria* ; and *Hermias* his prime Minister pressed hard for it. But tho' the King marched his Army that Way, after marrying *Laodice* the Daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus* ; yet he found the Passes of the Mountains so well fortified, and such Resistance made in them by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who commanded there for *Philopator*, that he was forced to retreat ; and the ill News he had received of the Loss of his Army in the East, acting against *Alexander* and *Molon*, hasten'd his Return. Next Season *Antiochus* himself with his Army passed the *Tigris*, and forced *Molon* to a Battle, wherein he got such an entire Victory over him, that the Rebel finding his Cause absolutely lost, out of Despair slew himself. *Alexander* was then absent in *Persia* ; but *Nicholas*, another Brother, escaping from the Battle, brought him the ill News : Whereupon they slew first their Mother, then their Wives and their Children, and last of all themselves (h), that they might not fall into the Hands of the Conqueror. This Rebellion being thus ended, the Remains of the conquered Army submitted to the King ; who sent them into *Media*. He himself returned to *Seleucia* on the River *Tigris*, and there regulated his Affairs. *Hermias* his

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prime

(a) Polybius, lib. 4. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1. (b) Polybius, lib. 5. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1. Appian. in Syriacis, p. 141. Hieronymus in Daniel. cap. 11. (c) Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 7. Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon num. 1794, p. m. 127. (d) Polybius, lib. 2. p. 155. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1. (e) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. (f) Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1. Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5. p. 529, — 532. edit. Amst. 1670. (g) Above, p. 305. (h) Polybius, lib. 5. p. 555.

Ant. C.
220.
Ptol. Phil.
lop. 2.

prime Minister being turn'd very insolent, and having by a feigned Plot procured the Death of *Epigenes* General of the Forces, the King caused him to be cut off, to the satisfaction of all the Provinces of the *Syrian* Empire (a).

Ant. C.
219. *Antiochus* had still two dangerous Enterprizes to undertake, namely, to recover *Syria* out of the Hands of *Philopator*, and to regain the Lesser *Asia* from *Achæus*. He being Governor there, and envied at Court for his Success, was accused of Treason; and he found no Way to defend himself, but to set up as Sovereign of those Provinces. After Deliberation, the King resolved first to reduce all that belonged to the *Syrian* Empire on that Side Mount *Taurus*, and then march against *Achæus*. Accordingly he first took *Seleucia*, on the Mouth of the River *Orontes*, from the *Egyptians*, (which was the more necessary, because it could hinder Provisions from coming up to *Antioch*) and then hasten'd into *Cælesyria*. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* had before valiantly repulsed *Antiochus* in his last Irruption into that Country: But this was not enough to please those who then managed at the *Egyptian* Court; they expected more from him, and called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the Peril of his Life. Tho' he was acquitted on the hearing of his Cause, yet he resolved to be revenged on them who brought against him such an injurious Accusation; especially because he could not bear the Luxury and Bestiality, and other Abominations which he observed in *Philopator* and his Court, where *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and *Ananthe* their Mother, Whores, Pimps and Bawds, prevailed; and *Sofibius* the prime Minister cherished their Wickedness to secure his own Interest (b). *Theodotus* not liking to be obnoxious to such a Set of People, purposed to seek for a new Master, who might be more worthy of his Service; and therefore on Return to his Province, having seized *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, he declared for King *Antiochus*, and on his Arrival in that Country, delivered those two Cities to him; where he found great Magazines of War, and also a Fleet of forty Sail of Ships, which he employed all for his Service. After this *Antiochus* took *Damascus*, and put his Army into Winter-quarters.

Ant. C.
213. *In* these Circumstances *Ptolemy* offered his Adversary a Truce for four Months; which was accepted of: Which being expired, both Parties prepared for War. *Nicholas* the *Ætolian* being made Commander in chief for King *Ptolemy*, seized the Streights between Mount *Libanus* and the Sea, through which the Enemy was obliged to pass. *Antiochus* made an Assault by Land, and the Fleets encountered by Sea at the same Time. The Sea-fight ended on equal Terms (c); but at Land *Antiochus* had the Advantage, and *Nicholas* was obliged to retire to *Sidon*, with the Loss of four thousand Men. This being done, *Antiochus* made himself Master of all *Galilee*, and went over *Jordan* into *Gilead*; where he obliged *Rabbah* of the Children of *Ammon*, (which *Polybius* (d) calls *Rabbatamane*) by stopping its Water-course, to a Surrender, and then took up his Winter-quarters.

Ant. C.
217. Next Spring *Ptolemy* put himself at the Head of a great Army, of seventy thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, and seventy three Elephants, and encamped at *Raphia*, between *Rhinocarura* and *Gaza*. There *Antiochus* met him, with sixty two thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and one hundred and two Elephants. After several Skirmishes, the Matter came to a decisive Battle; wherein *Antiochus* commanding his right Wing, routed his Enemy's left; but pursuing them too far, the right Wing of *Ptolemy's* Army having defeated his left, they then fell upon his main Body, which was left naked, and utterly broke them before he could come to their Assistance. This obliged him to retreat, first to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, with the Loss of ten thousand of his Men slain, and four thousand taken Prisoners (e): After which, being no more able to make Head against *Ptolemy* in those Parts, he quitted them to the Conqueror; and having gathered together his broken Forces, returned with them to *Antioch*.

When *Antiochus* had retired, the Cities of *Cælesyria* and *Palestine* were at Strife which of them should first yield themselves to *Ptolemy* their old Master; and his Court was thronged with Ambassadors to make their Submissions, and offer Presents to him; among whom were these from the *Jews*, and they were all kindly received. *Ptolemy* having thus regained these Cities, made a Progress through them; and, among others, he visited *Jerusalem* (f). On his Arrival there, he took a View of the Temple, where he offered up many Sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, made Oblations at the Temple, and gave valuable Donatives to it. But not being content to view it from the outer Court, beyond which 'tis not lawful for any *Gentile* to pass, he would have pressed into the Sanctuary itself, and into the Holy of Holies, where none but the High-priest once a Year, on the great Day of Expiation, was to enter. This made a great Uproar all over the City. The High-priest informed him that the Law of God forbade his Entrance into that holy Place, and the Priests, *Levites*, and all the People gathered to deprecate and hinder it. But the King became resolute, and pressed in to the Inner-Court; but as he was going further in to the Temple, was smitten with such a Terror and Confusion of Mind, as he was not able to speak a Word (g), and was carried out of the Place in a Manner half dead.

(a) Polybius, lib. 5. p. 559. (b) Plutarchus in Cleomene. Justin. lib. 30. cap. 1. (c) Polybius, lib. 5. p. 575. (d) Ibid. p. 577. (e) Ibid. p. 596. (f) 3 Maccab. i. (g) Ibid. ii. 16.

dead. Whereon he departed from *Jerusalem* filled with great Wrath against the whole Nation of the *Jews*, and venting many Threatnings against them. *Simon* the Son of *Onias* (a) the second was then the High-priest who withstood *Ptolemy*. He was a wiser Man than his Father, who knew nothing but to heap up Money; and hence the *Jewish* Affairs were (b) mismanaged in his Time. The *Samaritans*, from their old Enmity, took Occasion of the present Circumstances, to ravage and plunder the *Jews*, and carry off some of their People whom they sold for Slaves. And during all the Time the War lasted between *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy Philopator*, the *Jews* suffered very much, their Country (c) being often the Seat of War.

Antiochus so soon as he returned to *Antioch*, sent Ambassadors to *Ptolemy* to move for Peace (d); which was agreed to, on Conditions, that *Cælesyria*, containing that Part of *Syria* that lay between the Mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; *Palestine*, containing all the old Inheritance of the ten Tribes of *Israel*; and the Sea-port Towns called by the *Greeks*, *Phœnicia*, should be yielded to *Ptolemy*. To all which *Antiochus*, in his present Circumstances, willingly consented. By this Peace *Antiochus* was at Leisure to prosecute the War against *Achæns*, that he might recover the lesser *Asia* from him; and *Ptolemy* got leave to return to his brutal Pleasures at *Alexandria*. But the *Egyptians* were displeased, being of Opinion, that if their King had pursued the Blow which he gave to his Adversary at *Raphia*, he might have deprived him of his whole Empire: And these Discontents procured a Rebellion in *Egypt* next Year. *Justin* (e), speaking of this Affair, says, *Ptolemy had spoiled Antiochus of his Kingdom, if his Virtue had been equal to his good Fortune: but content with the Recovery of some Towns he had lost, he gave up himself to Luxury, killed Eurydice, who was both his Wife and his Sister, and was so taken with the Charms of Agathoclea a Courtesan, that forgetting his Name and Majesty, he spent the Nights in whoring, and the Day in Revelling and Feasting.*

Ptolemy on his Return to *Alexandria*, carried thither with him his Displeasure against the *Jews*, and particularly those of them who were in that Place: For he published a Decree, and caused it to be engraven on a Pillar at the Gates of the Palace (f), forbidding all to enter there who did not sacrifice to the Gods. He deprived them of the Privilege of *Macedonians*, who had built the City, reduced them to the Number of common People: And ordained that all of them who should come to be enrolled, should have the Mark of an Ivy Leaf, the Badge of his God *Bacchus*, by an hot Iron impressed upon them, and these who refused should be made Slaves; but that as many of them as were willing to be initiated into the heathen Religion, should retain their former Privileges. Of the many thousand *Jews* who dwelt at *Alexandria*, only three hundred forsook their God, to gain the Favour of their King. The rest stood firm, choosing rather to suffer any thing than forsake their Religion, and would have no Communication with those who apostatised. This so enraged him, that he resolved to destroy all the *Jews* in his Dominions (g), and ordered all of them in *Egypt* to be brought to *Alexandria*, that they might be there destroyed by his Elephants. To this End he shut up the *Jews* in the *Hippodrome*; which was a large Building without the City, where the People used to assemble to see Horse Races, and other Shows (h). *Cheremon* the Keeper of the Beasts is said to have had five hundred of them prepared, all drunk with Wine mingled with Frankincense (i); and the King himself was to come on the Day appointed to see this Tragedy acted. But the first Day fixed for it, the King had been so late at a drunken Carousal, that he could not be got awake next Morning in Time for it; and the second Day he minded nothing of the Story, but thought them mad who spoke to him of it. Upon the third Day, the King being present, the Elephants were brought forth, prepared as before, and let loose upon the *Jews*; who all this while, and particularly *Eleazar* the Priest, had been praying in the *Hippodrome* for Deliverance. But the Beasts, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their Rage upon those who came to see the Show, and destroyed great Numbers of them: And besides, several Appearances were seen in the Air, which much frightened the King and all the Spectators. All which manifesting the Interposul of divine Providence to protect these People, *Philopator* durst not pursue his Rage any further, but ordered them all to be set free, and restored to all their Privileges, revoking all the Decrees which he had published against them: And he added Gifts and Favours (k), whereof one was, to put to Death all those *Jews* who had apostatised from their Religion; which was accordingly done.

Josephus gives no Account of this Matter in his Antiquities. There is a Hint of it in his second Book against *Appion*, but that only in the Latin Edition of *Rufinus*, where it is said to be done in the Reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*: But 'tis ascribed to *Philopator* by the third Book of the *Maccabees*, where the Story, of which we have given the Abstract, is more fully narrated. Indeed the Credit of the whole depends upon that Book, which comes to us something in a romantick Dress; for tho' it may be true, that *Philopator* persecuted the *Jews*,

P p p p 2

yet

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4. Euseb. in Chron. ad Olymp. 143. (b) Above, p. 331, 332. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (d) Polyb. lib. 5. p. 597. Justin, lib. 30. cap. 1. Hieronym. in cap. 11. Daniel. (e) Justin lib. 30. cap. 1. (f) 3 Maccab. ii. 19. & seqq. (g) Ibid. iii. 1. & seqq. (h) Ibidem, iv. 9. (i) Ibidem, v. 1. & seqq. (k) 3 Maccab. vi, vii.

yet 'tis hard to believe every Circumstance here related. For as the learned *Heideggerus* observes (a), 'tis not very probable that *Ptolemy* could let loose five hundred Elephants against the *Jews*, when all that he produced at the Battle of *Raphia* was only seventy three, as *Polybius* (b) that accurate Historian assureth us. Nor is his Feeding of them with Wine and Frankincense, with other Things here related, very likely. And we may further observe, that tho' this be called the *third Book of the Maccabees*, yet in order of Time it should be the first; for the Things therein narrated are about fifty Years before these Facts recorded in the first and second Book of *Maccabees* were done. It seems to have been writ by some *Alexandrian Jew*, perhaps by *Philo*, as *Heideggerus* (c) and *Junius*, from the Similitude of the Style do conceive. 'Tis extant in *Syriack*; but the Author of that Version seems not to have understood the *Greek* Original. 'Tis to be found in the most of the antient Manuscript Copies of the *Septuagint*, as in the *Alexandrian* Copy in St. *James's* Library, and in the *Vatican* Manuscript at *Rome*, and in these published from them. *Jerom* never thought it worth his while to translate it; nor was it ever inserted in the vulgar *Latin* Version of the Bible. The first authentick Mention we have of it is in *Eusebius's* *Chronicon* (d).

To go on with the History of *Antiochus* the Great: After the Peace he made with *Ptolemy*, he turned his whole thoughts upon making War against *Achæus*, for Recovery of the lesser *Asia*. To promote this Design, he joined himself in a League with *Attalus* King of *Pergamum* (e); by Virtue of which, he so distressed *Achæus*, as he forced him to quite the Field, and besieged him in *Sardis*. The City being taken after a Year's Siege, *Achæus* was forced to retire to the Castle; where *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, two crafty *Cretans*, after they had engaged to *Sosibius* Minister to *Ptolemy Philopator*, to deliver *Achæus* out of the Castle by a postern Gate, took another Reward from *Antiochus*, to deliver him into his Hands. And having got into the Castle, under Pretence of making a Way for poor *Achæus's* Escape, they betrayed him into the Hands of *Antiochus*, who immediately caused him be beheaded. Whereupon the Castle surrendred, and all the *Asian* Provinces submitted; which put an End to the War.

About this Time the Discontents of the *Egyptians* against *Philopator* broke out into a Civil War. *Polybius* tells us (f) that there was such a War; but no Author gives any Account of what was done in it; only *Philopator* seems to have mastered the Difficulty. The *Jews* who then bore a great Bulk in *Egypt*, seem to have joined that Side that lost: For *Eusebius* (g) tells us, That about this Time sixty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed.

Antiochus having settled his Affairs in the lesser *Asia*, made an Expedition into the East; against *Arfaces* the Son of *Arfaces*, who first founded the *Parthian* Empire (h). In which Expedition, after some Years War, *Antiochus* seems to have had a good deal of Success: For after several Victories gained, it was agreed that *Arfaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on the Terms of becoming a Confederate to *Antiochus*, and assisting him in his Wars for Recovery of the Provinces revolted from him. He also settled a Peace with *Euthydemus* in *Bactria* (i), and brought many other Provinces, as *Arachosia*, *Drangiana*, and *Caramania* under his Obedience; and after seven Years Absence, returned to *Antioch*.

He had not been long there, till he had an Account of the Death of *Ptolemy Philopator*, King of *Egypt*. This Prince did wear out a strong Body by his Intemperance and Debaucheries, which brought him to Death in the seventeenth Year of his Reign, and thirty seventh of his Life. After him succeeded *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his Son, a Child of five Years of Age. None but *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea*, with such Pimps and Whores were about *Philopator* at his Death; and they concealed it as long as they could, and in the mean time plundered the Palace of any Treasure (k) and Riches they could get into their Hands, and then framed Projects for cutting off *Tlepolemus*, then the Prime Minister, and continuing themselves in the Government. But the People of *Alexandria* minding their Misdemeanours, rose against them; and having taken the young King, and placed him on the Throne in the *Hippodrome*, they caused *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea* and *Enanthe* their Mother, with several of their Friends and Creatures, to be put to Death as by his Orders, and all torn to Pieces; and then sent to the Senate of *Rome*, praying that they would protect their young King and his Kingdom, from a dangerous Combination that was forming against him; which the *Romans*, having then put an End to the second *Punick* War, willingly consented to, not so much from a Regard to the Interest of the Petitioners, as from a View to extend their own Dominions, as afterwards appeared. For

Antiochus the Great, and *Philip* King of *Macedon*, thinking to serve themselves by the Death of *Philopator*, and the Succession of an Infant King, entred into a League (l) to divide his Dominions between them, agreeing that *Philip* should have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* *Cælesyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and all the rest. According to this Design,

(a) *Enchirid. Biblicum*, p. 568. (b) *lib. 5. p. 587.* (c) *Enchirid. p. 565.* (d) *Ad Olymp. 140.* (e) *Polybius lib. 5. p. 598. & seqq. & lib. 7. p. 704.—709. & lib. 8. p. 726.—736.* (f) *Lib. 5. p. 197.* (g) *In Chronico, ad Olymp. 141.* (h) *Justin, lib. 41. cap. 5.* (i) *Polybius lib. 10. p. 834. & 864. & lib. 11. p. 907.* (k) *Justin, lib. 30. cap. 2. Polybius, lib. 15. p. 991, — 1005.* (l) *Justin, lib. 30. cap. 3. Livius, lib. 31. cap. 9. Polyb. lib. 15.*

sign, *Antiochus* marched into *Cælesyria* and *Palestine*, and partly this Year, and partly the next, made himself master of these Provinces, and of the Cities in them.

Ant. C.
203.
Ptol. E.
piph. 2.

In the Year 3560 of the *Jewish Era* from the Creation, which is the 3749 Year of the World (a), and the 4513 of the *Julian Period*, (for the *Jewish Era* begins with the 953 Year of that Period, and differs 189 Years from the common Computation after the Creation (b) of the World) the *Jewish Writers* say (c), That *Joshua* the Son of *Perashia*, was admitted President of the Sanhedrim, and *Nathan* the *Arbelite* his Vice-President, and both together were Rectors of the Divinity School at *Jerusalem*. They tell nothing particular of the latter, neither is what they say of the former consistent with the Time in which they place him, or of any Truth in the Matters related. For they say of him, that when *Alexander* the *Asmonæan* King of *Judab* slew the Doctors of the Law at *Jerusalem*, for telling him that he ought to be contented with the Crown, and not hold that and the high Priesthood together, *Joshua* then escaping from his Wrath, fled into *Egypt*, and that *Jesus Christ* being his Scholar, accompanied him thither, tho' the Year of the *Jewish Era* above mentioned, be two hundred and one Years before Christ's Birth, and many Years before the Reign of *Alexander* the *Asmonæan* in *Judea*. But to be wrong two or three hundred Years in Chronology, is nothing with the *Jews*: They are the most wretched Historians and Accounters of Time that ever pretended to either.

The *Romans* having taken on them the Tuition of the young King of *Egypt*, sent Ambassadors to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, to require them to desist from invading the Dominions of their (d) Pupil, otherwise they would be obliged to make War upon them for his Protection: And *M. Æmilius Lepidus* went to *Alexandria* to assume the Name of the young King's Tutor; and after having appointed *Aristomenes* the *Atarnian* to be his chief Minister and Guardian, he returned to *Rome*. On the other Side, *Antiochus* having passed into the Lesser *Asia*, and there engaged himself in a War with *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, the Ministry at *Alexandria* took the Advantage to send *Scopas* with an Army into *Palestine* and *Cælesyria*, for Recovery of these Provinces; where he managed the War with that Success (e), that he took several Cities; reduced all *Judea* by Force, and put a Garison into the Castle at *Jerusalem*; and on the Approach of the Winter, returned thither with Honour and great Riches, which he had gathered from the Plunder of that Country. But it soon appeared that his Successes in this Campaign, were mostly owing to the Absence of *Antiochus*; for after he, on the Interposition of the *Romans* (f), desisted from the War against *Attalus*, and was come in Person into *Cælesyria*, this brought the Victory on the other Side. For tho' *Scopas* returned again with a great Army into these Parts, yet being encountred by *Antiochus* at *Paneas*, near the Fountains of the River *Jordan*, he was there overthrown with a great Slaughter (g), and forced to flee to *Sidon*; where being shut up with ten thousand of his Men, *Antiochus* besieged him, till by Famine he was forced to surrender on Terms of Life only, and he with his Men were sent thence stripped and naked to return to *Alexandria*, for Cloaths and Arms for future Service. *Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*; and finding there a Resistance that provoked his Anger, he gave up the Place to be ravaged by his Soldiers, after he had taken it: And having secured the Passes against the March of any new Forces out of *Egypt*, to disturb him in his Conquests, he marched back, and took in *Betania*, *Samaria*, *Abila*, *Gadara*, and all other remaining Cities (h) in *Palestine* and *Cælesyria*.

Ant. C.
199.
Ptol. E.
piph. 6.

Ant. C.
193.

The *Jews* were at this Time very much alienated in their Affection from the *Egyptian*, by Reason, as seems, of the former bad Treatment their Nation had received from his Father, and by the Ravages and Robberies committed lately by *Scopas* in taking *Jerusalem*; who being a very covetous Man, laid hold (i) on every Thing he could get: And therefore on *Antiochus's* marching that Way, they willingly yielded up all Places to him; and on his coming to *Jerusalem*, the Priests and Elders went out in a solemn Procession to meet him, received him with Joy, and entertained him and his Army in their City, provided for his Horses and Elephants, and assisted him with their Arms for reducing the Castle where *Scopas* had left a Garison. In Gratitude for these Favours, *Antiochus*, by a Decree directed to *Ptolemy*, one of his Lieutenants, granted the *Jews* many Privileges (k), giving them Liberty to repair their City, to encrease the Number of its Inhabitants, allowing them Cattle, Wine and Oil for their Sacrifices, Wood from *Lebanon* for rebuilding and mending any Thing was wanting about their Temple or Porches, permitting them to live all according to the Customs and Laws of their Country, and remitting to their Senators, Priests and Scribes, and Singers in the Temple, any Tribute that used to be paid. And by another Decree, he ordained that no Stranger should enter within the Sept of the Temple; which seems to have been provided with respect to the Attempt which *Philopator* made to put a Force upon them in this Matter. And it is

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(a) Helvici Theatrum ad annum. (b) Strauchii brevium chronologicum, p. m. 170. (c) R. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. Ganz Tsemach David p. 261. (d) Justin, lib. 30, cap. 3. Valerius Maximus lib. 6. cap. 6. (e) Joseph antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (f) Livius, lib. 32. (g) Josephus ibid. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 193. Hieronymus in cap. 11. Danielis Tom. 5. fol. m. 282. (h) Justin, lib. 31. cap. 1. (i) Polybius lib. 17, p. 1676, & de virtutibus & vitiis, p. 1402. Josephus antiq. lib. 12, cap. 3. (k) Joseph. ibid.

also to be noticed, that *Antiochus* in his Eastern Expeditions, having found the *Jews* of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* very serviceable to him, he therefore (a), on some Commotions that happened in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, by a Decree directed to *Zeuxis*, an old Officer of his, and then his Commander in those Parts, ordered two thousand Families of the *Jews* of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, with all the Goods belonging to them, to be sent thither on the King's Charges, for suppressing of these Seditions; and that they should be placed in the strongest Fortresses for defending the Country, and have Lands and Possessions there divided to them for a plentiful Subsistence, and that till they should receive the Fruits out of these Lands, they should be maintained out of the King's Stores: *Because* (says the King in the Decree) *I am persuaded they'll take a faithful Care of my Affairs, both because they piously worship the God of Heaven, and also their Fidelity and Duty hath been approved by my Predecessors.* From these *Jews*, who were on this Occasion transplanted from *Babylonia* into these Parts, were descended most of the *Jews* whom we find afterwards scattered in great Numbers all over the Lesser *Asia*, especially in the Times of the first Preaching of the Gospel.

Antiochus having brought all *Cælesyria* and *Palestine* in Subjection to him, projected to do the same in the Lesser *Asia*: But to quiet the *Egyptians*, that they might not renew the War in his Absence, he sent *Eucles* of *Rhodes* to *Alexandria*, with Proposals of Marriage between *Cleopatra* his Daughter and King *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, to be consummated as soon as the King should be of Age for it, promising the Restauration of *Cælesyria* and *Judea* on the Day of the Nuptials by Way of Dower. This Offer being accepted, the *Egyptians* no more renewed the War, but left him wholly to pursue his other Designs. *Jerom* tells us (b), that the Contract was agreed to in the seventh Year of the Reign of *Epiphanes*, (which was in the Year 3753 from the Creation of the World, 197 before the Birth of Christ, the twenty seventh Year of the Reign of *Antiochus* the Great) but the Bride was not delivered till the thirteenth of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*'s Reign.

Antiochus having secured Peace behind him, early next Spring he set out with a great Fleet by Sea, and an Army by Land, to carry on his Designs in the Lesser *Asia*. At this Time, *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Roman General, was in *Greece* making War with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians* being confederated with the Romans; and *Antiochus* being in League with King *Philip*, ever since the Death of *Ptolemy Philopator* (c), was well understood to have come into these Parts to give *Philip* what Assistance he was able. Thus stood Matters when *Antiochus* first set out on this Expedition: But he had not proceeded far till they were considerably changed; for *Attalus* at *Thebes*, making an Oration to the *Bæotians* to excite them to join with the Romans against *Philip*, spake with that Vehemence that he swooned away (d), and soon after died, having lived seventy two Years, and reigned forty four. He left behind him four Sons: *Eumenes* the eldest of them succeeded, and founded the famous Library at *Pergamus* (e): He and his three Brothers, *Attalus*, *Phileærus* and *Athenæus*, became a rare Example of Brotherly Love (f), for all their Life they carried as if they had but one Interest. As to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, he was defeated by the Romans at *Cynocephalæ*, and obliged to sue for Peace (g); which the Romans granted, that they might have more Leisure to deal with *Antiochus*: Who in the mean time sailed along the Coasts of the Lesser *Asia*, and took many Maritime Cities. But *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and other *Greek* Cities, which then enjoyed their Liberties, finding his Scheme was to reduce them all to the same Subjection to him as they had been to his Ancestors, resolved to stand out against him, and sent to the Romans for Protection; which they readily granted, and sent Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, requiring him to restore the Cities he had taken from King *Ptolemy*, quit those that had belonged to King *Philip*, permit all the *Grecian* Cities in these Parts to enjoy their Liberties, and that he should not pass into Europe; and if he would not make Satisfaction in these Points, they would make War upon him. But before the Ambassadors came, he had laid Siege to *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, with the rest of his Forces he had passed over the *Helle-spont*, seized all the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and set himself to rebuild *Lyfismachia*, where he designed to erect a Kingdom for *Seleucus* his second Son; and when the Ambassadors of the Romans came, *Antiochus* and they could not agree upon any Thing, so all Matters tended towards a Breach between them.

While these Matters were treating of (h), there came a Rumour that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead in *Egypt*; which made *Antiochus* haste on board his Fleet, and make all the Sail he could towards *Egypt*, which he reckoned to be his own. But at *Pateræ* in *Lycia*, finding this Report on good Evidence contradicted, he returned, and on his Way met with a violent Storm, in which he lost many of his Ships; and therefore put in at *Seleucia*, to repair his Losses, and wintered at *Antioch*. The Occasion of the Rumour of *Ptolemy*'s Death, was a treasonable Plot formed against his Life, by *Scopas* General of the Mercenaries, in order to make

(a) Joseph. antiqu. lib. 12. cap. 3. (b) Hieronymus in Danielis cap. 11. (c) Above p. 336. (d) Livius, lib. 33. Suidas in voce ἈΤΤΑΛΟΣ. (e) Plinii Nat. hist. lib. 13. cap. 11. (f) Plutarchus περὶ φιλαδελφίας. (g) Plutarchus in T. Quintio Flamini. (h) Appianus in Syriacis, p. 144.

make himself Sovereign of *Egypt*. But while he sat at home, considering how to manage the Matter, *Aristomenes* the chief Minister (a) got Notice of the whole Design, convicted *Scopas* and his Accomplices of the Treason, and put them to Death, and cashiered his Mercenaries. At his Death he was found possessed of vast Riches, and no Doubt a great Part thereof was got by the Plunder of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, when he was victorious in *Palestine*.

In the Year before the Birth of Christ 195, *Simon* the high Priest of the *Jews* being dead, his eldest Son *Onias*, the third of that Name succeeded in his Stead (b), and held that Office, reckoning from his Entering on it to the Time of his Death, twenty four Years. He lived in bad Times, but had the Character of a good Man. The same Year *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* to return to *Ephesus*. There *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* being recalled out of *Italy*, and expelled out of *Africa* by *Scipio Africanus*, came to him, and the King was mighty fond of him, thinking that a General who had beat the *Romans* so often in *Italy*, could not fail to be useful to him; and therefore he determined on the War, and spent a Year or two in making Preparations for it.

Next Year *Eratosthenes*, the second Library-keeper at *Alexandria*, died, being eighty two Years old (c), and was succeeded by *Apollonius*, Author of the *Argonautics* (d); who had been a Scholar of *Callimachus*, but having offended him, he wrote a bitter Invektive against him, called *Ibis*, from the Name of a Bird in *Egypt*, which used to foul his Bill by cleansing its Breech, intimating, that he was a foul-mouth'd Person. Hence *Ovid*, writing a severe Invektive, calls his Adversary *Ibis*. *Apollonius*, tho' he had lived at *Rhodes*, and was therefore called *Rhodius*, yet he was a Native of *Alexandria*, and died there.

Antiochus, in order to prepare for a War with the *Romans*, strengthened himself by Alliances with neighbouring Princes. To this end he went to *Raphia*, in the Confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, where he married his Daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*; who being now out of Minority, was solemnly enthroned, and had the Government put into his Hands.

As long as he managed by *Aristomenes* his prime Minister, Matters went well; but when he put that able and faithful Servant to Death, the Remainder of his Reign was turned into Disorder and Confusion. *Antiochus* gave to *Ptolemy* with his Daughter the Provinces of *Cælesyria* and *Palestine*, upon condition of sharing the Revenues equally between them (e): But the Surrender of those Provinces seems never to have been faithfully executed. Upon his Return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he married *Antiochis*, another of his Daughters, to *Ariathes* King of *Cappadocia* (f); and would have given a third to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, but that King being in League with the *Romans*, declined the Offer; for which he gave this Reason to his Friends, *That if he married the Daughter of Antiochus, he must engage with him in the War against the Romans; and if they were Conquerors, as he had Reason to think they would, he must be undone; and if Antiochus had the better, under the Notion of his Son-in-law he must be his Slave*. When these Marriages were over, *Antiochus* hasten'd to *Ephesus*. *Hannibal* was for making neither *Greece* nor any other Part the Seat of the War against the *Romans*, but only *Italy*; because there only he thought they could be conquered. But an Embassy from the *Ætolians* determined *Antiochus* to begin the War in *Greece*: For it was represented, *That not only the Ætolians, but all the Principalities and States of Greece would join him in the War; and that the Romans having gone home with their Army, and left Greece empty, it was now the proper Time to take possession of it*. This prevailed so far, that he went headlong into a War with the *Romans*, going over into *Greece* only with ten thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, that were scarce enough to take possession of the Country. His Forces from *Syria* and the East were not come up; and he left *Lampsacus*, *Troas* and *Smyrna*, three powerful Cities, behind him unreduced. While he lay in his Winter-quarters at *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*, he fell in love with the Daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, at whose House he lodged, and married her tho' he was then fifty Years of Age, and spent the Time which should have been employed in preparing for so great a War, in nuptial Feastings (g). But he was roused up by the News that *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, was in a full March into *Thessaly* against him. All that he could do on this Alarm, was, to seize the Streights of *Thermopylæ* with such Troops as he had, and send to the *Ætolians* for more Forces. But before any of the *Ætolians* could come to him, *Cato* the Censor, one of the *Roman* Generals then with the Consul (h), having with a strong Detachment got over the Mountains, *Antiochus's* Men seeing themselves in danger of being encompassed, threw down their Arms and fled; and most part of them were cut to Pieces, excepting only five hundred, with whom *Antiochus* escaped to *Chalcis*, and then got aboard his Fleet with his new married Wife, and passed over to *Ephesus*; where he relapsed into his Dotage with that Woman, even to a total Neglect of his Affairs. *Hannibal* roused him out of this Stupidity, so as he took care to hasten the March of

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(a) Polybius lib. 17. p. 1073. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4. (c) Lucianus in Macrobius. (d) Suidas in Ἀπολλωνίου & in Καλλιμάχου. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. (f) Appian in Syriacis, p. 144, 145. (g) Livius, lib. 36. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 151 & 156. Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 12. (h) Plutarchus in M. Catone. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 159, 160.

his Forces from the Eastern Provinces, and equipped his Fleet under the Conduct of *Polyxenidas*. But his Fleet was defeated near Mount *Corycus* in *Ionía*, with the Loss of ten Ships sunk, thirteen taken, and the Remainder forced to retire to *Ephesus*, *C. Livius* the Roman Admiral being Conqueror. *Antiochus* took all possible Care to refit his Fleet, and sent *Hannibal* to *Syria* to bring up the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* Navy to his Assistance.

Ant. C. 189. Next Year the Romans sent *L. Scipio* their Consul, with *Scipio Africanus* his Brother, to command their Army by Land, and *L. Æmilius Regellus* to be Admiral of their Fleet by Sea. *Polyxenidas*, who commanded *Antiochus's* Fleet, surprised the *Rhodian* Navy in the Port of *Samos*; where he killed *Pausistratus* their Admiral, and destroyed twenty nine of their Ships. But the *Rhodians* set out a stronger Fleet to join that of the Romans, which relieved *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and defeated *Hannibal*, now out of his proper Element, with the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* Navy, and pent him up in a Port, so as he could not stir to assist *Antiochus* (a). This was a great Disappointment; for the King's great Design was, to be superior at Sea, that he might hinder the Roman Army from passing into *Asia* by the *Hellepont*, or any other Way. Therefore he again equipped as good a Fleet as he could at *Ephesus*, under the Conduct of *Polyxenidas*; who soon encountered with the Enemy: But the Roman Admiral soon defeated him, with the Loss of twenty nine Ships sunk, and thirteen taken (b). These Losses put *Antiochus* into such a Consternation, that he very absurdly recalled his Forces out of *Lyfimachia* and other Towns of the *Hellepont*, where he might to best Advantage have hindered the Passage of the Enemy: Yea he did this in so great Haste, that his Troops left all their Provisions and Stores of War behind them, so as the Romans found the Passage of the *Hellepont* free, and all Provisions and Necessaries ready, as if they had been prepared for them. *Antiochus* then began to distrust his Success, and was willing to accept of Peace; but since he could not have it but upon Terms of quitting all *Asia* on this Side Mount *Taurus*, and paying the Romans the Expence of the War, he resolved to hazard a Battle. His Army is said (c) to have consisted of seventy thousand Foot, twelve thousand Horse, and fifty four Elephants. On the other Side all the Roman Forces are said to have amounted to no more than thirty thousand. Both Armies engaged in a decisive Action near *Magnesia*, under Mount *Sipylos*; where *Antiochus* received a total Overthrow, losing fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse slain, with fourteen hundred taken Prisoners. He himself with Difficulty escaping to *Sardis*, gathered up in his Way such Forces as he could, and at *Celenæ* joined his Son *Selenus*, making all the Haste possible over Mount *Taurus* into *Syria*. *Hannibal* and *Scipio Africanus* were both absent from the Battle, the former with the *Syrian* Fleet being pent up in *Pamphylia* by the *Rhodians*, and the other detained by Sicknefs at *Elea*. So soon as *Antiochus* arrived at *Antioch*, he sent from thence *Antipater* his Brother's Son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been Governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to desire Peace of the Romans (e). They found the Consul at *Sardis*, where his Brother *Africanus*, now recovered of his Sicknefs, was with him. After Consultation, *Africanus* delivering the Sense of the Council, told the Ambassadors, That as the Romans did not sink low when vanquished, so neither would they carry themselves too high when Conquerors; and therefore would desire no other Terms of Peace after their Victory, than those that were demanded before it: That is, "That *Antiochus* should pay the whole Expences of the War, estimated at fifteen thousand Talents of *Eubœa*; quit all his Possessions in Europe, and likewise all *Asia* on this Side Mount *Taurus*; deliver up *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with other Incendiaries; quit his Ships and tam'd Elephants, and keep no more of either of these than such a Number as should be agreed to." This being concluded, and afterwards ratified by the Senate at *Rome*, five hundred Talents were paid presently, two thousand five hundred at the Ratification of the Treaty, and the rest was to be advanced in twelve Years Time, at the Rate of a thousand Talents a-year, and Hostages given for the Payment; one of which was *Antiochus*, one of the King's Sons, who afterwards reigned by the Name of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Hannibal* and *Thoas* made a Shift to get out of the Way. *Lucius Scipio* got the Surname of *Asiaticus*, because he had the Honour of ending this War; which was done in less than two Years Time, about twelve Years after his Brother *Africanus* had ended the second *Punic* War. The Romans restored the Grecian Cities in *Asia* to their Liberties, gratified the *Rhodians* with the Provinces of *Caria* and *Lycia*, and gave *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* other Countries, which had before belonged to *Antiochus* (f), as a Reward for their several Services. *Manlius Vulso*, who succeeded *Scipio Asiaticus* in the Consulship, and was next Year Proconsul, subdued the *Gauls* in *Asia*, reduced them to live orderly, and so quieted all things, that the Roman Empire became thoroughly settled in that Part of *Asia*, as far East as the River *Halys* on the one Side, and Mount *Taurus* on the other; and *Antiochus* and the *Syrian* Kings who succeeded him were eased of the Care of governing it.

Antiochus

(a) Livius, lib. 37. cap. 23, 24. (b) Ibid. cap. 30. Appian. in Syriacis, p. 187, 188. 8vo edit. Amst. 1670. (c) Livius, lib. 37. cap. 37 & 39. Justin. lib. 31. cap. 7. (e) Polybius, legat. 24. p. 1134. & legat. 35. p. 1164. Livius, lib. 37. cap. 44. Appian. in Syriacis, p. 172, — 178. Justin. lib. 31. cap. 8. Hieronymus in cap. 11. Danielis. (f) Appian. in Syriacis, p. 186, 187.

Antiochus was under a great Difficulty how to raise the Money that he was to pay to the Romans. Indeed fifteen thousand Talents was a great Sum; for the *Euboic* Talent, by which it was reckoned, as both *Livy* (a), and *Polybius* (b) inform us, contained eighty *Librae*, or Roman Pounds; and every Roman Pound contained ninety six Roman Pennies: Eighty then of these *Librae*, amounted to 7680 Roman Pennies, that is 240 *lib. Sterling*; consequently fifteen thousand *Euboic* Talents made Three Millions, six hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* Money. This Prince not finding Ways and Means how to advance it at *Antioch*, marched into his Eastern Countries to gather it, leaving his Son *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his Successor, to govern *Syria* during his Absence. On his coming to the Province of *Elymais*, hearing that there was a great Treasure in the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*, he seized the Temple by Night, and spoiled it of the Riches there stored up. Whereupon the People of the Country rising upon him, for revenging this Sacrilege, killed him and all that were with him. So *Justin* (c) and *Strabo* (d) relate the Manner of his Death: But *Aurelius Victor* (e) says he was slain by some of his own Followers, whom he had beat from an Entertainment in a drunken fit. *Jerom* applies the eleventh Chapter of the Prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth Verse to the nineteenth, to the Actions of this King; and so does the Bulk of Criticks and Commentators. I have already shewn how the former Verses of this Chapter are fulfilled in the History of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings; his Predecessors (f); and the Verses now named, in their obvious Sense, are accomplished in the Actions of *Antiochus* the Great: For in v. 10. the Prophet says, *His sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow and pass through.* We have already seen how *Seleucus Callinicus* was overthrown and made Prisoner in *Parthia*. His sons, that is, *Seleucus Ceraunus*, assembled a great Army to recover what his Father had lost; but being a weak Prince, was poisoned, after he had reigned two Years. Then the Prophet restricts his Predictions to one Son, who was *Antiochus* the Great, *he shall come and overflow and pass through.* But, Verse 11. *The king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight against him; even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude: but the multitude shall be given into his hand.* v. 12. *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands, but shall not be strengthened by it.* Here *Ptolemy Philopator* is prophesied of, as moved with the Indignity done him by *Antiochus* the Great: *He shall set forth a multitude, even seventy thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, and seventy three Elephants; and the Army of Antiochus shall be given into his Hand at the Battle of Raphia:* But *his heart shall be lifted up;* for after his Victory he became very insolent, and went into the Temple of God at *Jerusalem* in Defiance of the Law (g); but *he shall not be strengthened by it.* For, v. 13; 14. *The king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years, with a greater army, and with much riches. And in these times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of the people shall exalt themselves, to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Accordingly *Philip of Macedon* confederated with *Antiochus* the Great, routed *Scopas*, General for *Ptolemy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt* (h). And tho' the Robbers, the Violators of the Law, or apostate *Jews*, did appear for *Ptolemy*; yet they did also fall. Whereon the *Jews* willingly yielded to *Antiochus*, and helped him to besiege *Ptolemy's* Garrisons, or fenced Cities in *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Samaria*. Thus the Predictions in Verses 15, 16. were also accomplished. In Verse 17. 'tis further foretold, *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him. Thus shall he do; and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand by his side, neither be for him.* That is, *Antiochus* shall do all he can to master *Egypt*; when *Ptolemy* was young. Many of the religious *Jews*, or righteous ones, shall join with him; but not being able to effectuate his Purpose by Force, he shall give *Cleopatra* his Daughter; called the *Daughter of Women*, for her Beauty and rare Parts, to *Ptolemy*; designing that she should be a Snare to her Husband: But she clave to her Husband's Interest, and not to her Father's. Then as to the 18th and 19th Verses, *After this he shall turn his face unto the Isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease: without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* Here is the last Part of the Life of *Antiochus* the Great foretold: For after having finished the War in *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine*, he sent his Sons with an Army to *Sardis*; and he himself at the same Time sailed with a great Fleet into the *Ægean* Sea, where he took many of the Islands; till the Prince of the People to whom he had offered Reproach by this Invasion; that is, the Romans and their Consuls, made the Reproach return upon him, by overthrowing him at the Battle of Mount *Sipylus*, and driving him out of all the lesser *Asia*; which forced him to return to the fort of his own land;

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that

(a) Lib. 37. & 38. (b) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 1135. (c) Justin, lib. 32. cap. 2. (d) Strabo lib. 16. p. 744. (e) De viris illustribus, in Antiocho. (f) See above, p. 302, 329 & 339. (g) Above, p. 334, 335. (h) Above, p. 337.

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that is, to *Antioch* the chief Seat of his Kingdom. From whence going into the Eastern Countries, to gather Money to pay the *Romans*, he stumbled and fell, and was no more found ; for attempting to rob the Temple in *Elymais*, he failed in his Design, and was cut off and slain.

In the same Year in which *Antiochus* died, *Cleopatra* his Daughter Queen of *Egypt*, bore unto *Ptolemy Epiphanes* a Son, who reigned after his Father in *Egypt*, by the Name of *Ptolemy Philometor*. Upon this Occasion, the Nobility of *Cælesyria* and *Palestine* hastned to *Alexandria* to congratulate the King and Queen, and make them Presents, as then the Custom obtained. But *Joseph* the *Jew*, of whom we have before heard (a), (who upon these Provinces being restored to the King of *Egypt* by Contract, was again put into his Office of collecting the King's Revenues) being now too old to take on him such a Journey, sent (b) *Hyrchanus* his Son to make the Compliments in his Stead ; who, tho' the youngest Son of his Father, yet was best qualified for that Employment. The History of his Birth, as recorded by *Josephus* (c), is remarkable ; for he tells us, That *Joseph* having Occasion to go to *Alexandria*, as Gatherer of the King's Revenues, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, one *Solyminius*, Brother to *Joseph*, accompanied him, with his young Daughter, whom he designed to marry to some rich *Jew* there. *Joseph* after his Arrival at *Alexandria*, being at Court, and at Supper with the King, fell desperately in Love with a young Damsel he saw dancing before the King, and told it to his Brother, desiring him in a secret Manner to procure him the Enjoyment of that young Lady. Whereupon *Solyminius* put his own Daughter to Bed to his Brother, instead of that fine Dancer, who having drunk well that Night, perceived not that it was his Niece : But she being frequently with him in this Manner, he was so charmed with her, as he vented his Passion to his Brother, telling, that he was vexed that the Lady being a Heathen, and an Alien to the *Jewish* Law, would not permit him to marry her, and the King would never grant her to him. Then his Brother discovered to him the whole Matter, and consented to marry his Daughter to him, and of this Marriage with his own Niece next Year was born *Hyrchanus*. *Joseph* had by another Wife seven Sons, all elder than *Hyrchanus* ; to each of these he offered the Commission of going to the *Egyptian* Court, but they refused it ; whereupon *Hyrchanus* undertook it, tho' not then above twenty Years of Age. He obtained Letters from his Father upon *Arion* his Banker, who advanced the King's Taxes at *Alexandria*, and had all that Time three thousand Talents in his Hand, to advance him what Money he called for, to buy Presents for the King and Queen. *Hyrchanus* taking Advantage of this unlimited Order, instead of ten Talents which his Father thought would suffice, demanded a thousand ; and forced *Arion*, by casting him in Chains, to pay him that whole Sum, which amounted to above two hundred thousand Pound *Sterling*. With this he bought a hundred beautiful Boys for the King, and as many handsome young Maids for the Queen ; and when presented, they carried each a Talent in their Hands, the Boys to the King, and the Girls to the Queen. Some other Part of the Money he expended in valuable Gifts to the great Men about the Court, and kept the Remainder for his own Use. *Josephus* (d) tells some other pretty Stories of *Hyrchanus*. But by his Liberality alone to the King, Queen and Court, wherein he exceeded all others who came from *Cælesyria* and *Palestine* at this Time, whose greatest Offers were not above the Value of twenty Talents, he procured so high a Favour of the *Egyptian* Court, that he returned with a Commission to be Collector of the King's Revenues in all the Country beyond *Jordan*. This exceedingly offended his Brethren, who were before ill affected to him ; and now they conspired to way-lay him, and cut him off as he returned : And 'tis alledged they had their Father's Connivance. But *Hyrchanus* coming well attended with Soldiers to assist him in the Execution of his Office, got the Advantage in the Assault, leaving two of his Brothers, and some of their Attendants dead upon the Spot. On his coming to *Jerusalem*, he found his Father exceedingly exasperated against him, both for his Conduct in *Egypt*, and for the Death of his Brothers on his way home ; and that for this Reason, no Body there would meet him by the Way, nor own him when he was arrived, he passed over *Jordan*, and there entred on collecting the King's Revenues in these Parts. Soon after this *Joseph* died, who had been Collector of the Revenues in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Samaria* two and twenty Years, and had given Occasion for the poor needy *Jews* to live more handsomely than before (e). Upon his Death a War commenced between *Hyrchanus* and the surviving Brothers, about their Father's Estate, which for some Time disturbed the Peace at *Jerusalem*. The High-priest, and the Generality of the People taking Part with the Brothers, *Hyrchanus* was forced again to retreat over *Jordan*, where he built a very strong Castle of white polished Marble, adorned with Figures of more than an ordinary Size, with Vaults of several Furlongs in length, cut through the Rock of an adjacent Mountain. Within the Castle were spacious Rooms, Variety of Fountains, large Courts, and stately Gardens. He gave it the Name of *Tyre* : And it being seated upon the Borders of *Arabia* and *Judea*, he from thence made War upon the neighbouring *Arabs* for seven Years together. This was while *Seleucus Philopator* the Son of *Antiochus*

(a) Above, p. 332. (b) *Joseph. Antig. lib. 12. cap. 4.* (c) *Ibid.* (d) *Ibidem.* (e) *Ibid.*

tiobus the Great reigned in *Syria*. But when *Antiochus Epiphanes* succeeded his Brother *Se-
leucus*, and had instated himself in *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine*, as well as in other Provinces of the
Syrian Empire, *Hyrcaus* being threatned with his Displeasure for his Conduct in this and o-
ther Matters, laid violent Hands on himself (a).

To return to the Affairs of *Syria* and *Egypt*: After the Death of *Antiochus* the Great, *Se-
leucus Philopator* his eldest Son, whom he left at *Antioch*, when he departed thence into the
East, succeeded him in the Kingdom; but made a very poor Figure in it, by reason of the
low State which the *Romans* had reduced his Father to (b), and the heavy Tribute of a thou-
sand Talents a Year; which through the whole Time of his Reign he was obliged to pay
them. In *Egypt* *Ptolemy Epiphanes* had to this Time managed the Government with Ap-
plause, being directed by *Aristomenes* the chief Minister: But not being able to bear his
Freedom, he made him away by a Cup of Poyson (c); and then gave up himself to all vi-
cious Pleasures in Practice, and to Tyranny and Cruelty in the Conduct of his Affairs. The
Egyptians being dissatisfied, began to combine against him; but by the Means of *Polycrates*, a
wife and valiant Man, then his chief Minister, these Difficulties were a little removed. Af-
ter this *Ptolemy* projected a War against *Seleucus* King of *Syria*: But as he was laying his
Designs, one of his chief Officers asked him, where he would have Money to carry it on?
To which he answered, *That his Friends were his Money*. Hence many of his chief Men in-
ferred that he designed to take their Money (d) from them for carrying on the War: For pre-
venting whereof, they procured Poison to be given him; which did put an End to his Project
and to his Life, after he had reigned twenty four Years, and lived twenty nine. *Ptolemy Philo-
metor* his Son, an Infant of six Years old succeeded him in his Kingdom, under the Guardianship
of *Cleopatra* his Mother.

Ant. C:
186.
Ptol. Epi-
phan. 19.

Ant. C:
180.

It is not easy to fix the Time when the Letter said by *Josephus* (e) to be writ by *Arens*
King of *Lacedæmon* to *Onias* the High-priest of the *Jews*, is to be placed. In the first Book
of the *Maccabees* xii. 10. it is said, *There was a long Time passed since it had been sent to them*.
Hence Dr. *Prideaux* (f), from *Scaliger* conceives that it was writ in the Time when *Onias*
the first, the Son of *Jaddua* was High-priest; for then was one *Arens* King of *Lacedæmon*:
But upon what Ground it is said by *Josephus*, *That it was found in a certain Writing that the*
Lacedæmonians and the Jews were Brethren, and that they were both of the Stock of Abraham,
I confess is still more hard to understand. There is something in this Story that looks very
fabulous, and like an Apocryphal Writer.

Simon a Benjamite, being made Governor or Protector of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (g),
who seems to have been one of *Joseph's* Sons, a Difference arose between him and *Onias*
the High Priest; and when he found he could not prevail, he with others fled from *Jerusa-
lem* to *Apollonius* the Son of *Thraseas*, who was Governor of *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine* for *Selen-
cus* King of *Syria*, and told him of great Treasures laid up in the Temple at *Jerusalem*: Where-
upon *Apollonius* informing the King, *Heliodorus* his Treasurer was sent to make Seizure of it.
On his coming, the *Jews* made great Lamentations, and prayed that God might turn away
such a Stroke; and the Hand of God appeared in a miraculous Manner, against the sacrilegi-
ous Attempt of this Treasurer, for he was struck down, lost his Speech and Senses, and did
not recover till the High Priest *Onias* prayed for him, as is more fully narrated in the third
Chapter of the second Book of the *Maccabees*. But *Simon* still carried on his Malice against
Onias, and *Apollonius* encouraging him therein, *Onias* went to the King to *Antioch* to make
Complaint of these Violences; but he had not been long there (h), till the King died.

Ant. C:
170.
Ptol. phi-
lomet. 5.

When *Antiochus* the Great made Peace with the *Romans*, among other Hostages he gave
for performing the Treaty (i), one was *Antiochus* his own Son, the younger Brother of
Seleucus Philopator. He having been now thirteen Years at *Rome*, *Seleucus* had a Desire to
have him home (k), and for redeeming him, he sent *Demetrius* his only Son, then about
twelve Years old, to stay there in his stead. While both the next Heirs of the Crown were
thus absent, *Heliodorus* the King's Treasurer, the same who had been sent to rob the Temple
of God at *Jerusalem*, thinking this a fit Opportunity for him to usurp the Crown, to this End
treacherously gave Poison to his Master (l) *Seleucus*, of which he died. It appears from
what we have just now related, concerning *Simon* the *Benjamite*, from the second Book of
the *Maccabees*, and also from *Josephus* (m), that *Seleucus* was in Possession of *Phœnicia* and *Pa-
lestine* about the Time of his Death. The Treaty for surendring them to the King of *Egypt*,
upon *Ptolemy Epiphanes's* marrying *Cleopatra* Daughter to *Antiochus* the Great, seems never
to have been truly and fully (n) executed; tho' what *Josephus* tells us of the Nobility of *Cœle-
syria* and *Palestine* going to give Gifts to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* and his Queen, upon the Birth of
Philometor, declares that at that Time, these Provinces owned the King of *Egypt* as their So-
vereign.

R r r r 2

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 5. (b) Hieronym. in cap. 11. Daniel. (c) Diod. Sicul. in excerptis Valefii, p. 294.
(d) Hieronym. in cap. 11. Daniel. (e) Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 5. (f) Connection, part 2. p. 148. (g) 2. Maccab. iii.
4, — 40. (h) Ibid. iv. 1, — 7. (i) Above p. 340. (k) Appianus in Syriacis, p. 187. (l) Ibidem. (m) De Mac-
cabais, cap. 4. (n) Polyb. Legat 72. p. 1238.

vereign. When they came under the Government of *Seleucus Philopator*, we are not told; only 'tis probable that he seized them in the Time of *Ptolemy Philometor's* Minority, because his Father had been making warlike Preparations against the Crown of *Syria*, and that they continued with him to the Time of his Death. The whole Reign of this *Seleucus Philopator*, is expressed by the Prophet *Daniel*, Ch. xi. 20, *then shall stand up in his estate* (for he was the Son and Successor of *Antiochus the Great*, of whom the Prophet had been speaking from v. 10, to 19, who inherited as much of his Father's Kingdom as the *Romans* left him, that is, on the East Side of Mount *Taurus*) *a raiser of taxes, but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in Battle*: And the whole Business of his Reign, was to raise a Tax of a thousand Talents every Year to the *Romans*; which by the Treaty of Peace which his Father made, he was obliged to pay to them for twelve Years, and the last of these twelve was the last of his Life: And he was *destroyed neither in anger nor in Battle*, that is, neither by War abroad, nor by Rebellion at home, but by the secret Treachery of *Heliodorus*. His Death is reckoned to fall in the Year from the Creation 3775, before the Birth of Christ 175 Years.

Antiochus the Brother of *Seleucus Philopator*, when at *Athens* on his Return from *Rome* to *Syria*, hearing of his Brother's Death, and of the Attempt of *Heliodorus* to usurp the Throne, with a Party to support his Pretensions (a); and that there was another Party forming for *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, in the Right of his Mother, Sister to the deceas'd King; and that both of them agreed not to give unto him, tho' the next Heir in absence of *Demetrius*, the honour of the kingdom, as the holy Prophet *Daniel* (b) foretold: He therefore applied himself to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and *Attalus* his Brother; and by *Flatteries*, and great Promises to support them in case of a War with the *Romans*, prevailed with them to assist him against *Heliodorus*. By their Means the Usurper being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the Throne; and all submitted to him. So soon as he was fixed, he assumed the Name of *Epiphanes* (c), (that is, *illustrious*) tho' nothing could be more alien to his true Character; for he was a *vile Person*, or as the Original (d) bears, a *despicable Person*: For *Athenæus* (e) informs us, out of the Histories of *Polybius*, *Heliodorus* and *Phylarchus*, (which Books are now lost, except a Part of the first) that he would frequently go out of the Palace, ramble about the Streets, converse with those who engraved in Silver and wrought in Gold about the Mysteries of their Trade, and debase himself with the meanest of Company; and would drink with Strangers and Foreigners, even with the vilest of them: That when he heard of any young People met together to feast or drink, he would invite himself among them, and revel away the Time in Cups and Songs: That in a mad Frolick he would put off his Royal Habit, and assume a *Roman* Gown; go round the City, and ask the Votes of the Citizens, as used to be done when he was at *Rome*: That he would set up for the Office of *Edile* or *Tribune*, and go up to the Curule-chair, and hear petty Causes in the Markets; whence many took him for a Madman, and called him *Antiochus Epimanes*, that is, *mad*: That he spent a great Part of his Revenues in Revellings and drunken Carousals (f), and in the Streets would scatter his Money in Handfulls among the Rabble, saying, *Let him take it to whom Fortune gives it*: That he would wash in the publick Baths among the common People, where he would do ridiculous Actions: That at *Antioch* he made great publick Feasts, where he entertained his Guests in golden Vessels, and had to the Number of a thousand, and sometimes fifteen hundred Dining-rooms; would do the most servile Work himself, and dance with Comedians and Whores. *Jerom* (g) also tells of him, That he was exceedingly given to Lasciviousness, and would prostitute himself with Whores in publick Company. *Athenæus* (h) says further of him, That he was often drunk on the Bench when giving Justice: That he had for Catamites *Aristus* and *Themison*, two vile Men, Brothers, born at *Cyprus*: That at *Daphne* he exhibited publick Games with vast Expence, where he behaved to that Degree of Folly and Absurdity, as to be the Scorn of all that were present. I have been the fuller in this Account of him, to shew that this Persecutor of God's People deserves justly the Character which the Prophet *Daniel* gives him, of a *despicable* or *vile Person*.

When this *Antiochus* was settled in his Kingdom, *Jason* the Brother of *Onias* being ambitious, applied to him for the High-priesthood (i), by an Offer of three hundred and sixty Talents, and eighty more upon another Account: Whereupon *Onias* was displaced from that Office, and he advanced to it in his stead. At the same time he procured *Onias* to be called to *Antioch*, where he continued to dwell to his Death: For the Intruder feared that *Onias*, by reason of his signal Piety and Righteousness (k) being of great Esteem among the People, he should have little Authority among them, as long as so good a Man, and so unjustly deprived, should continue at *Jerusalem*. *Antiochus* coming poor to the Crown, the Treasury being exhausted by the Tribute paid to the *Romans* in twelve preceeding Years, and he having daily occasion for Money

(a) Appian. in Syriacis, p. 187. (b) xi. 21. (c) Appian. in Syriacis, p. 187. Eusebius in Chronico ad Olymp. 152. (d) Dan. xi. 21. (e) Deipnosoph. lib. 5. cap. 4. (f) Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 12. (g) In Commentariis ad Daniel. cap. 11. (h) Ubi supra. (i) 2 Maccab. iv. 7, 8. Josephus de Maccabæis, cap. 4. p. m. 1087, 1088. (k) 2 Maccab. iii. 1. & iv. 37.

Money to spend on his Lusts, was for these Reasons ready to grant what Jason desired; and would have granted more on the same Terms. Which Jason perceiving, proposed to advance one hundred and fifty Talents above what he had already offered (a), if he might have Licence to erect at Jerusalem a Gymnasium, or Place of Exercise, and an Ephæum for training up of Youth according to the Fashion of the Greeks, and a Licence to make as many Jews Freemen of Antioch as he pleased: All which was granted. By these Means he expected to make a Party at Jerusalem that would be too strong for any that would stand for Onias: For at this Time there were many among the Jews, especially of young Men, who were too much inclined to the Way of the heathenish Greeks; and this Apostasy did draw down one of the greatest Calamities that ever came upon that People, except the Destructions of their City, Temple and People, by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus. Of all which this wicked Man was the Spring: For he sacrificed his Religion and his Country to his own Advancement, and changed his Name, which was at first Jesus, into Jason, to compliment the Greeks: Yea, further to express his Zeal for heathenish Idolatry, the next Year, when Antiochus was at Tyre to celebrate the Quinquennialia of Hercules, or Melcartus Idol of that Country, Jason sent several Jews who were freed Men of Antioch to be Spectators of those Games, and to offer for him three thousand three hundred Drachms (b), to be expended on Sacrifices to that Deity. But the Bearers of the Gift being afraid to involve themselves in the Guilt of Idolatry, gave the Money to the Tyrians for the Use of their Fleet; and so the Apostate was disappointed of his Design by this wicked Oblation.

Ant. c.
174.
Ptol. lib.
lomei. 7.

In Egypt, after the Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his Queen, Sister to Antiochus Epiphanes, had taken on her the Government, and the Tuition of her Infant-son Philometor (c); which she managed with great Care and Prudence. But she dying this Year, the Conduct of Affairs there fell into the Hands of Lenæus a Courtier, and Eulæus an Eunuch; who had the breeding of the young King. In their Entry on the Administration, they made a Demand of Cœlesyria and Palestine from Antiochus Epiphanes (d); which gave rise to the War between him and Philometor. The Egyptians, in defence of their Claim, argued, That in the last Partition of the Empire of Alexander the Great, after the Battle at Ipsus (e), these Provinces were assigned to Ptolemy Soter their King: That he and his Successors ever held them, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the Hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and that the said Antiochus had agreed, when he married his Daughter Cleopatra to the said Ptolemy, to restore him those Provinces. But Antiochus Epiphanes denied both those Allegations, and asserted, That in the said Partition Cœlesyria and Palestine were assigned to Seleucus Nicator, with the whole of Syria, and now belonged to him as the rightful Successor to that Empire; and as to the Article of the Marriage-contract, he said there was no such Thing: And both Sides referred to the Sword to decide the Matter. Philometor being now fourteen Years old, was declared to be out of his Minority, and Preparations were made at Alexandria for his Inthronization. Antiochus sent Apollonius to be present at that Solemnity, and to congratulate the young King his Nephew (f); but really to look what Measures that Court was taking with respect to the contested Provinces. And finding they prepared for War, he came by Sea to Joppa to view the Frontiers, to put them in a Posture of Defence in case the Egyptians should attack them; and in his Progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was treated with great Magnificence by Jason and all that City. Thence he marched to Phœnicia, and returned again to Antioch.

Ant. c.
175.

The next Year Jason sent Menelaus his Brother to Antioch, to pay the King the usual Tribute-money, and to treat with him about other Matters (g). But Menelaus treacherously supplanted his Brother, and got into his Post, by offering more than he by three hundred Talents: Which Offer being accepted, Jason was deposed, after that in the Quality of High-priest he had been Governor of the Jewish Nation three Years, and Menelaus put in his stead. The Author of the second Book of the Maccabees (h) calls him Brother to Simon the Benjamite, who was of the House of Tobias. But this could not be; for none but those who were of the House of Aaron were capable of the High-priesthood: And therefore we rather give credit to Josephus in this Point, who tells us (i), that he was the Brother of Onias and Jason, the third Son of Simon II. High-priest of the Jews. His Father and elder Brother were both good Men, but he followed Jason in Fraud and Wickedness, and out-did him in each of these. In compliance with the Heathens, and in imitation of his Brother last named, he abandoned his first Name, and took that of Menelaus from the Greeks. On his coming to Jerusalem, there was such a Party that stood for Jason, as forced Menelaus with his Friends of the House of Tobias to return to Antioch; where having declared, That he would forsake the Jewish Religion,

Ant. c.
172.
Ptol. Phil.
lomei. 9.

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(a) 2 Maccab. iv. 9, 10. (b) 2 Maccab. iv. 18, 19, 20. In the Alexandrian Copy it is, τριχίλιας τριακοσίας; which is judged the truest Reading: For 3300 Drachms make but 123 l. 15 sh. Sterling; which was but an ordinary Oblation for a Prince, though too much for such a wicked Purpose. (c) Hieronymus in Daniel. xi. 21. (d) Polybius, legat. 72 & 82. (e) Above, p. 316. (f) 2 Maccab. iv. 21, 22. (g) 2 Maccab. iv. 23, — 25. (h) 2 Maccab. iv. 23. (i) Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6.

gion, and go in to the Worship of the Greeks, *Epiphanes* assisted him with such a Power, as *Jason* could not resist, but fled into the Land of the *Ammonites* (a); and *Menelaus* took possession of his Office, and endeavoured to bring as many of the *Jews* into the Impiety of the Greeks as he was able. That which made this Office so desirable to this wicked Man and to his Brother *Jason*, and enabled them to give so much Money for it, was the Temporal Authority then joined to the Ecclesiastical; a Thing that proves the Ruin of the Church, and frequently dangerous to the State: Tho' in Point of History 'tis certain, that first under the *Persian*, and then under the *Egyptian* and *Syrian* Kings of the *Macedonian* Race, the High-priest of the *Jews* had the sole Temporal Government of that Nation.

Ant. C. *Menelaus* having got into the High-priesthood by outbidding his Brother, took no Care to pay the Money he had promised for it (b). Whereupon he and *Sostratus* Captain of the Castle, who was also Receiver of the King's Revenues in *Judea*, were summoned to *Antioch*. On their Arrival, they found the King gone to quell an Insurrection at *Mallus* and *Tarsus*, Cities in *Cilicia*: The Revenues of which being assigned to *Antiochis*, one of the King's Concubines, the Inhabitants rose in an Uproar; which the King hasten'd to appease, leaving *Andronicus* to govern at *Antioch* in his Absence. In the mean time *Menelaus* took care to raise the Money before the King's Return. In order thereto, having by means of *Lyfimachus*, whom he left his Deputy at *Jerusalem* (c), got many of the Gold Vessels out of the Temple, he sold them at *Tyre* and the Cities round about; whereby he raised enough, not only to pay the King, but also to bribe *Andronicus* and other Courtiers to procure him Favour. *Onias*, who was then confined at *Antioch*, having Notice of this Sacrilege, reprov'd *Menelaus* severely for it; which the Apostate not being able to bear, engaged *Andronicus* for a Sum of Money to cut off *Onias*; who having got Intelligence of the Design, fled to the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: But *Andronicus* having by fair Promises and false Oaths persuaded him to come out of that Place, put him to Death, that he might gain the Money promised by *Menelaus* (d). This *Onias* having by his laudable Carriage, even at *Antioch*, gained the Affection both of Greeks and *Jews*, they joined to petition against the Murderer; which prevailed so far with the King, tho' a Tyrant, that *Andronicus* was convicted of the Murder, and put to Death for it in the Place where the Fact was committed. *Onias* is reckoned by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* to have been High-priest twenty four Years. In the mean time there happened a great Mutiny at *Jerusalem*, by reason of the Vessels of Gold carried out of the Temple by *Lyfimachus*, and sold by *Menelaus*. The Multitude gathered together, and *Lyfimachus* got about three thousand Men, under the Command of one *Tyrannus*, an old Soldier, to oppose their Rage: But the *Jewish* Mob fell on with that Fury, that they wounded some, killed others, forced the rest to flee, and slew *Lyfimachus*, the sacrilegious Robber, near the Treasury, within the Temple (e).

Antiochus Epiphanes (f), since the Return of *Apollonius* out of *Egypt*, had been preparing for War with *Ptolemy Philometor*, for the Provinces of *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine*. He despised the Youth of that King, then but sixteen Years old, and the Weakness of his Ministers; and judged that the *Romans*, who were then at War with *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, would not disturb him; yet he thought fit to send Ambassadors to *Rome* to justify his Undertaking (g), and then led his Army to the Frontiers of *Egypt* (h), and came to a Battle with the Forces of *Philometor*, between Mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*, where he got the Victory; and after it, took Care to make his Border as strong as possible on that Side, and then returned to his Winter Quarters at *Tyre*. While he lay there, three Delegates from the Sanhedrim of the *Jews* came to complain of the Sacrilege committed by *Menelaus* and *Lyfimachus*, and of the Disorders occasioned thereby. *Menelaus*, to avoid the Sentence which he saw was ready to be pronounced against him, bribed *Ptolemy Macron*, the Son of *Dorymenes* (i) with a great Sum of Money to befriend him, who taking the King aside, prevailed with him not only to absolve *Menelaus*, but also to put to Death the three Delegates of the *Jews*, as unjust Accusers, which was so manifest Oppression, as the like would not have been done among *Scythians*; and the *Tyrians* pitying their Misfortune, caused them to be honourably buried. This *Ptolemy Macron* had been formerly Governor of *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy Philometor*, and during the King's Minority had kept the Revenues of that Island in his Hands; but when the King was enthroned, he delivered the whole to the Royal Treasury at *Alexandria*, in a proper Season, to answer the Exigencies of the Government (k); but afterwards being disgusted, he revolted from King *Ptolemy*, and went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered the rich Island of *Cyprus* into his Hands. *Antiochus* received him with great Favour, admitted him into the Number of his Principal Friends, and made him Governor of *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine* (l), and sent *Crates*, who had been before Deputy-Governor of the Castle at *Jerusalem*, to be Governor of *Cyprus* in his stead (m). About this Time, for forty Days together, there were seen at *Jerusalem*, very strange Sights of

(a) 2 Maccab. iv. 26. (b) Ibid. vers. 27, 28. (c) Ibid. vers. 29, — 34. (d) Ibid. v. 34, — 39. (e) Ibid. v. 40, — 42. (f) Livius lib. 42. cap. 29. Justin lib. 34. cap. 2. (g) Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 1238. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6. Hieronymus in Daniel. xi. 22, (i) 2 Maccab. iv. 44, — 50. (k) Ibid. x. 13. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 126. (l) 2 Maccab. viii. 8. (m) Ibid. iv. 29.

of Horse and Foot in the Air (a), and great Companies fighting and charging each other, as in Battle Array, as a Prognostick of those Calamities of War and Desolation, which soon after came upon that City and Nation.

Next Season *Antiochus* made a second Expedition into *Egypt* by Sea and Land, and having defeated the Army that opposed him, took *Pelusium* (b), the Key of the whole Kingdom, and from thence made his Way into the Heart of the Nation. When he had gained the Victory, he rode about and forbade putting any more to Death; which so far reconciled the *Egyptians* to him, that they all readily yielded, and he made himself Master of *Memphis*, and all other Parts of *Egypt* except *Alexandria*. *Philometor* carried very meanly, without making any Attempt to recover or preserve his Kingdom, but did eat with the Conqueror at the same Table, and conversed with him as a Friend; which may in a great Measure be ascribed to his Education under *Eulæus* the Eunuch, who had trained him up to nothing but Effeminacy, that he might be still necessary to him in the Government. *Antiochus* indeed pretended to take Care of the Affairs of the King his Nephew; but under that Cover, he made himself Master of the Country, miserably pillaged it, and vastly enriched himself with the Spoils thereof.

Ant. C.
170.

When *Antiochus* was in *Egypt*, a false Rumour being spread that he was dead (c), *Jason* thinking this a fit Opportunity to recover his Station, as High Priest at *Jerusalem*, marched thither with the Assistance of a thousand Men at least, and having by the Help of the Party he had there, taken the City, and driven *Menelaus* to flee for Shelter into the Castle, he acted all Manner of Cruelties upon his Fellow Citizens, putting many to Death whom he thought to be his Adversaries. *Antiochus* being informed of all this in *Egypt*, marched with all haste into *Judea* (d); where being told that the *Jews* rejoiced at the Report of his Death, he laid Siege to *Jerusalem*; and having taken the City, he slew in three Days Time forty thousand Persons, seized as many more Captives, whom he sold to the neighbouring Nations for Slaves; and not content with this Barbarity, forced himself into the Temple, where he entered into the most inward and Sacred Recesses, polluting by his Presence both the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, the wicked *Menelaus* shewing him the Way into both: And to affront in the highest Manner he could the Religion whereby God was worshipped there, he sacrificed a Sow upon the Altar of Burnt-offerings, and then sacrilegiously plundered the Temple, taking thence the Altar of Incense, the Shew Bread Table, the Candlestick of seven Branches, that stood in the Holy Place all of Gold, with several other Golden Vessels, and Donatives of former Kings, to the Value of eighteen hundred Talents of Gold, making the like Plunder in the City; with all which he returned to *Antioch*, carrying thither with him the Spoils of *Judea* and *Egypt*, which amounted to an immense ill gotten Treasure. On his Departure, for the further Vexation of the *Jews*, he appointed *Philip* a *Phrygian* (e), a Man of a cruel barbarous Temper, to be Governor of *Judea*, and *Andronicus*, another of the like Disposition, to be Governor of *Samaria*, with *Menelaus* to be still over them as High Priest, to compleat their Sorrow. As to *Jason*, he not daring to abide *Antiochus*'s coming out of *Egypt*, upon Notice thereof, fled from *Jerusalem* back again to the Land of the *Ammonites*; where being accused before *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, whose Kingdom reached into that Country, he fled from thence also: And being forced to shift from Place to Place, and hated for his Wickedness towards God, his Religion and Country, he was cast out, first into *Egypt*, and then into *Lacedæmonia* (f), where he perished in Exile and Misery, without having any one to give him Burial, as a Punishment for his Apostacy and Wickedness.

The People of *Alexandria* finding *Philometor* their King under the Power of *Antiochus*, and by him in a Manner deprived of his Crown, they put his younger Brother on his Throne, who took the Name of *Ptolemy Euergetes II.* but afterwards they gave him the Name of *Physcon*, that is *Fat Guts*, by Reason of his big Belly acquired by Luxury; and by this Name he is commonly mentioned. *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were made his Prime (g) Ministers. *Antiochus Epiphanes* laid hold of this Occasion to make a third Expedition into *Egypt*, under Pretence to restore the deposed King, but really to subject the Kingdom to himself; and having vanquished the *Alexandrians* in a Sea-fight near *Pelusium* (b), he entered the Country and laid Siege to *Alexandria*. The young King, after advising what was proper to be done, desired an Accommodation by Mediation of Ambassadors of the *Grecian* States, then at the *Egyptian* Court, and afterwards by the *Rhodians*. But *Antiochus* told them there was no Need of long Orations, for the Kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder Brother, with whom he had made Peace, and if they would recal him from his Banishment, and restore him to his Crown, the War would be at an End. This he said only to embroil the Kingdom, and to put the two Brothers by the Ears, that when they had wasted their Strength, he might come upon them, and swallow up (i) both. With this View, having withdrawn from *Alexandria*, which he

Ant. C.
169.
Prot. Philomet. 12;

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was

(a) 2 Maccab. v. 2, 3. (b) Ibid. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17, — 20. Hieronymus in Daniel. xi. 24, — 26. (c) 2 Maccab. v. 5, 6. (d) 1 Maccab. i. 20, — 28. 2 Maccab. v. 11, — 20. Josephi Antiquit. lib. 12. cap. 7. &c in libro de Maccabæis, cap. 4. Diod. Siculi Ecloga prima, lib. 34. Hieronymus in Daniel. xi. 27. (e) 2 Maccab. v. 22, 23. (f) Ibid. v. 7, — 11. (g) Polybius Legat. 89, p. 1268. (h) Livius, lib. 44, cap. 19. (i) Idem, lib. 45, cap. 11. Justin lib. 34. cap. 2.

was not able to take by Force, he marched to *Memphis*, and there seemingly restored the whole Kingdom to *Philometor*, excepting only *Pelusium*, which he still retained in his own Hands, that by this Key he might enter *Egypt* when he pleased; and having thus disposed Matters, he returned to *Antioch*. *Ptolemy Philometor* did now see what *Antiochus* intended, and to prevent the same, sent to invite his Brother to an Accommodation, which by means of *Cleopatra*, who was Sister to both, was agreed to, upon Terms that the two Brothers should jointly reign together. But they being aware that *Antiochus* would return again upon them, sent Ambassadors into *Greece* (a) for Auxiliary Forces, and they had Reason; for *Antiochus* hearing of the Agreement, and finding his Politicks disappointed, resolved on a War against the two (b) Brothers.

Ann. C. To that End early next Spring he sent a Fleet to secure *Cyprus*, and at the same Time marched a numerous Army by Land into *Egypt*, to make an absolute Conquest of that Kingdom. *168.* At *Rhinocorura* he met with Ambassadors from *Philometor*, desiring that he would allow him peaceably to enjoy the Crown which he wore by his Favour. But not regarding the Compliment, he now declared himself an Enemy to both his Nephews, and subdued their Country as far as *Memphis*, where he received the Submission of most of the rest. The *Egyptians* fearing what was now come upon them, had sent Ambassadors to *Rome*; who being introduced into the Senate, did, in a mournful Habit, and with a lamentable Oration set forth their Case; and prostrating themselves, prayed for Help: And the Senate having considered (c) that it was their Interest not to suffer *Antiochus* to become so great, as the Annexing of *Egypt* to *Syria* would make him, decreed to send an Embassy into *Egypt* to put an End to the War. The Persons appointed for it were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, who had been Consul four Years before, *Caius Decimus*, and *Caius Hostilius*, who were dispatched in all Haste; so as they came to *Antiochus* when his Army was within four Miles March of *Alexandria*, in order to lay Siege to that Place; which he might probably have taken, if the Ambassadors had not stopped him, and so reduced that whole Kingdom. On the Sight of *Popilius*, with whom *Antiochus* had contracted an intimate Friendship, while a Hostage at *Rome*, he put forth his Hand to embrace his old Friend: But *Popilius* refused the Compliment, telling, He must first know if he were a Friend or Enemy to the *Roman* State, before he could own him as one to himself; and then delivered into his Hands the Tables, in which the Decree of the Senate was written, and desired him to read it. *Antiochus* having read the Decree, told *Popilius* he would consult with his Friends about it, and speedily give him an Answer. But *Popilius* insisting on an immediate Answer (d), drew a Circle round him in the Sand, with the Staff he had in his Hand, and required him to give an Answer before he stirred out of that Circle. *Antiochus* after a little Hesitation told that he would obey the Commands of the Senate. Then *Popilius* accepting his Embraces, acted conform to his former Friendship with him. Thus, as *Valerius Maximus* observes (e), the *Romans* at the same Moment terrified *Antiochus*, and protected *Egypt*. The present Situation of Affairs made the *Romans* more bold, and the *Syrian* King more tame: For about this Time *Paulus Aemilius* had overcome *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, and added his Kingdom to the *Roman* Empire, which now became a Terror to the World, and the *Syrian* knew he could not stand against them. The Treaty being ratified, and Matters settled between the two Brothers reigning in *Egypt*, and *Cyprus*, which was restored to them, *Popilius* and his Colleagues returned to *Rome*; and Ambassadors followed them from the two *Ptolemies*, to thank the Senate for the great Benefit they had received by their Mediation, and *Antiochus* returned to *Syria*.

§ 5. But being enraged that all his Designs against the Kingdom of *Egypt* were now disappointed, he vented his Wrath against the *Jews*, who had no ways offended him: For in marching thro' *Palestine*, he detached off from his Army twenty two thousand Men, under the Command of *Apollonius*, who was over the Tribute, and sent them to *Jerusalem* (f), to destroy the Place. He came thither with his Army just two Years after *Antiochus* himself had taken the City, and spoiled the Temple (g). On his first Arrival he carried peaceably; but on the next Sabbath, when the People were assembled to celebrate religious Duties, he let loose his Troops, with Orders to slay all the Men, to take Captive the Women and Children, and sell them for Slaves; which was executed with Rigour; for he killed the Men, and filled the Streets with their Blood. Then he spoiled the City of all its Riches, set it on Fire in several Places, demolished the Houses, pulled down the Walls; and with the Ruines of the demolished City, built a strong Fortrefs on the Top of an Eminence in the City of *David*, over against the Temple, which commanded the same; and there placed a strong Garrison, which he stored with all Manner of Provisions, and made it a Place of Arms, to keep the whole Nation of the *Jews* in Subjection, and there he laid up the Spoils taken in plundering the City. This Gar-

(a) Polybius, Legat. 89. p. 1268. (b) Livius lib. 45. cap. 11. (c) Polyb. Legat. 90. p. 1272. Livius lib. 4. (d) T. Livius, lib. 45. cap. 11, 12. Justin, lib. 34. cap. 3. Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 1273. Valerius Max. lib. 6. cap. 4. tit. 3. Cicero Philip. 8. cap. 8. Hieronym. in Daniel. xi. 27. (e) Loco citato, Eodem inomento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti tenuit. (f) 1 Maccab. i. 29, 40. 2 Maccab. v. 24, 26. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. (g) Pag. præced.

Garrison of Soldiers frequently fell on those who went up to the Temple to worship, and shed their Blood, defiling that sacred Place with all Manner of Pollutions : So that from this Time the Temple became deserted, the daily Sacrifice was omitted, and none of the Servants of God durst go thither to worship, till *Judas*, three Years and a Half after this, having recovered it out of the Hands of the Heathen, by a new Dedication restored it again (a) to its former Use ; For all that escaped this Carnage having fled from *Jerusalem*, the Place was left in the Hands of Strangers, and the City was desolate (b) of its natural Inhabitants. At this Time *Judas Maccabeus* (c), with some other Jews who accompanied him, fled into the Wilderness, where they lived upon Herbs, and what else the Mountains or Woods could afford them, till they got an Opportunity to take up Arms for themselves, as shall be hereafter related.

When *Antiochus Epiphanes* returned to *Antioch* (d), he issued out a Decree, *That all Nations within his Dominions, leaving their former Customs and Rites, should conform to the Religion of the King, and worship the same Gods, in the same Manner as he did.* Which was levelled mainly against the Jews ; and it was extended to all Nations in the *Syrian Empire*, by the Advice of *Ptolemy Macron* (e), that the Persecution might not only cut off the Jews in *Palestine*, but all others of that Religion, settled within any part of *Antiochus's* Dominions. For the more effectual Execution of this Decree (f), he sent Overseers over all the Provinces of the Empire, to see to the Observance thereof, and to instruct the People in all the Rites they were to conform to. All the Heathen Nations readily obeyed these Commands, one sort of Idolatry being as acceptable to them as another (g), and none more readily than the *Samaritans*. As long as the Jews were in Prosperity, they used to claim Kindred with them, professing themselves to be the Sons of *Joseph* : But when the Jews were under any Calamity, then they had nothing to do with them ; they were then of the Race of the *Medes* and *Persians* (h), as they really were, and not of the *Israelites*. And at this Time they presented a Petition to the King, in the Conclusion whereof they represented, that tho' their Temple hitherto had been dedicated to no special Deity, yet now they desired it might be made the Temple of the *Grecian Jupiter*, and so called for the future. *Antiochus* easily granted their Desire, and gave Orders to *Nicanor*, Deputy-Governor of *Samaria*, to dedicate their Temple to the said *Jupiter*, and give them no further Trouble. The *Samaritans* were not the only Apostates ; many Jews, to avoid the Persecution, or to curry Favour with the King and his Officers, or from their own wicked Inclinations (i), did the same. So *Daniel* xi. 32. had foretold, *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries.* Indeed many did fall away in *Israel* ; and these who were guilty of so doing, joined the King's Forces then in the Land, and became more bitter Enemies to their Brethren than the Heathens themselves. The Overseer sent to see this Decree executed in *Judea* and *Samaria*, was one *Athenaus* (k) an old Man, who being well versed in all the Rites of the *Grecian* Idolatry, was thought a proper Person to initiate others in them. On his coming to *Jerusalem*, all the Sacrifices were suppressed, with all the Observances of the *Jewish* Religion ; the Temple it self was polluted, their Sabbaths and Festivals were profaned, their Children forbidden to be circumcised, and their Law, wherever it could be found, was taken away or destroyed ; and every one was put to Death that was discovered in any of these Particulars to have counter-acted the King's Decrees. The *Syrian* Soldiers were the chief Missionaries to effectuate this Conversion, like the Method of the *French* King's dragooning Protestants into Popery. The *Jewish* Worship being expelled out of the Temple, they consecrated that House to their heathenish Deity, *Jupiter Olympius* (l), and erected his Statue upon the Altar of Burnt-offerings ; and on the lesser Altar before it they sacrificed to him. This was done on the fifteenth of *Cisleu* (m), which answers to part of our *November* and *December* ; and on the twenty fifth Day of that Month, they sacrificed to their Idol. They did the like to the *Samaritan* Temple at Mount *Gerizzim* (n), consecrating it to *Jupiter Hospitalis*, that is, the *Protector of Strangers*. But this was done with Consent of the *Samaritans*, who were indeed Strangers in the Land, and not of the Race of *Israel*. And whereas two Women were found at *Jerusalem* to have circumcised their little ones (o) lately born, they hanged these Infants about the Necks of their Mothers ; and having led them through the City, cast them headlong over the steepest Part of the Walls, and killed all who had been with them in the Performance of this forbidden Rite. And with the same Severity they treated all others who were found to practise any Part of the *Jewish* Religion, contrary to what *Antiochus* had commanded. And to bring the People more suddenly to conform to Heathenism, they set up Altars, Groves, and Chaplets for Idols in every City (p) ; and Officers were sent to force all to offer Sacrifices to the *Grecian* Gods, to eat Swines Flesh, and other unclean Beasts ; particularly on the King's Birth-day : And when the Feast of

T t t t

Bacchus,

(a) Joseph. in Præfat. ad Histor. de bello Judaico, & de bello, lib. 1. cap. 1. (b) 1 Maccab. i. 38, 39. (c) 2 Maccab. v. 27. (d) 1 Maccab. i. 43, — 64. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. de Bello Jud. Lib. 1. cap. 1. de Maccab. cap. 4. Hieronym. in Daniel. cap. 8. & cap. 11. (e) 2 Maccab. vi. 8. (f) 1 Maccab. i. 51. (g) Ibidem, 44. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. (i) 1 Maccab. i. 43, — 52. & vi. 21. — 27. (k) 2 Maccab. vi. 1. (l) Ibid. v. 2. (m) 1 Maccab. i. 57. (n) 2 Maccab. vii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. (o) 1 Maccab. i. 60. — 64. 2 Maccab. vi. 10. (p) 1 Maccab. i. 47, — 50.

Bacchus, the God of Drunkards came (a), the *Jews* were forced to carry Ivy, as the rest of the Heathens did in Honour of that Day.

When these Officers were sent about to make all conform to the King's Religion, one of them called *Apelles* came to *Modin* (b), where dwelt *Mattathias*, a Priest of the Course of *Joa-rib*, the first of the twenty four Courses of the Priests, who served in the Temple (c). He was an honourable Person, zealous for the Law of God, and was the Son of *John* (d), the Son of *Simon*, the Son of *Asmonæus*, from whom the Family of the *Asmonæans* are denominated. With him he had five Sons, all valiant Men, zealous for the Law of their God, *Johanan* called *Kaddis*, *Simon* called *Thassi*, *Judas* named *Maccabæus*, *Eleazar*, named *Avaran*, and *Jonathan* surnamed *Apphus*. *Apelles* on his coming to this City, addressed himself to *Mattathias*, to persuade him to comply with the King's Commands, that by his Example the People of the Place may be induced to do the same. To this *Mattathias* answered with a loud Voice in the Hearing of all the People of the Place, *That no Consideration whatsoever should persuade him, or any of his Family to forsake the Law of their God; but they would still walk in the Covenant which he had made with their Fore-fathers, and no Commands of the King should make any of them depart from it.* When he had so said, observing one of the *Jews* in that Place, presenting himself at the Heathen Altar there erected to sacrifice, conform to the King's Commands, he was moved with a religious Zeal, like *Phinehas*, and slew him; and fell also on the King's Officer; and, by the Assistance of his Sons, and others who joined with him, killed him and all that attended him. Then getting together all his Family, and calling others who were zealous for the Law, he retired with them to the Mountains; where, with many others who followed the same Example, he led a solitary Life, whereby the Desarts of *Judea* became filled with those who fled from the Persecution (e). One Company of them, to the Number of a thousand Persons, being got into a Cave near *Jerusalem*, *Philip* the *Phrygian* (f), with the Forces which he commanded in these Parts, endeavoured to persuade them to come out and obey the King's Commands: But they all resolutely declared, *That they would rather die than forsake the Law of their God.* Whereon he besieged the Cave; and next Sabbath they refusing, out of a scrupulous Zeal, to do any Thing for their own Defence, they were all cut off, Men Women (g) and Children. *Mattathias* and his Followers being grieved at this; and considering, that if they imitated this Copy, they must all be destroyed; after a full Reasoning of this Matter, they all came to this Resolution (h), *That the Law of the Sabbath in such a Case of Necessity did not bind; and that whenever they should be assaulted on the Sabbath-day they would fight for their Lives; and that it was lawful so to do.* This Decree was received with general Approbation, and made a Rule in the Wars afterwards with their Enemies.

Ant. C. *Antiochus* hearing that his Commands did not meet with such thorough Obedience in *Judea*,
167. as in other Places, came thither himself to enforce the Obedience of them (i), and executed
Ptol. Phil. great Cruelties upon all the *Jews* who did not apostatise. The most remarkable Martyrs were
lomet. 14. *Eleazar*, an old venerable Man, who refusing to eat Swines Flesh, was stripped naked, beaten and tormented, and at last cast into the Fire, and stinking Liquors poured into his Nostrils. All which he endured with Constancy and Patience, till he was consumed in the Flames. Then was brought forth *Solomona* (whom some later *Jewish* Historians call *Hanna*), a venerable aged Woman, with her seven Sons, who could not be moved with the King's Promises, nor by his Threats to forsake the Law of her God; tho' all Instruments of Torture, as Wheels, Rods, Hooks, Cauldrons, Cages, Gridirons and the like were laid before them. *Maccabæus* the eldest Son was beaten, stripped and stretched on a Rack, round the Wheels, till his Sinews and Bowels bursted, and at last thrown into the Fire. *Aber*, the second Son, was bound with Iron Chains, his Skin fleaed off to his Knees, and then cast to a cruel Leopard, which would not touch him, and at last died by the Hands of his Tormentors. *Machir*, the third Son, endured yet worse, being tied round a Globe, till his Bones went out of Joint, the Skin plucked off his Head and Face, his Tongue cut out, and then cast into a fiery frying Pan, where he died. *Judas*, the fourth Brother, despising the King's Commands, and the Persuasion of Spectators, being resolute never to forsake the Law of his God, had his Tongue cut out, was beaten with Ropes at a Stake, racked on the Wheel, and died. *Achas* the fifth Brother was cast into a brazen Pot, and died by most cruel Torments. *Areth*, the sixth, had his Tongue cut out, and died in the Frying-pan. *Jacob*, the youngest, was put to Death by the like unspeakable Torments, which he endured with incredible Courage. The Mother at last having seen all her Sons thus put to Death, and having encouraged them all to Constancy and Fortitude of Mind, by pious Speeches in the *Hebrew* Tongue, suffered Martyrdom her self, with the like heroick Spirit, under a thousand Torments. The Acts of these Martyrs, and their dying Speeches, are more fully recorded by *Josephus* (k), and in the Book of *Maccabees* (l); and out of them by Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Clark*, and many other Writers of Martyrologies. Their
Names

(a) 2 Maccab. vi. 7. Diod. Sicul. lib. 34. p. m. 1171. Eclog. 1. (b) 1 Maccab. ii. 15,---28. (c) 1 Chron. xxiv. 7. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8. (e) 1 Maccab. ii. 29, 30. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8. (f) 1 Maccab. ii. 31,---38. 2 Maccab. 6. 11. Josephus ubi supra. (g) 1 Maccab. ii. 40, 41. Josephus ibidem. (h) Ibidem ibid. Josephus de Maccab. cap. 4,---18. (i) In libro de Maccab. vel de Imperio rationis. (l) 2 Maccab. vi. & vii.

Names are written in the Lamb's Book of Life, and the holy Apostle seems to make honourable Mention of them, saying, *Hebr. xi. 35. Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.*

In the mean time *Mattathias* with his Company lay close in the Mountains, and a great Number, when *Epiphanes* was returned to *Antioch*, resorted to them, who were called *Ghassidim* or *Asidæans*, that is, *righteous*, as the Hebrew Word *Tjadikim* signifies. *Mattathias* having got a Company together that made the Appearance of a small Army, took the field; and going round the Cities of *Judab* (a), pulled down the Heathen Altars, caused all the Male-children who wanted that Sacrament to be circumcised, cut off all Apostates, and destroyed all Persecutors that came into his Hands, and again re-established the true Worship of God in all Places where he prevailed. *Antiochus* having forced the *Jews*, under Pain of Death, to deliver up many Copies of the Law, which he destroyed or suppressed, that he might more easily persuade that People to go in to Heathenish Idolatry; *Mattathias* recovered several Copies of it, and again restored the Service of the Synagogues, and caused the Law to be read therein (b), as before it used to be done, defacing the profane Pictures which the Heathen had painted upon it. When the *Jews* during the Persecution wanted the Law, or five Books of *Moses*, they read Portions out of the Prophets, and this Custom continued even after the Law was restored.

This Reformation was happily commenced by *Mattathias*, but he had not the Honour to finish it; for being very aged, he was soon worn out by the Fatigues of the War, and died the next Year after it was begun, in the 146th Year of the Kingdom of the *Greeks* (c), or *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*. Before his Death he called his Sons together, and exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the Law of their God (d), and fight the Battles of *Israel* against their present Persecutors; and having appointed *Judas* to be their Captain, and *Simon* to be their Counsellor, he expired, and was buried at *Modin*, being much lamented by all the Faithful in *Israel*. Ant. C.
166.
Jud. Mac.
cab. 1.

Judas Maccabæus stood up in his Father's stead (e). Those who were zealous for the Law resorted to him and his Brethren, till they made a little Army; of which he had the chief Command, and led them to fight against the Heathen, who oppressed and persecuted them. The Motto he chose on his Standard was taken from *Exodus*, xv. 11. *Mi camo-ka Baelim Jehovah?* that is, *Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?* which being formed by an Abbreviation, made up the artificial Word *Maccabi* (f). Hence all that fought under that Banner were called *Maccabæans*, and *Judas*, who was their Captain, was designed from it by way of Eminence. And these Contractions have been since frequently used among the *Jews*; as, *Rambam*, for *Rabbi Moses ben Maimon*; *Rabbas*, for *Rabbi Levi ben Gerson*: And therefore the learned *Buxtorf* hath writ a Book of purpose to explain such Contractions, which is intitled, *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis*. Not only these who fought under *Judas* and his Brethren were called *Maccabees*, but those who suffered by *Ptolemy Philopator*, fifty Years before this, for a like Cause (g); and the Books wherein their Actings and Sufferings are recorded are called *Maccabees*.

§ 6. I have already (b) discoursed of that which is commonly called the third Book of the *Maccabees*, but in Order of Time is the first, and shown the Account therein given to be liable to just Exceptions: I shall now offer a few things concerning the first and second Book of the *Maccabees*. The first Book is a more exact and accurate History than any of the rest. We are not certain who was the Author thereof. Some conceive it was *John Hyrcanus* the Son of *Simon*, who was Prince and High-priest of the *Jews* near thirty Years, and began his Government at the Time when this History ends: But whether it was composed by him, or by some other whom he employed, I shall not determine. *Jerom* (i) says he had seen it in the *Chaldee* Language: But that Edition is now lost, and the *Greek* is the only Original thereof that we now have. Besides the general Arguments that strike against all the Apocryphal Books, and shew them to be no Part of the Canon of the holy Scriptures, which I do not enter upon, there are some peculiarly against this, to be taken from the Book it self; as, that in *Chap. i. Ver. 6, 7, 9, 10.* this Author says, *Alexander the Great, while lying on his deathbed, called his chief ministers, and divided among them his kingdom; who entred upon the government every one in their place, and assumed crowns to themselves after his death.* Which is not true in Fact, nor agreeable to any other authentic History. He, *Chap. i. Ver. 11.* makes *Antiochus Epiphanes* to reign in the Year of the *Greeks* 137; tho', from the Beginning of that Epocha, to the commencing of the Reign of that *Antiochus*, there were several more Years. In *Chap. viii. Ver. 6, — 16.* he hath a strange Narrative concerning *Antiochus* the Great: *That the Romans took him alive, and took from him the regions of India, Media and Lydia, giving them to king Eumenes; that three hundred and twenty Senators consult at Rome about the affairs of that republick, and yet commit the whole power of administration*

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to

(a) 1 Maccab. ii. 42, — 44. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8. (b) 1 Maccab. i. 59, 60. ii. 48. & iii. 48. (c) Ibid. ii. 70. (d) Ibid. v. 49, — 70. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8. (e) 1 Maccab. iii. 1. 2 Maccab. viii. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 9. (f) Vide Nic. Fulleri Miscellanea sacra, lib. 2. cap. 13. (g) See above, p. 335. (h) Ibid. (i) In Prologo Galeato.

to one man, who governs but for one year, and they all obey him. Which is not true in Fact, nor agreeable to any other authentic History. His Account, 1 *Maccab.* xi. of *Ptolemy Philometor's* Design to add *Syria* to his own Kingdom, doth not agree with what is related of that Prince in that same Chapter, and by *Josephus* (a) and other Authors. These things, besides others (b), are unfuitable to the Character of an infallible inspired Writer.

The second Book of *Maccabees* doth by no means equal the Exactness of the first. The Author thereof is uncertain; only he owns, that with great Labour and Watching he condensed the five Books of *Jason the Cyrenian*, and reduced them into one, 2 *Maccab.* ii. 24, — 27. And in Chap. xv. Ver. 39. he says, *If this composition be done exactly and well, as it ought to be, this is what I desired: but if it be performed meanly and poorly, yet it is as well as I was able.* Which is unfuitable to the Character of an inspired Writer. He commends the wicked Fact of *Razias*, who with great Cruelty killed himself, 2 *Maccab.* xiv. 37, — 46. Which one Thing is sufficient, according to *Augustin* (c), to declare the whole Book not to be canonical. He tells, that *Jeremiah* the Prophet hid the Tabernacle, the Ark, and the Altar of incense, and prophesied where they would be found again, 2 *Maccab.* ii. 5 — 8. which is inconsistent with *Jeremiah*, iii. 16. And hath many other false and fabulous Things, as hath been observed by several learned Authors (d).

§ 7. *ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES* being informed, that *Paulus Æmilius* the Roman General, after he had conquered *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, did celebrate Games at *Amphipolis* on the River *Strymon*, he did the like at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, with great Expence, Profaneness and Luxury, as we have before (e) observed from *Athenæus*. But *Judas Maccabæus* was acting another Part in *Judea*: For he went round the Cities of that Country (f), destroying all Utensils of Idolatry, cutting off Heathens and Apostates; and for securing of them who loved the Law, he fortified their Towns, rebuilt their Fortresses, and placed Garisons in them. To put a Stop to his Progress, *Apollonius*, who was Governor of *Samaria* for *Antiochus*, got an Army together, and marched against him (g). But *Judas* having vanquished him in Battle, seized the Spoils of his Troops; among which he found *Apollonius's* Sword, which he took for his own Use, and fought with it afterwards. *Seron*, Deputy-governor in some Part of *Cœlesyria* under *Ptolemy Macron*, hearing of these things, rendezvoused all his Forces, and marched into *Judea*, expecting to gain great Honour by revenging the Blow: But he met with the same Fate as *Apollonius*, being overthrown by *Judas*, and slain in Battle (h).

Antiochus hearing how his Lieutenants in those Parts were once and again overcome and slain, was moved with great Indignation, and gathered together a great Army, resolving immediately to destroy the whole Nation of the *Jews*, and give their Land to others. But he found his Treasury so exhausted by his profuse spending, that he had no Money to pay his Army (i). Besides, he was alarmed by Tidings out of the East and out of the North, that *Artaxias* King of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and that in *Persia* his Taxes were no more duly paid. To remedy this bad State of his Affairs, he left *Lysias* with one Part of his Forces to subdue the *Jews*, and with the other he resolved to march into the East in Person, to retrieve his Interest in those Parts. *Lysias* was one of the Royal Family, set over the King's Business from *Euphrates* to the Borders of *Egypt* (k), and had the Government of the King's Son, then a Boy of seven Years of Age, committed to him till the King should return. *Lysias* being very diligent to execute the King's Orders against the *Jews*, gave *Ptolemy Macron* the Son of *Dorymenes* the chief Charge of the War, with *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* to assist him (l); who, with an Army of forty thousand Foot and seven thousand Horse, came and encamped near *Emmaus*, with a great many *Syrian* Merchants with enough of Gold and Money to buy the *Jews* for Slaves, before they were vanquished. *Judas* and his Brethren seeing the great Danger they were in, resolved to stand for the Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties, tho' they were but six thousand Men against all this Multitude; and in the first Place he led them to *Mizpab*, there to implore the divine Assistance, (for they could not then assemble at *Jerusalem*, which was troden under Foot by the Gentiles) and then led them into the Field, with Exhortations proper to the Occasion. Having got Intelligence that *Gorgias* was marched out of the *Syrian* Camp, with five thousand Foot and a thousand of their best Horse, to find out him and his Men, and to cut them off by way of Surprise, being guided by Apostates; *Judas* resolved to attack the Enemy's Camp in the Night-time, while they were secure: Which he performed with so good Success, that he soon put them into Confusion, killed three thousand Men upon the Spot, put the rest to flight, and made himself Master of their Tents and Baggage. But *Gorgias* and his Detachment being still entire, *Judas* withheld his Men from the Spoil and the Pursuit till they were also vanquished: Which he easily accomplished;

(a) Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6. (b) Vide Heideggeri Enchiridion biblicum, p. 545, 546. (c) Contra Gaudentium, lib. 2. (d) Heideggeri Enchiridion biblicum, p. 556, 557. Chamieri Panstratia, Tom. 1. p. 127. Prideaux's Connection, Part 2. p. 186, 187. (e) Above, p. 344. (f) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 8. 2 *Maccab.* viii. 1, — 7. (g) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 10, — 12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10. (h) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 13, — 24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10. (i) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 25, — 33. (k) Ibid. v. 32, — 40. (l) Ibid. x. 40, — 46. 2 *Maccab.* viii. 12 & seqq. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10.

plished; for *Gorgias* having in vain fought for the *Jews*, on his Return finding the *Syrian* Camp on fire, and the main Army broken and fled, he could not keep his Men any longer together, but they all threw down their Arms, and run for it. Then *Judas* put himself on the Pursuit, and slew many of the *Syrian* Host, so as the Slain in the whole amounted to nine thousand Men (a). Whereupon *Judas* led back his Men to take the Spoils of the Camp; wherein they found great Riches (b), and all the Money which the *Syrian* Merchants brought to buy up the *Jews* for Slaves. The next Day, being the Sabbath, they solemnized it with great Devotion, giving Thanks to God for this great and wonderful Deliverance; and being flush'd with Victory, they increased in Strength by the Numbers of those who resorted to them. Therefore *Judas* and his Followers resolved to pursue the Advantage; and understanding that *Timotheus* Governor of the Country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another of *Antiochus's* Lieutenants, were drawing Forces together, they marched against them; and having overthrown them in a great Battle, slew about twenty thousand of their Men, and took their Spoils; whereby the Victors were enriched, and also provided with Arms and other Necessaries for carrying on the War (c). By this Victory they had also occasion to take revenge on two signal Enemies, *Timotheus*, who had done them great Mischief, and *Callisthenes*, who put Fire to the Gates of the Temple, and burnt them down to the Ground. The first they slew in Battle, and the latter in the Pursuit; for having driven him into a Cottage, they set Fire to it, and made him die as his Crime deserved. *Nicanor*, who had brought a thousand Merchants from *Antioch* to buy the *Jews* for Slaves, expecting thereby to raise two thousand Talents to pay the Remainder of a Debt due to the *Romans*, escaped himself in an ignominious Manner; for finding his Army broken, he changed his Apparel for that of a Servant, and made his Escape to *Antioch* (d); where he acknowledged the Power of the God of *Israel*, who fought for those who kept his Law.

Lyfias hearing of the bad Success of the King's Army in *Judea*, was much confounded: But knowing how peremptory the King's Commands were for executing his Wrath upon that People, he prepared an Army of sixty thousand Foot (e) and five thousand Horse, all chosen Men, and next Year put himself at the Head of them, designing the utter Destruction of the *Jews*. With this Design he marched into *Judea*, and pitched his Camp at *Bethsura*, a City lying to the South of *Jerusalem*. There *Judas* met him with ten thousand Men, and placing his Confidence in God, engaged him, killed five thousand of his Men (f), and put the rest to Flight, and obliged him to retire with his baffled Army to *Antioch*, acknowledging that *Judas's* Soldiers fought as Men prepared either to live or die valiantly; and resolving to come against them with a greater Force another Year. *Judas* being left Master of the Country, proposed to go up to *Jerusalem*, to recover the Sanctuary out of the Hands of the Heathen, to cleanse and dedicate it for the Service of God, which all his Followers consented to. At *Jerusalem* they found all Things in a lamentable State; for the City was in Rubbish (g), the Sanctuary desolated, the Temple profaned, the Gates thereof burnt up, Shrubs growing in its Courts as in a Forest, the Priests Chambers pulled down, the Altar unhallowed, and all the sacred Vessels sacrilegiously removed. In order to a Reformation, *Judas* appointed Priests of unquestionable Reputation, who took Care to see the Sanctuary cleansed, the Heathen Altars and the very Stones of them born out to an unclean Place, a new Altar built of unhewn Stones conform to the Law (h), the Courts hallowed, and the Temple in all Things made fit for its former Service. And out of the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy, he caused to be made a new Altar of Incense of Gold, a new Candlestick with its Lamps all of Gold, a new Shew-Bread Table all overlaid with Gold, with all the other Vessels of Gold and Silver necessary for Divine Service, and a new Veil to separate between the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. All these Things being removed by the Sacrilegious Covetousness of *Antiochus*, were now restored; and they appointed a new Dedication of the Altar, upon the twenty fifth Day of the Ninth Month called *Cisleu* (i), which is about the Time of the Winter Solstice, just three Years and a half after the City and Temple had been desolated by *Apollonius* (k), and two Years after *Judas* had taken on him the chief Command of the *Jews* on his Father's Death. They begun the Day of Dedication, with offering Sacrifices early on the new Altar, conform to the Law; having first struck Fire, by dashing two Flints (l); (for since the Temple was destroyed by the *Babylonians*, they wanted the Holy Fire that came down from Heaven at the Dedication of *Solomon's* Temple, which had been still kept a burning) and from that Fire, they lighted the seven Lamps on the Golden Candlestick, and went on with the Service, which continued to be there celebrated till the *Romans* finally destroyed the Temple, and put an End to the Ritual Worship of that Place. The Solemnity of the Dedication was continued for eight Days together, with great Joy and Thanksgiving. Tho' it be granted that our Saviour was afterwards

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(a) 2 Maccab. viii. 24. (b) Ibid. v. 25, — 29. (c) Ibid. v. 30, — 33. (d) Ibid. v. 34, — 36. (e) 1 Maccab. iv. 26, — 29. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. (f) 1 Maccab. iv. 30; — 36. (g) Ibid. v. 37, — 52. (h) Exod. xx. 25. Deut. xxvii. 5. (i) 1 Maccab. iv. 52. (k) See above p. 349. (l) 1 Maccab. iv. 52, — 56. 2 Maccab. x. 1, — 4.

wards present when that Feast was observed, *John* x. 22, it cannot be thence inferred, that Festival Days in Memory of publick Blessings, instituted by Persons in Authority without a Divine Command, should be observed in Gospel Days : For the Ceremonial Law was not abrogated when our Lord was at that Dedication, nor the Laws concerning Gospel Liberty given : And his being at the Passover and other *Jewish* Festivals, will not prove that these Solemnities are to be kept up in the Days of the Gospel.

Tho' the Temple was thus restored, the Fortrefs that overlook'd and commanded the same (a), was still in the Hands of the Enemy, garrisoned by Heathen Soldiers and Apostate *Jews*, the worst of the two, and they frequently sallied (b) upon those who went up to the Temple to worship, and killed many of them : For preventing of this, *Judas* at first appointed Part of his Army to shut them up within their Fortrefs (c) ; but finding that he could not spare so many of his Men as were necessary for this Blocade, he caused the Mountain of the Temple to be fortified (d) with strong Walls and high Towers round about it, and placed there a strong Garrison to defend it, and to secure those who came thither to worship from all future Insults. *Ant. C.* He also built *Bethsura* to be a Barrier against the *Idumæans* (e), who dwelt between the Lake of *Sodom* and the *Red Sea*. When the neighbouring Nations heard that the *Jews* had recovered the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, they were moved with Envy and hatred, and resolved to join for their (f) utter Extirpation.

164.
Jud. Mac-
cab. 3.

But all their Measures were broke by the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. On his March into *Persia*, being told that in the City *Elymais*, there was a Temple of *Diana* (g) renowned for its Riches, he marched with a Design to take the City, and spoil that Temple as he had done at *Jerusalem*. But the People round about having Notice of the Design, joined in Defence of their Temple, and beat him off with Shame and Confusion, which obliged him to retire to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where he heard of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus* his Lieutenants their being defeat in *Judea*, which made him hasten to return, that he might execute his Wrath upon the *Jews*. When he came to the Province of *Babylonia*, he was informed that the *Jews* had overthrown *Lysias*, and recovered their Temple at *Jerusalem* (h), and pulled down the Images and Altars which he had there erected ; at which he was so enraged, that he commanded his Charioteer to drive speedily, that he might make *Jerusalem* a Place for the burying (i) of that whole Nation. As soon as he had said this, he was smitten with an incurable Plague, a great Pain seizing his Bowels, and tormenting his inward Parts : His Chariot being overturned, he was sore bruised by the Fall, and forced to stop at a Town called *Tabæ*, where he suffered horrid Torments both in Body and Mind : For in his Body a filthy Ulcer broke out in his secret Parts, wherein were bred an innumerable Quantity of Vermin, and such a Stench proceeded from the same, as neither he nor his Attendants could well bear ; and his Mind was tormented with bitter Reflexions for his former Actions, so as he was frightened into a sort of Madness, with his Conscience stinging him by Accusations for his evil Deeds. *Polybius* a Heathen, the Books of the *Maccabees*, and *Josephus*, agree in this Account in general ; only *Polybius* says, this was for his sacrilegious Design against the Temple of *Diana* at *Elymais*, but the *Jewish* Historians already named lay the Cause of his Suffering and Agonies with more Reason upon the horrid Things that he actually did against the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the Persecution that he raised against them that worshipped there : Which he is said to have acknowledged before his Death (k), with Vows that he would repair the Evil that he had done there, if he should recover. But his Repentance came too late ; for being half consumed with Rottenness, he gave up the Ghost and died, after he had reigned full eleven Years. And thus God frequently punishes Persecutors of his Church even in this Life.

This *Antiochus Epiphanes* is the last of the *Syrian* or *Egyptian* Kings of the *Macedonian* Race, pointed out by *Daniel's* Prophecies : And he having been a great Oppressor of the Church of God under the *Jewish* OEconomy, and a Type of Antichrist, who was to oppress the Christian Church, more is prophetically said of him by *Daniel* than of any other Prince. I have already observed (l) how the Character given by the Prophet *Daniel* xi. 21. of a vile person who shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flattery, doth agree to this *Antiochus* ; and shall now further notice, That his War with *Ptolemy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, or of the *South*, is plainly foretold in *Daniel* xi. 25, 26. He shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south, with a great army ; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army : but he shall not stand ; for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him ; and his army shall overflow, and many shall fall down slain. For we have already seen how *Philometor's* Army was overthrown (m), and his Interest betrayed by *Ptolemy Macron*, once his Servant. *V. 27.* And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief ; and they shall speak lies at one

(a) See of that Fortrefs above p. 348. (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.* (c) *1 Maccab. i. 36, 37.* (d) *Ibid. x. 60, 61.* (e) *Ibidem ibidem.* (f) *1 Maccab. v. 1, 2.* (g) *Polybius in excerptis Valefii p. 144.* (h) *1 Maccab. vi. 1, — 7.* (i) *2 Maccab. ix. 1, — 9.* (k) *1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13.* (l) *2 Maccab. ix. 11, — 28.* (m) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13.* (n) Above, p. 344. (o) Above, p. 346.

one table. This was verified, when both of them did eat at one Table at *Memphis* (a), where *Antiochus* pretended to take Care of the Kingdom for *Philometor* his Nephew, and *Philometor* pretended to confide in *Antiochus* as his Uncle ; both of which were false. Verse 28. *He shall return into his own land with great riches* ; that is, with the Spoils of *Egypt* and *Palestine* (b). In v. 29, 30. we have *Antiochus* last Expedition into *Egypt*, but it shall not be as successful as the former ; for the ships of *Chittim* shall come against him ; therefore he shall be grieved and return. This points out the Roman Ambassadors landing in Ships, who were so peremptory with *Antiochus*, that he must either return and cease from assaulting *Egypt*, or expect the Roman Armies to come against him : And he chused the former (c), tho' against his Inclination. Verse 31. *And arms shall stand on his part ; and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and take away the daily sacrifice, and shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.* Here the Persecution of the Jews by *Antiochus*, with the Desolation and Pollution of their Temple is plainly foretold, as also in *Daniel* viii. 9, — 14. *Porphry*, a learned Man, but a bitter Enemy to the Christians, born about the Year of our Lord 233, wrote a large Volume against our Religion in fifteen Books, whereof the twelfth was against the Prophecies of *Daniel* ; where he thinks the Predictions concerning the Persian Kings, and also these concerning them of the Macedonian Race in *Egypt* and *Syria*, so plain, and so conform to what many Greek Historians, as *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Hieronymus*, *Polybius*, *Posidonius*, *Claudius Theon*, and *Andronicus Aल्पius* (which Authors are all now lost, except some Books of *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus* ; and *Porphry's* Work, with many Answers to it, is also perished) have wrote concerning these Times, that these Predictions could not be wrote by *Daniel*, so many Years before these Things were done, but must be writ by some Body or other, who lived after the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. But *Jerom* (d) who had seen these Books, as well as *Porphry*, tells us he might have inferred the quite contrary, that *Daniel* foretold those Things so exactly, to convince Infidels of the Truth of divine Inspiration. *Jerom* applies most of the Eleventh Chapter of *Daniel*, from v. 21. to the End, unto Antichrist, tho' at the same Time he grants, that these Prophecies had a typical Completion in *Antiochus Epiphanes*. In this *Joseph Mede*, and some modern Commentators agree with him in the general, only *Jerom* takes Antichrist to be a Jew ; which is not strange considering the Time wherein this learned Father lived. He had not seen the Characters of Antichrist so particularly fulfilled in the Papacy, as we who live after the Church of Rome has discovered her Blasphemies, and cruel Persecutions for so many Ages. The Truth of the Matter seems to be (e), That as much of these Prophecies in *Daniel* xi. as relates to the Wars of the King of the North, and the King of the South, was ultimately fulfilled in these Conflicts between the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* : But as much of them as relates to the Profanation and Persecution which *Antiochus Epiphanes* brought upon the Jewish Church, was all typically fulfilled in them ; but they were to have their ultimate and thorough Completion only in these Profanations and Persecutions, which Antichrist was to bring upon the Church of Christ in after Times.

Antiochus Epiphanes being dead, was succeeded in the Kingdom by *Antiochus* his Son, a Minor of nine Years old (f). *Lysias* as soon as he heard of the Death of the old King, took his Son, who was then under his Care, and placed him on the Throne, giving him the Name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assumed to himself the Tuition of his Person, and the Government of the Kingdom during his Minority ; whereby he secluded *Philip*, to whom *Epiphanes*, when dying had committed this Trust. *Philip* not being able to contend with *Lysias*, fled to *Egypt*, there to seek for Assistance. At this Time *Ptolemy Macron* Governor of *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnicia*, from being a great Enemy to the Jews, became their Friend, so as to endeavour to have Peace made between them and the King of *Syria* : But he was not able to effectuate it ; for his Enemies at Court accused him as a Traitor at every Word (g), because having been trusted by *Ptolemy Philometor*, with the Government of *Cyprus*, he had betrayed that Island to *Antiochus Epiphanes* ; and tho' they had Profit by the Treason, yet they hated the Author thereof, and prevailed so far against him, as he was deprived of his Government, and *Lysias* put in his stead : And no other Station being appointed to support his Honour and Degree, he could not bear it, but poisoned himself and died.

In the mean time *Judas Maccabæus* was not idle ; for he being informed, that the neighbouring Heathen Nations had confederated to destroy the whole Race of *Israel*, and had already begun, by cutting off as many of them as were within their Power, he marched out with his Forces to be revenged on them (h). The *Edomites* being most forward in this Conspiracy, joining with *Gorgias* to do the Jews a Mischief, he began with them ; and falling in to that Part of their Country called *Acrabattene*, he there slew of them twenty thousand Men (i). From thence he led them against the Children of *Ben* (k), another Tribe of the *Edomites* ;

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(a) Above, p. 347. (b) Ibidem. (c) Above p. 348. (d) In Proœm. ad Comment. in Daniel. operum Hieron. Tom. 8. fol. m. 267. (e) Prideaux's Connect. part. 2. p. 208. (f) Euseb. in Chron. ad Olymp. 154. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10, 11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 14. (g) 2 Maccab. x. 12, 13. (h) 1 Maccab. v. 1, — 3. (i) Ibid. v. 3. & 2 Maccab. x. 16, 17. (k) 1 Maccab. v. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, — 22.

mites ; and having beaten them out of the Field, shut them up in two of their strongest Fortresses ; both of which he took after a Siege, and put all he found in them to the Sword. After this he passed over *Jordan* into the Land of the *Ammonites*, where he had many Conflicts with the Enemies of the *Jews* (a) ; and having slain great Numbers of them, took *Jazar* and the Villages thereof, and then returned to *Judea*. *Timotheus*, who was Governor for the King of *Syria* in those Parts, the same whom *Judas* had defeated two Years before, being exasperated by this Inroad made into his Province, gathered together all the Force he was able, even a great Army, and with it invaded *Judea*. *Judas* went forth to meet him, and after having with his Army earnestly prayed to God for his Assistance, attacked the Enemy with such Vigour as to overthrow them, killing twenty thousand five hundred Foot, and six hundred Horsemen (b). *Timotheus* retired into *Gazara*, a City in the antient Tribe of *Ephraim*, where his Brother *Chæreas* commanded. *Judas* besieged the Place, and took it on the twenty fifth Day of the Siege. *Timotheus* was dragged out of a Ditch where he had hid himself, and slain, with his Brother *Chæreas*, and *Apollophanes*, another great Man in the *Syrian* Army ; and the *Jews* gave Thanks to God for his Favour to *Israel*. The Heathen Nations that lived in *Gilead* hearing of this, gathered together to cut off all the *Jews* in those Parts (c) ; and falling on those who dwelt in the Land of *Tob*, which lay to the East of *Gilead*, slew a thousand Men of them, took their Goods for a Prey, and carried their Wives and Children into Captivity. Many other *Jews* in those Parts fled to a strong Fortress in *Gilead* called *Dathema*, where they resolved to defend themselves : Which the Heathen hearing of, drew thither in a great Body, under the Command of *Timotheus*, the Successor, and probably the Son of the former, to besiege them. At the same time the Inhabitants of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, were drawing together to destroy the *Jews* in *Galilee*. *Judas* being sent to by Letters and Messengers, by Advice of the general Council of the *Jews* (d) divided his Army into three. He and his Brother *Jonathan* marched with the first Detachment, consisting of eight thousand Men, to relieve the *Jews* in *Gilead*. *Simon*, another Brother, led another Company of three thousand Men into *Galilee* ; and the rest, under the Command of *Joseph* and *Azarias*, were ordered to stay at *Jerusalem*, for the Defence of the Place and the adjacent Country, with Orders to stand on the defensive till *Judas* and his Brethren should return. *Judas* and *Jonathan* passing over *Jordan*, were informed of the Distress of their Friends : Whereupon immediately falling on *Bossora*, they surprised the City, and having slain all the Males, and taken the Spoils (e), they freed the *Jews* who were there imprisoned, and burnt the City with Fire ; then marching all Night towards *Dathema*, came thither next Morning just as *Timotheus* and his Forces were storming the Place ; and falling on their Rear, put them all to the rout : For being surprised with the Assault, and terrified with the Name of *Judas Maccabæus*, they threw down their Arms and fled, and there were about eight thousand Men of them killed in the Pursuit. After this *Judas* took *Maspha*, *Casphon*, *Maked*, *Bosor*, and other Cities of *Gilead*, treating them in the same Manner as he had done at *Bossora*, and then returned to *Jerusalem*.

Simon's Success in *Galilee* was not much inferior ; for he had many Encounters with the Enemy, in which he was victorious, and at length drove them to the Gates of *Ptolemais*, killing three thousand Men in the Pursuit (f), and taking the Spoils : But finding that the *Jews* could not be easily protected in that Country, where they had so many Enemies, he brought all of them young and old, with their Stuff and Substance, and planted them nearer *Jerusalem*, where they might live in better Security ; where they repeopled those Places that had been desolated by *Epiphanes's* Persecution. The Party that was left at *Jerusalem* had not so good Success : For *Joseph* and *Azarias* hearing of the noble Exploits of *Judas* and his Brethren, thought to gain Honour by doing the like ; and therefore they led out their Forces contrary to Orders, in an ill concerted Expedition against *Jamnia*, a Sea-port Town on the *Mediterranean* (g). But *Gorgias*, who commanded in those Parts for the King of *Syria*, falling upon them, put the whole Army to flight, and slew in the Pursuit about two thousand Men.

Demetrius the Son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who had from the Year in which his Father died been an Hostage at *Rome* (h), and was now grown up to the twenty fourth Year of his Age, hearing of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and of the Succession of *Eupator* his Son in *Syria*, which Kingdom of right belonged to him, as Son of the elder Brother of *Epiphanes*, moved the Senate for restoring him to his Father's Kingdom ; and to render his Affair more easy, said, that he being bred in their City, would always look upon *Rome* as his Country, the Senators as his Fathers, and their Sons as his Brothers (i). But the Senate judging it would be more to their Interest, to have a Boy to reign in *Syria*, than a Man of Understanding, as *Demetrius*, decreed for confirming *Eupator* in his Kingdom, and sent Ambassadors to regulate Affairs in *Syria*, conform to Articles of Peace made with *Antiochus* the Great his Grandfather.

Lyfias having received Account of the Exploits of the *Jews* in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, was highly

(a) 1 Maccab. v. 6, — 8. (b) 2 Maccab. x. 24, — 38. (c) 1 Maccab. v. 9, — 16. (d) Ibid. x. 16, — 20. (e) Ibid. x. 24, — 36. (f) Ibid. x. 21, — 23. (g) Ibid. x. 55, — 62. (h) Above, p. 343. (i) Polybius, legat. 107. p. 1299. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 3.

ly exasperated against them; and to be revenged, got together an Army of eighty thousand Foot, with all the Horse the Kingdom could afford, and eighty Elephants; and with this Host marched to invade *Judea*, resolving to make *Jerusalem* a Habitation for the Gentiles, to plunder the Temple, and to set the High-priesthood to Sale; not considering the Power of God to support his peculiar People. Having entered the Country, he began the Operations of the Campaign with the Siege of *Bethsura*. But *Judas Maccabæus* and his Companions, after imploring the Help of God, fell upon this great Army, and killed eleven thousand Foot, with sixteen hundred Horsemen, and put the rest to flight (a). After this Defeat, *Lysias* grew weary of so unsuccessful a War, and therefore came to Terms of Peace with *Judas* and the *Jews*; which *Antiochus Eupator* ratified. *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, Ambassadors for the *Romans* in *Syria*, were friendly to the *Jews*, and helpful in the Treaty; by which the Decree of *Epiphanes*, obliging this Nation to conform to the Religion of the *Greeks*, was rescinded, and Liberty granted to them every where to live according to their own Laws. But this Peace did not last long: *Timotheus*, *Nicanor*, *Apollonius*, with other Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, began to trouble the *Jews* as soon as *Lysias* was returned to *Antioch*. The War was commenced by the Men of *Joppa*: For they having drowned in the Sea two hundred *Jews*, *Judas* took revenge on them by burning the Port of *Joppa* by Night, and slaying the People who had escaped the Fire: And being informed, that the People of *Jamnia* designed to treat the *Jews* among them as the others had done, he burnt their Harbour, and all their Ships in it (b). After this he was called to help the *Jews* in *Gilead* against *Timotheus*. On his Way thither he was attacked by a Body of five thousand *Arabian* Foot, and five hundred Horse; whom he defeated (c), and then made Peace with them; took the Town of *Caspin*, and destroyed it. By an Assault he made himself Master of *Characa*, where *Timotheus* had left ten thousand Men in Garrison, whom he put all to the Sword. *Timotheus* having drawn all his Men together, with many from the neighbouring Nations, even a very great Army of Foot and Horse, sent the Women and Children who followed the Camp, with the Baggage, into *Carnion* (d), a strong City in *Gilead*, and pitched his Tents not far from it, at a Place called *Raphan*, on the River *Jabboc*. There *Judas* found him, and passing the River, fell upon him, gained the Victory, and in the Battle and Pursuit killed thirty thousand of his Men. *Timotheus* himself, as he fled, fell into the Hands of *Dositheus* and *Sospater*, two of *Judas's* Captains, and was taken Prisoner by them (e). But he having promised, if they would give him his Life, that he would release many of the *Jews* their Brethren and Relations, who were Captives in Places under his Command; on these Terms they gave him both his Life and Liberty. A great Part of the vanquished Army fled to *Carnion* or *Carnaim*, where *Judas* pursuing them, took the Place; and whereas many of them retired to the Temple of *Atargatis* or *Derceto*, which seems to be the same with *Dagon* (f), thinking there to find Safety, he set Fire to it, and burnt it and all that were therein (g), desolating the rest of the City, where in all twenty five thousand Men were destroyed. Then gathering together the whole *Jews* in *Gilead*, he carried them near *Jerusalem*, where they might live in Safety, and planted them in Places that had been desolated. In his Way thither, being obliged to pass *Ephron*, which was well garrisoned by *Lysias's* Orders, they refused him Passage, tho' he sought it peaceably. Whereupon he stormed the Place; and having taken it, put all the Males to the Sword, to the Number of twenty five thousand Men (h); took the Spoils, and razed the City; and marching over the Bellies of the Slain, repassed *Jordan* into the Plains of *Bethsan*, then called *Scythopolis*, and returned to *Jerusalem*; where he and all his Company went up to the Temple, and there gave Thanks for the great Success God had given them, and that they were all returned in Safety without losing a Man. This Return happened about the Time of *Pentecost*.

When that Festival was over, *Judas* led his Forces to make War on *Gorgias* and the *Idumæans*, who had given him great Trouble. In the Battle that he fought with them, several of the *Jews* were slain, but in the Result *Judas* got the Victory, *Gorgias* with Difficulty escaping to *Maresha*. The next Day after the Victory being the *Sabbath*, *Judas* retired to *Odolam*, there to observe the Duties of the Day. The Day following the *Jews* going forth to bury their Brethren, who were slain in the Battle, found about every one of them something or other that had been dedicated to the Heathen Idols of *Jamnia* (i); which tho' they were Spoils of the War, were forbidden by the Law (k) to be kept; whereby perceiving for what Cause God had given them up to be slain, *Judas* and his Company, after giving Praise to God for the Victory, offered up their Prayers for the Pardon of their Sin: And then making a Collection thro' the whole Camp, amounting to two thousand Drachms, they sent it to *Jerusalem* to provide Sin-offerings to expiate the Offence, that Wrath might not fall on the whole Congregation of *Israel*, as in the Case of *Achan*. After this *Judas* carrying the War into the

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southern

(a) 1 Maccab. xi. 1, — 38. (b) 2 Maccab. xii. 2, — 9. (c) Ibid. v. 9, — 20. (d) Ibid. v. 20, — 23. & 1 Maccab. v. 37, — 43. (e) 2 Maccab. xii. 24, 25. (f) See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. I. p. 295, — 298. (g) 1 Maccab. v. 43, — 45. 2 Maccab. xii. 26. (h) 1 Maccab. v. 45, — 55. 2 Maccab. xii. 26, — 32. (i) Ibid. xii. 33, — 45. (k) Deut. vii. 25, 26.

southern Parts of *Idumæa*, smote *Hebron*, and the Towns thereof. And then passing into the Land of the *Philistines*; where having taken *Azotus* (a) formerly named *Ashdod*, he pulled down their Heathen Altars, burnt their carved Images, and took the Spoils; and having done the like to some other Cities of that Country, he led back his Men loaded with Spoils of their Enemies into *Judea*.

The Garrison of the *Syrians* still holding the Fortrefs of *Acra* in *Jerusalem* (b); this was a Thorn in the Sides of the *Jews*; for they often sallied upon them, as they passed up to worship in the Temple. To remove this Mischief *Judas* called the People together, and laid Siege to the Place, providing all Manner of Engines of War for that Purpose. But some Apostate *Jews* in the Garrison, knowing that there was no Mercy to be expected, if the Place was taken, found Means to escape to *Antioch*, and there made known to the King and Council their Distress; and moved so effectually for Relief, that a great Army was drawn together of one hundred thousand Foot, twenty thousand Horse, thirty two Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots of War (c). The King in Person, with his Tutor *Lyfias* on the Head of them, marched into *Judea*, and began their Campaign with the Siege of *Bethsura*. *Judas* having got his Forces together, tho' far inferior to the Enemy, fell on them in the Night; and having slain about four thousand of them, before they could see where to oppose him, he retreated: But as soon as the Morning was light, both Sides prepared for an open Battle. *Judas* and his Men began the Attack with great Fierceness: But after having slain about six hundred of the King's Army, finding they must be overpowered at length (d), they withdrew, and made a safe Retreat to *Jerusalem*. In the Fight, *Eleazar*, surnamed *Averan*, one of *Judas*'s Brethren, was lost, in a desperate Attempt he made upon one of the King's Elephants: for observing it to be higher than the rest, and armed with Royal Harness, he supposed the King himself was upon it: And thinking, that by killing the Elephant he might cause the Death of the King, deliver the *Jews*, and gain himself a perpetual Name, he ran furiously on the Beast, killing many in his Way, got under its Belly, slew it with his Spear; but was himself crushed to Death by the dead Elephant falling upon him. *Antiochus* returned to the Siege of *Bethsura*; where, tho' the Besieged made a gallant Defence, sometimes burning the King's Engines; yet at length their Provisions failing them (e), they were obliged to surrender upon Terms of Safety to their Persons and Effects. Thence he marched to *Jerusalem*, and besieged the Sanctuary: And when the *Jews* within were almost reduced to a Necessity of surrendring, being straitned in Provisions, this being a sabbatic Year, they were relieved by an unexpected Accident (f): For *Lyfias* having received Account that *Philip*, (of whom we have already (g) heard) had, in his Absence seized *Antioch*, and taken upon himself the Government of the *Syrian* Empire, he found it his Interest to make Peace with the *Jews*, that he might have Liberty to return to *Syria*, and expel the Intruder his Rival. Accordingly Peace being granted (h) upon honourable Terms, that the *Jews* might enjoy the Liberty of their own Religion and Laws, and sworn to by *Antiochus*, he was admitted within the Fortifications of the Sanctuary: But when he saw how strong they were, he caused them, contrary to the Articles of Peace to be pulled down, and then returned to *Syria*.

Menelaus the High-priest (i) in Expectation of his Recovery of the High-priesthood, and being made Governor at *Jerusalem*, accompanied *Eupator* in this Expedition, and was forward to offer his Service against his own People. But *Lyfias* finding the Inconveniencies of the War, and that this Wretch was the Author of all the Mischief, he accused him before the King, and got him condemned to Death (k); and being carried to *Berhæa*, now called *Aleppo* in *Syria*, he was there cast headlong into a Tower of Ashes, and miserably perished, as he justly deserved. On his Death the Office of High-priest was granted to *Alcimus*, called also *Jacimus* (l), a Man altogether as wicked. *Onias*, the Son of that *Onias*, who by the Procurement of *Menelaus* was slain at *Antioch* (m), whose Right it was to have succeeded in the High-priesthood, not being able to bear the Injustice whereby he was disappointed, retired from *Antioch*, where he had to this Time resided since his Father's Death, and went into *Egypt*; where having insinuated himself into the Favour of *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his Queen, he abode there all the rest of his Life, and obtained of them Leave to build a Temple in the Government of *Heliopolis*, like to that at *Jerusalem*, of which he might be High-priest; and we shall hear more of him afterwards. On *Antiochus Eupator*'s Return to *Antioch*, *Philip* was driven thence. He had got no Assistance from *Egypt*, as he expected; but had gathered some Forces out of *Media* and *Persia*, with which he seized the imperial City in the King's Absence (n), but was soon expelled thence on the King's coming home, and seems to have perished about this Time; for we hear no more about him.

§ 8. LEAV-

(a) 1 Maccab. v. 65,--68. (b) Above p. 354. (c) 1 Maccab. vi. 19,--32. 2 Maccab. xiii. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 14. (d) 1 Maccab. vi. 32,--48. (e) Ibid. § 49, 50. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 14. (f) 1 Maccab. vi. 51,--56. (g) Above, p. 355. (h) 1 Maccab. vi. 57,--63. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23. (i) See of him above, p. 345. (k) 2 Maccab. xiii. 3,--8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 15. (l) 2 Maccab. xiv. 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 15. & lib. 20. cap. 8. (m) See above, p. 346. (n) 1 Maccab. vi. 56,--63.

§ 8. LEAVING the Affairs of the Jews a little, to take a View of what was a doing in other Parts of the World: We have formerly found *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Physcon*, two Brothers reigning (a) together in *Egypt*: But by this Time *Physcon* had driven his elder Brother *Philometor* out of the Kingdom; who taking Shipping for *Italy*, landed at *Brundisium*, and thence travelled to *Rome* on Foot, in a fordid Habit, and with a mean Attendance, to pray Help of the Senate for his Restoration. *Demetrius* the Son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who was then a Hostage at *Rome*, having got Notice, provided a Royal Equipage, which he presented to him 26 Miles from *Rome* (b). He thanked him for the kind Offer, tho' he would accept none of it; but went on in this fordid Habit, and took up his Lodgings with a mean *Alexandrian* Painter then at *Rome*. When the Senate heard where he was, they sent and excused themselves, in not providing for him, his coming being so private, and ordered Lodgings and all other Things to be made ready for him according to his Dignity. On a Day appointed he made known his Case; and the Senate decreed his Restoration, and ordered *Quintius*, and *Canuleius*, two of their Body, to go with him to *Alexandria*, and see it executed. On their Arrival they compounded Matters between the two Brothers (c) assigning to *Physcon* the Kingdom of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and to *Philometor*, *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, to reign apart, without interfering with each other in the Government. *Philometor*, tho' he carried with great Civility to the Ambassadors, yet was not willing to part with *Cyrene*; and the *Cyrenians* understanding how ill *Physcon* had behaved himself while he reigned at *Alexandria*, had such an Aversion against having him for their King, that they rose in Arms to keep him out of their Country, tho' they afterwards accommodated the Matter, and submitted to him.

This Year *Cn. Octavius*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*, Roman Ambassadors, came to *Syria*, to regulate Affairs there, conform to the Articles of Peace made with *Antiochus* the Great (d), after the Battle near Mount *Sipylus*. They found that the King had more Ships in his Navy, and more Elephants in his Army than that Treaty allowed (e), and therefore caused the Ships to be burnt, and the Elephants to be slain that exceeded the limited Number; and settled all other Things according to the Interest of the Romans: Which the Court and People at *Antioch* not being able to bear, one of them called *Leptines* fell upon *Octavius*, while he was anointing himself in the *Gymnasium*, and there slew him. This *Octavius* had been a little Time before Consul at *Rome*; and from him descended *Octavius Cæsar*, afterwards Emperor, by the Name of *Augustus*. *Lysias* was thought underhand to have excited this Act; but as soon as it was done, he took Care that Ambassadors were sent to the Senate at *Rome*, to purge the King from having any Hand in it. The Senate heard them, without giving any Answer, expressing their Resentments by an angry Silence. Mean Time they took Care to erect a Statue to the Memory of *Octavius* their deceased Ambassador. *Demetrius*, Hostage at *Rome* (f), thinking this Murder would have alienated the Senate from *Antiochus Eupator*, addressed himself to them a second Time, for Liberty to return to *Syria* (g), but got no favourable Answer. His Friends, and particularly *Polybius* the Historian, advised him against this Address; and told him, that there was no Way to get out of their Hands, but by making his Escape, which this second Repulse prompted him to: And therefore he went secretly out of Town, and got to *Ostia*, where he embarked in a *Carthaginian* Ship prepared for him, and sailed to *Syria*. Before the Senate could meet to advise on the Affair, they reckoned he was so far gone as he could not be overtaken; only they appointed some Ambassadors to go to *Syria* to observe what Effect his Return had into that Country. In the mean Time *Demetrius* landing at *Tripolis* in *Syria* made it to be believed that he was sent by the Roman Senate, to take Possession of the Kingdom (h), and that he would be supported by them in it. Whereon *Eupator's* Cause being given for lost, every Body deserted from him to *Demetrius*; and *Eupator*, with *Lysias* his Tutor, being seized by their own Soldiers, were delivered up to the new Comer; and by his Order, were both put to Death, after he had reigned under a Tutor two Years; and thus all the Race of the persecuting *Antiochus Epiphanes* were destroyed, and *Demetrius*, without any further Opposition, was settled in the whole Kingdom of *Syria*.

One of the first Things *Demetrius* did, was to deliver the *Babylonians* from the Tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides* (i). These being two Favourites of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he made the first of them Governor, and the other Treasurer of that Province. *Timarchus* having added Rebellion to his other Crimes, *Demetrius* caused him to be put to Death, and the other he drove into Banishment. This was so acceptable a Deliverance to the *Babylonians*, whom these two had oppressed, that they from hence called him *Soter*, that is, the Saviour. Which Name he ever afterwards bore.

§ 9. *ALCIMUS*, who on the Death of *Menelaus*, was by *Antiochus Eupator* appointed High-priest

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(a) Above, p. 347, 348. (b) Diod. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valerii, p. 322. (c) Polyb. Legat. 113. p. 1305. Epitome Livii, lib. 46. (d) Above, p. 340. (e) Appian in Syriacis, p. 188. Polyb. Legat. 114. p. 1307. & Legat. 122. p. 1322. Cicero Philippic. 9. (f) See above, p. 356. (g) Polyb. Legat. 114. Appian in Syriacis p. 188. Justin, lib. 34. cap. 3. (h) Appian in Syriacis, p. 188. Justin lib. 34. cap. 3. 1 Maccab. vii. 1,--4. 2 Maccab. xiv. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16. (i) Appian. in Syriacis, p. 189.

priest of the Jews (a), not being received by them, because he had polluted himself by conforming to the Ways of the Greeks, in the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, got together all the apostate Jews at *Antioch*, who for turning to Heathenism had been expelled *Judea*, and went on the Head of them to pray the new King to help him against *Judas Maccabeus* and his Brethren, accusing them of slaying many of the King's Friends, only because they had obeyed the Royal Edicts of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (b) his Uncle. *Demetrius* was so exasperated by the Representation, that he ordered *Bacchides* Governor of *Mesopotamia* immediately to march against *Judas* with an Army: He confirmed *Alcimus* in the High Priesthood, and ordered him to assist in carrying on the War. On their first coming to *Judea*, they thought to have circumvented *Judas* and his Brethren, and taken them Prisoners, but they were so wise as to keep out of their Reach: Others not being so cautious, fell into the Snare, among whom were sixty *Asidæans*, and several Scribes and Doctors of the Law, who being fond of a High Priest of the Race of *Aaron*, took his Oath of Peace, and trusted themselves to him; but he no sooner got them into his Power, than he put them all to Death, which hindered others from confiding in him. After this *Bacchides* returned to the King, leaving with *Alcimus* Part of the Forces, to keep Possession of the Country; who drawing many Deserters to him, much disturbed the Peace of *Israel*: For Remedy whereof, *Judas* and his Forces took again the Field, and executed Vengeance on those who had revolted from him, so as *Alcimus* and his Party were not able to stand against him (c). Wherefore that Disturber went again to the King; and having presented him with a Crown of Gold and other Gifts, renewed his Complaints against *Judas* and his Brethren, telling, that as long as he was alive, neither his Authority, nor the lasting Peace of the Country could ever be settled. This being confirmed by others, *Demetrius* was so incensed, that he sent another Army against the Jews, under the Command of *Nicanor* their old Enemy. *Nicanor* knowing how good a Captain *Judas* was, having been vanquished by him formerly, endeavoured to compose Matters by a Treaty; and accordingly Articles of Peace were agreed to, and then *Judas* and *Nicanor* conversed in a friendly Manner together. But *Alcimus* liked not the Peace, thinking his Interest was not well provided for (d), and therefore went the third Time to the King, and so possessed him against it, that he refused to ratify what *Nicanor* had done, but sent positive Orders to go on with the War, and not to cease till he had slain *Judas*, or sent him bound Prisoner to *Antioch*. *Nicanor* was then obliged, much against his Will, to renew former Hostilities, and came to *Jerusalem*, where he thought by Craft and Treachery to have got *Judas* into his Power: But he smocking out the Design (e), kept out of his Reach. The War being begun, the first Action thereof was at *Cepbarsalama*, where *Nicanor* lost about five thousand Men, and retreated with the rest to *Jerusalem*; where he vented his Wrath on *Razis*, an eminent Person in the Sanhedrim, sending out a Party of five hundred Men to take him in order to put him to (f) Death. *Razis* being at a Castle of his own, defended himself against them with great Valour; but finding that he could hold out no longer, he fell upon his own Sword; but the Wound not killing him, he threw himself headlong over the Battlements, and being yet alive, he plucked out his own Bowels, putting in his Hand by the Wound made by his Sword, and cast them upon those who assaulted him and so died: Which Act of *Razis* is rather praised than disapproved by the Author of the second Book of *Maccabees*, l. c. but is justly condemned by St. *Augustin* (g) by unanswerable Arguments. And this some think to be sufficient to declare that whole Book not to be canonical: But there are other Reasons also for rejecting it, some of which I have already (h) noticed, and may now add, That the Author of the second Book of *Maccabees*, i. 10. produces a Letter from *Judas Maccabeus* in the 188th Year of the *Æra* of *Contracts* (i), which is the *Epocha* used all over the Books of *Maccabees*. Now *Judas* died in the 152d Year of that *Æra*, 1 *Maccab.* ix. 3. and could not write a Letter thirty six Years after he was dead. This is a Knot too difficult for *Popish* Commentators to unloose, as the learned *Chamier* (k) hath fully made appear. Besides, there are other things too fabulous like for a canonical Writer in the two Epistles recorded in the first and second Chapters of that Book. To go on with our History:

After the Death of *Razis*, *Nicanor* went up to the Mountain of the Temple, where he demanded that *Judas* and his Army might be delivered to him, threatening that unless that were done, he would on his Return pull down the Altar, burn that House, and in stead of it build a Temple to *Bacchus*, with many other Blasphemies against the Temple of God, and those who worshipped there; which sent all that wish'd well to *Zion* to their Prayers against this Man. And they were remarkably heard: For immediately after *Nicanor* marched with his Forces against *Judas*, and coming to a decisive Battle, was slain in the first Attack; whereupon

(a) See above p. 358. (b) 1 *Maccab.* vii. 5, — 19. 2 *Maccab.* xiv. 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16. (c) 1 *Maccab.* vii. 21, — 30. 2 *Maccab.* xiv. 3, — 13. (d) Ibidem v. 14, — 29. (e) Ibidem 29, — 36. 1 *Maccab.* vii. 27, — 32. (f) 2 *Maccab.* xiv. 37, — 46. (g) Epistola 61. operum Tom. 2. col. 310, & contra Gaudentium lib. 2. operum Tom. 7. col. 352. in editione Frobeniana 1569. (h) Above, p. 352. (i) Of that *Æra* see above, p. 312. (k) Panstratia Catholica, Tom. 1. p. 127. De mendaciis Maccabæorum.

upon his whole Army, consisting of thirty five thousand Men, threw down their Arms and fled (a). The whole Country rising against them, cut them off as they endeavoured to escape, so as there was none left of them to carry News of their Overthrow to *Antioch*. *Judas* and his Men returning from the Pursuit, seized the Spoils, and cut off the Head and right Hand of *Nicanor*, which they hanged up on one of the Towers of *Jerusalem*. This Victory was obtained on the thirteenth Day of the *Jewish* Month *Adar*, which was kept afterwards as a Day of Thanksgiving in memory of this Deliverance. And here ends the History of the second Book of the *Maccabees*. *Judas* having a short Breathing-time of Tranquillity after this Victory, sent *Jason* the Son of *Eleazar*, and *Eupolemus* the Son of *John* (b), as Ambassadors to the *Romans*, to make a League for Protection and Relief of the *Jews* against the Oppressions of the *Syrians*. At *Rome* the Embassy was kindly received by the Senate, a Decree was made that the *Jews* should be acknowledged as Friends and Allies of the *Roman* People, and a Letter was writ to *Demetrius*, requiring him to desist from vexing the *Jews*, and threatening him with War if he did not comply with their Desire. But before the Ambassadors returned with the Decree of the Senate, *Judas* was dead. Indeed this Alliance with the *Roman* Republick was never to the Advantage of the *Jews*, as is remarked by our learned Countrymen Mr. *Baillie* (c) and Mr. *Jamison* (d). It seem'd too like a distrusting divine Providence, which had hitherto remarkably supported them : And joining in Covenant with the Heathen is forbidden to the *Jews* by the Law (e).

Demetrius having received an Account of the Defeat and Death of *Nicanor* (f), sent *Bacchides* with *Alcimus* a second Time into *Judea*, at the Head of an Army of twenty thousand Foot and two thousand Horse. On the Approach of this Host, *Judas* had no more than three thousand Men ; who being terrified with the Strength and Number of the Enemy, deserted their General all to eight hundred Men : Yet with these few, out of an Excess of Valour, *Judas* dared to engage the numerous Army of the Adversary : He routed their right Wing ; but being surrounded with their left, was slain in the Battle. All *Judah* and *Jerusalem* made great Lamentation for him : *Jonathan* and *Simon*, his Brothers, taking up his dead Body, buried him honourably at *Modin* in the Sepulchre of his Fathers. The Apostates, and others who were ill affected to the true Interest and Peace of the *Jews*, took occasion from this Loss to lift up their Heads again ; and a grievous Famine happening at the same time, the prevailing Faction having got most of the Provisions of the Land into their Power, many resorted to them for Bread (g), which caused grievous Revoltings in the Land. By these means *Alcimus* and his Party got almost the whole of the Country into their Power. Search was made for the Adherents of the *Maccabæans*, and such of them as were found were brought to *Bacchides*, and put to Death by cruel Torments. This occasioned very great Distress in *Israel* ; for the Remedy whereof, all that wish'd well to *Zion* flocked to *Jonathan*, and made him their Captain in place of *Judas* his Brother.

Jonathan having taken upon him the Command, and knowing that *Bacchides* sought to kill him, retired to the Wilderness of *Tekoa* (h), where he was surrounded with a Morass on the one Side, and the River *Jordan* on the other. That he might the better secure his Baggage and Goods against all Events, he sent off the same to the Care of his Friends the *Nabathæans*, under the Guard of a Party conducted by *John*, Brother to him and *Simon*. But the *Jambrians*, then living at *Medeba*, fell upon *John*, killed him and those who were with him, and took all that they had. To be revenged for the Death of their Brother, *Jonathan* and *Simon* being informed of a Marriage to be solemnized at *Medeba*, between a chief Man of the *Jambrians* and a Daughter of one of the Nobles of *Canaan*, way-laid them in the Mountains, and killed them all except some who escaped, took their Spoils, and returned to their former Camp. When *Bacchides* heard of this, he marched against them, and having mastered the Pass that led into their Camp, assaulted them on the Sabbath-day. But they being convinced that it was their Duty to defend themselves even on that Day, made a Stand against the Enemy, of whom they killed about a thousand Men : But seeing, that if they fought longer, they would be overpowered with Numbers, they swam over to the other Side of *Jordan* and escaped. *Bacchides* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he gave Orders to repair strong Holds throughout *Judea*, and especially the Fortrefs of Mount *Acra* in the capital City, and picked up the Children of the chief Men of the Country, whom he kept as Hostages for the good Behaviour of their Relations.

Next Year died *Alcimus* the great Troubler of *Israel*. Among other evil Things he did, to bring the *Jewish* Religion to a nearer Conformity to that of the Heathen, he ordered the Wall of Partition to be pulled down, that the Gentiles might pass into the Inner Court of the Temple, as well as the *Jews*. But while this was a doing, he was smitten with a Palsy, and suddenly

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(a) 1 Maccab. vii. 33, — 50. 2 Maccab. xv. per totum. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 17. (b) 1 Maccab. viii. 1, — 12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 17. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 3. (c) Operis Histor. & Chronol. p. 227. (d) Spicilægia Antiq. p. 243. (e) Exod. xxiii. 32. & xxxiv. 12. Deut. vii. 2. (f) 1 Maccab. ix. 1, — 22. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 18, 19. (g) 1 Maccab. ix. 23, — 29. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1. (h) 1 Maccab. ix. 30, — 57.

denly died of it. When *Bacchides* saw that *Alcimus* was dead, for whose Sake he had come into *Judea*, he returned with his Army to *Antioch*, and the Land had rest from the Oppressions of the *Syrians* for two Years. 'Tis probable that *Demetrius Soter* had by this Time received the Letters from the *Romans* not to molest the *Jews*; and to please that powerful Republick, who had not yet acknowledged him as King, nor renewed the League with him that they had with his Predecessors, which about this Time he got done (a), he had ordered *Bacchides* to withdraw. Next Year *Demetrius* sent *Menochares* with others in a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, to cultivate the Friendship of the Senate: They carried thither a Crown of Gold to the Value of ten thousand Gold Pieces of Money for a Present (b), in Acknowledgement of the kind and free Entertainment which their Master had received while he was an Hostage at *Rome*, and they also brought with them *Leptines* and *Isocrates* to be delivered up for the Death of *Octavius* (c). *Isocrates* was a talkative *Greek*, who undertook to speak in Justification of the Fact, and *Leptines* owned that he had done it, and was not afraid of any Hurt from the *Romans*. So it happened; for the Senate received the Ambassadors and their Presents with due Respect, but would not meddle with the Persons they had brought. They thought to take Vengeance on two Men, was too small a Satisfaction for the Murder of an Ambassador, and therefore reserved the Matter for a further Enquiry.

Ant. C. 158. *Jonath.* 3. *Jonathan* having had two Years Quiet had brought his Affairs to some Settlement in *Judea*. The contrary Faction being thereby excited with Envy against him, sent to the *Syrian* Court at *Antioch*, and there procured that *Bacchides* was again ordered to come into their Country. The Authors of the Plot designed to seize *Jonathan*, and all those of his Party in one Night as soon as the Party should arrive, and all Things were accordingly laid. But the Design being discovered, *Jonathan* got his Forces together (d), seized fifty of the Conspirators, and having put them to Death, all the rest fled, and so the Mischief was defeated. But not being strong enough to stand against so great a Force as *Bacchides* brought, he retired to *Bethbasi*, a Place strongly situated in the Wilderness; where having repaired its former Fortifications, and furnished it with all Necessaries, he resolved to make a Defence against the Enemy. *Bacchides* marched thither with the *Syrian* Army, calling the *Jews* also who were in his Interest to assist him. On their Approach, *Jonathan* left his Brother *Simon* to defend the Place, and he took the Field to harass the Enemy; where he sometimes cut off Parties of Foragers, smote others who adhered to the *Syrians*, and frequently made Impressions on the Skirts of the Besiegers, so as to disorder the whole Army. At the same Time *Simon* boldly defended the Place, and made frequent successful Sallies, wherein he burnt the Engines of War provided against it. By these Means *Bacchides* became weary of the War, and displeased with those who had brought him into it, some of whom he put to Death. *Jonathan* having Notice of this Disposition of his Adversary, sent Messengers for an Accommodation; which *Bacchides* cheerfully embraced, and a Peace was concluded, whereby all Prisoners on both Sides were restored, and *Bacchides* promised never more to do harm to the *Jews* as long as he lived; which he made good, leaving the Country with his whole Army, and never returning. *Jonathan* lived in Peace at *Michmasb*, nine Miles North of *Jerusalem*, where he restored Justice and Righteousness to the Land, and as far as he could, reformed what was wrong in Church and State.

Ant. C. 156. *Jonath.* 5. *Ptolemy Physcon* King of *Libya* and *Cyrene* (e), having by his bad and cruel Management of the Government and by his vicious Conduct displeased his Subjects, it happened that some of them lying in wait for him, fell upon him and wounded him in several Places, thinking to have slain him (f). All this he charged upon *Philometor* his Brother, and as soon as he was recovered, went to *Rome* to complain to the Senate. Tho' *Philometor* was a Prince of so great Benignity and Clemency (g), that of all Men living, he was the most unlikely to be guilty of such a Fact, or giving the least Countenance thereto; yet the Senate being disgusted at his refusing to yield *Cyprus* to his Brother upon their Desire, they would not hear what his Ambassadors had to offer in his Defence, but sent five Persons to conduct *Physcon* to *Cyprus*, and put him in Possession of that Island, and required their Allies in these Parts to furnish him with Forces for this Purpose. But when *Physcon* had gathered his Troops, he was vanquished in Battle by *Philometor*, and forced to flee into the City *Lapitho*, where he was besieged and taken, and delivered into the Hands of *Philometor* his Brother; who out of great Clemency, pardoned all his Crimes, and also restored to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and added some other Territories to compensate the detaining of *Cyprus* from him. Thus the War between the two Brothers ended, and was never again revived, the *Romans* being ashamed, it seems, to oppose so generous a Clemency; for there is no more mention of their interposing in this Matter. *Philometor* on his Return to *Alexandria*, left the Command of *Cyprus* to *Archias*, who had been with him at *Rome* in his Distress, and in whom he had great Confidence, but he was deceived of the Man; who had not been long in his Province, till he sold it to

(a) Polybius Legat. 120. p. 1320. (b) Ibid. 122. p. 1322. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 189. (c) Above p. 359. (d) 1 Maccab. ix. 57, — 73. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1. (e) See of him above p. 347, 359. (f) Polybius Legat. 132. p. 132. Idem in excerptis Valesii, p. 197. (g) Polybius de virtutibus & vitiis, p. ult.

Demetrius King of *Syria*, promising for five hundred Talents to betray the Island (a) to him. But the Treason being discovered before it was executed, he hanged himself, to avoid the Punishment that his Crime deserved,

§ 10. ABOUT this Time *Demetrius Soter* King of *Syria* gave himself wholly up to Luxury and Ease; for having built a Castle near *Antioch*, and fortified it with four Towers, he there enclosed himself; and casting off all Care of publick Affairs, devoted himself to Loitering and drinking to Excess (b): So that no Petitions being heard, nor Grievances redressed, the Government was at a Stand; which irritated his Subjects so far, that they entred into a Conspiracy to depose him. Tho' some Steps of this Design were discovered and disappointed, yet it was supported by very great Persons, who were disgusted with *Demetrius* upon different Accounts. *Philometor* King of *Egypt* was incensed with his late Attempt upon *Cyprus*; *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* were offended with the Wars he had made upon them, and *Heraclides*, sometime Treasurer in *Babylonia*, being stripped of that great Trust by *Demetrius*, and forced into Banishment, having taken up his Residence at *Rhodes*, had a deep Share in the Plot. There he found a Youth of mean and obscure Condition called *Balas*, whom he dressed up and equipt to counterfeit himself the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that Title to claim the Crown of *Syria*. The Impostor being owned by the three Kings above-mentioned, *Heraclides* carried him along with himself to *Rome*, with *Laodice*, really a Daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to colour the Fraud. There by his sedulous Solicitation he obtained a Decree of the (c) Senate, not only allowing his Return to *Syria*, but likewise to have their Assistance to recover his Crown; which was the more easily granted, because they were disgusted with *Demetrius*. By virtue of their Decree, he raised Forces, and with them sailed to *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, seized that City (d); and there by the Name of *Alexander* the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, took upon him to be King of *Syria*, and great Numbers of People, disaffected to *Demetrius*, flocked to him. This brought *Demetrius* out of his Castle (e), and both Parties armed and gathered Forces as fast as they could. The Assistance of *Jonathan*, who commanded the *Jews*, being like to be of great Moment, both Parties courted him. *Demetrius* wrote a Letter to him, constituting him the King's General in *Judea*, empowering him to raise Forces for his Assistance, and commanding the Hostages in the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem* to be delivered to him; which was done: And *Jonathan* grew to such Power, that these Forces which *Bacchides* had placed all over the Country, not finding themselves strong enough to hold out against him, left their Garrison (f), and fled away; only *Bethsura*; and the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem* held out. These Places being garrisoned by Apostate *Jews*, had no where else to flee to. *Jonathan* fixing his Residence at *Jerusalem*, caused repair the City, and fortify it new on every Side, and made the Wall round the Mountain of the Temple, which had been pulled down by *Antiochus Eupator*, to be again rebuilt.

Alexander Balas hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain *Jonathan* to his Side, sent also his Offers to him, granting him to be High-priest of the *Jews*, to be called the King's Friend, and sent him a Purple Rob, and a Crown of Gold, as Ensigns of Princely (g) Dignity. *Demetrius* understanding this, resolved to outbid *Alexander* for gaining so valuable an Ally, and therefore sent a second Message to *Jonathan* offering all that *Alexander* did, and many other extraordinary Grants and Privileges, both to him and to the *Jews*, offering to free them from Taxes formerly paid to the Kings of *Syria* (h), if he would come to his Assistance. But it being remembered what Mischief *Demetrius* had done to the *Jews* in the Time of his Prosperity, they durst not now trust him, fearing, that as soon as his Fortunes should be restored, he would recall what he had granted. Therefore *Jonathan* concluded a League with *Alexander*, and accepted of the High-priest's Office, for which he had the Consent of the People. And on the Feast of Tabernacles, which soon approached, he put on the Pontifical Robe, and officiated as High-priest, after that Post had been vacant from the Death of *Alcimur* for seven Years. From this Time the Office of the High-priest of the *Jews* continued in the Family of the *Asmonæans*, till the Time of *Herod* the Great, who changed it from an hereditary Office to an arbitrary one, at Will and Pleasure. For from his Time these who had the chief Power in the State put in and out High-priests as they pleased, till at length the Office was extinguished in the Destruction of the Temple by the *Romans*, as will more fully appear in the Sequel of this History. From the Return out of the *Babylonish* Captivity, the High-priesthood had been in the Family of *Jozadack* (i). We do not find that the *Asmonæans* were of that Family; but 'tis expressly said (k), that they were of the Course of *Joarib*, which was the first Class (l) of the Sons of *Aaron*, and therefore on the Failure of the former Pontifical Family, which then happened on the Flight of *Onias* the Son of *Onias* into *Egypt*, they had the best Right to succeed.

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(a) Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 170. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 3. Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 12. (c) Appian. in Syriacis, p. 213. Polyb. Legat. 138. p. 1339. & Legat. 140. p. 1342. (d) 1 Maccab. x. 1. (e) Ibid. v. 1, 2. (f) Ibid. v. 3, — 15. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 4. (g) 1 Maccab. x. 15, — 20. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 4, 5. (h) 1 Maccab. x. 21, — 47. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5. (i) Hagga. i. 1. — 12. (k) 1 Maccab. ii. 1. (l) 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

The two Contenders for the Crown of *Syria*, having drawn together all their Forces, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, when not drowned in Sensuality (a), in the first Battle had the Victory; but he gained no great Advantage by it: For *Alexander Balas*, being recruited by the three Kings who first set him up, and strongly supported by them; and having the *Romans* and *Jonathan* on his Side, was enabled still to maintain his Cause; and the *Syrians*, out of their Aversion to *Demetrius*, made great Desertions from him. Therefore *Demetrius*, fearing where all this might end, sent his two Sons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* (b), (who both afterwards reigned in *Syria*) to *Cnidus*, where he committed them, with a great Treasure, to the Care of a Friend of his, that in case the worst might happen in the War to him, the Youths might be reserved for a future favourable Turn of Affairs. Then Matters were committed to the Determination of a Battle, which proved decisive. In the first Onset, *Demetrius*'s left Wing put the opposite Wing of the Enemy to Flight: but pursuing them too far (an Error in War which hath lost many Victories) by the Time they came back, the right Wing in which *Demetrius* fought in Person, was put to the Rout, and himself slain (c). As long as he could face the Enemy, he omitted nothing for obtaining better Success: But in the Retreat his Horse having plunged him in a Morass; the Pursuers killed him with their Arrows, after he had reigned in *Syria* twelve Years.

Ant. C.
152.
Jonath. 2.

Ant. C.
150.
Jonath. 31.

By this Victory *Alexander Balas* having made himself Master of the whole *Syrian* Empire, sent to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, desiring that *Cleopatra* his Daughter might be given to him in Marriage; a Lady who did no Service to the Kingdom of *Syria* (d). To which Proposal her Father consenting, carried her to *Ptolemais*, and there the Marriage was solemnized with great Joy. *Jonathan* being invited to the Wedding (e), was received with great Favour by both Kings, especially by *Alexander*, who to do him the greater Honour, caused him to be clothed in Purple, and inrolled among the chief of his Friends, to take place among the first Princes of the Kingdom; constituted him General of his Forces in *Judea*, and would hear no Accusations against him, which his Enemies intended to offer. So they were obliged to return ashamed, but *Jonathan* was clothed with Honour.

Ant. C.
149.
Jonath. 12.

§ II. ABOUT this Time, *Onias* the Son of *Onias*, who being disappointed of the Priesthood, had fled to *Egypt*, as has been already (f) mentioned, there so far ingratiated himself with *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, and *Cleopatra* his Queen, that he gained the chief of their Confidence in all their Affairs; for he was a great Soldier and a good Politician, and thereby advanced himself to the highest Posts both in the Army and in the Court: And having by the Strength of his Interest introduced another Jew called *Dositheus* into the like Favour, they two had the chief Management of the Government during the latter End of *Philometor*'s Reign (g). By this Influence *Onias* obtained of the King Licence to build a Temple for the Jews in *Egypt*, like to that at *Jerusalem* (h), with a Grant to himself and his Descendents to be High-priests thereof. He pretended that it was for the King's Interest, that the *Egyptian* Jews might no more go to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which was in the Territories of the King of *Syria*; but rather that many of the *Jewish* Nation might resort into *Egypt*, to inhabit and enrich that Country, where they might peaceably have a Temple and Worship of their own: An Argument like that of *Jeroboam* for the Calves of *Dan* and *Beth-el*. But the main Difficulty was, to reconcile the Jews to this new Invention, since *Jerusalem* was the only Place God had chosen for his Worship. To satisfy them in this Point, he produced to them the Prophecy of *Isaiab*, xix. 18, 19. *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called, The city of destruction. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord.* This Prediction was fulfilled by the great Harvest of Souls gathered to the Lord by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ in *Egypt*, and could not be applied to the Temple of *Onias*, which the pious Jews justly look'd on as a great Irregularity, and an Affront to the Temple at *Jerusalem*. But *Onias* made use of it to his own purpose: For by reading the Word *CHERES*, *Destruction*, (in *Isaiab*, xix. 18.) *HERES*, *the Sun*, he strengthened his Argument for a *Jewish* Temple at *Heliopolis*, the City of the Sun: And accordingly he built his Temple at a Place, called by the Greeks *The Prefecture of Heliopolis*, but by the *Egyptians* it is named, *The City on twenty four Miles from Memphis*; where had formerly been an old Temple of *Bubastis*, another Name of *Isis* the Goddess of the *Egyptians*. Out of the Ruins of this he built his new *Jewish* Temple, conform to the Pattern of that at *Jerusalem*, tho' not so high nor so sumptuous. Here he placed an Altar of Burnt-offerings, an Altar of Incense, a Shew-bread Table, and all other Utenfils for the *Jewish* Service; only he had not a Candlestick with seven Branches, but only a Lamp hung down by a golden Chain from the Roof of the House. And to favour this Temple in *Egypt*, the *Septua-*
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(a) Tullin, lib. 35. cap. 1. (b) Ibid. cap. 2. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5. in fine. Livii epitome, lib. 52. (d) Ullierius in Annal. ad annum ante Christum 150. (e) 1 Maccab. x. 51, — 66. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 7. (f) Above, p. 358. (g) Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 2. p. 1064. edit. Colon. 1691. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 6. & De bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 30.

gint Version renders that Text above mentioned, *Isaiab*, xix. 18. πόλις Ἀσεδὲκ κληθήσεται ἡ μία πόλις, that is, *One city shall be called the city Asedek*, i. e. *the City of Righteousness*. Hence it is inferred, that the *Greek Translation of the Old Testament* which we call the *Septuagint*, was made by the *Jews* who worshipped at this *Temple of Onias*, at least that the *Prophets* were then translated into *Greek*. However, divine Service was carried on in this Place in the same Manner as at the *Temple at Jerusalem*, till at length, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and its *Temple*, this *Temple of Onias* was first shut up by *Paulinus*, and afterwards wholly demolished and destroyed, with the *City of Onion*, in which it stood, by the Command of the Emperor *Vespasian*. *Josephus* (a) says 333 Years, but I rather join with *Dr. Prideaux* (b), as more agreeable to Chronology, 224 Years after it was built. About this Time (c) also there arose a great Sedition at *Alexandria*, between the *Jews* and *Samaritans* of that City, the former holding *Jerusalem*, and the latter Mount *Gerizzim* to be the Place where according to the Law God ought to be worshipped: And this Contention ran so high, that they came to Arms about it. A Day was therefore appointed to hear and determine this Dispute before the King and his Council: Advocates were appointed on each Side to plead the Cause. But the *Samaritans* failing in the Proof they pretended to, their Advocates were punished for making the Contention, and so the Disorder then ceased.

§ 12. *ALEXANDER BALAS* having got the Possession of the Crown of *Syria*, as hath been mentioned, thought he had nothing else to do but to give himself up to the vicious Pleasures of Luxury, Idleness and Debauchery, particularly with lewd Women, with whom he spent most of his Time (d); committing the Government wholly to one *Ammonius*, who managed it with great Insolence and Cruelty, putting to Death the whole Royal Family of *Demetrius Soter*, who had been left behind when his Sons were removed to *Cnidus*; whereby he made both his Master and himself odious to all the People. *Demetrius*, the eldest Son of *Demetrius Soter*, now a Youth, thought this a proper Time to recover his Right; and therefore having by the means of *Lasthenes*, his Host, hired a Band of *Cretans* (e), he landed with them in *Cilicia*; where by Degrees he got a great Army, and took possession of all that Country. This roused *Alexander* from his Sloth, and forced him to leave his Concubines, and look after his Affairs. Having therefore committed the Government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus* (f), who was also called *Tryphon* (g), he took the Field with his Forces; and hearing that *Apollonius*, Governor of *Cælesyria* and *Phœnicia*, had declared for *Demetrius*, he called in King *Ptolemy* his Father-in-law to his Assistance. This *Apollonius* was the Son of *Apollonius*, the Son of *Thrascas*, Governor of the same Provinces in the Time of *Seleucus Philopator* (h); who having been educated with *Demetrius* while he was an Hostage at *Rome* (i), upon that Prince's recovering the Crown of *Syria*, he gave him the Government of *Cælesyria*; in which he continued in the Time of *Alexander Balas*, (called also *Veles*) but now revolted from him to the Son of his old Master. *Apollonius* having embraced the Party of *Demetrius*, his first Attempt was, to reduce *Jonathan*, who held firm to the Interest of *Alexander*, according to the League he had made with him: And therefore having drawn together a great Army, he encamped with it at *Jamnia* (k), and thence sent *Jonathan* a proud Message, challenging him to come to a Battle with him in the Plains. Whereupon *Jonathan* marching out of *Jerusalem* with ten thousand Men, took *Joppa* in the Sight of *Apollonius*; and after joining Battle with him, vanquished him in the open Field, and pursued his broken Troops to *Azotus*; which Town he took, set on fire, and burnt down to the Ground, with the *Temple of Dagon*, and all those who had fled thither: So that there perished on that Day of the Enemy's Forces about eight thousand Men. After this he treated other Towns belonging to the Enemy in that Country in the same Manner, and returned to *Jerusalem* with the Spoils. *Alexander* hearing of this Victory gained for his Interest, sent *Jonathan* a Buckle of Gold, such as used to be given only to those to wear who were of the Royal Family; and he gave him also the *City of Ekron*, with the Territory thereto belonging.

Ptolemy Philometor having been called to the Assistance of his Son-in-law *Alexander* King of *Syria*, marched into *Palestine* with a great Army (l). As he passed, all the Cities opened their Gates to him, being ordered by *Alexander* so to do; and he left Soldiers in each of them to strengthen the Garrisons. At *Joppa* he met *Jonathan*. Tho' great Complaints were made against him, for burning *Azotus* and some neighbouring Places, after his late Victory; yet *Ptolemy* would take no notice of any of them; but received *Jonathan* with great Kindness, and marched with him to *Ptolemais*. There he was informed of Snares laid for his Life by *Ammonius*, the great Favourite of *Alexander* his Son-in-law; but he escaping, went forward, and demanded the Traitor to be delivered up to him. *Jonathan* attended him as far as the River

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Eleutherus

Ant. C.
148.
Jonath.
13.

Ant. C.
146.
Jonath.
15.

(a) De bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 30. in fine. (b) Connection, Part 2. p. 266. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 6. (d) Ibid. cap. 8. Justin. lib. 35. cap. 2. Athenæus, lib. 5. cap. 10. (e) 1 Maccab. x. 67. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. (f) Diod. Siculus, in Excerptis Valefii, p. 346. (g) 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. (h) 2 Maccab. iii. 5. (i) Polybius, legat. 114. (k) 1 Maccab. x. 67, — 89. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. (l) 1 Maccab. xi. 1, — 12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

Eleutherus in Syria. Thence *Ptolemy* marched to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*; where finding that *Alexander* would not deliver up *Ammonius*, he concluded him to be privy to the Treason; and therefore he took his Daughter from him, and gave her to the young *Demetrius* his Competitor, and made a League with him for restoring him to his Father's Kingdom. The Citizens of *Antioch*, who hated *Ammonius*, took this Occasion to rise against him and kill him, as he endeavoured to escape in Women's Cloaths, and declared against *Alexander Balas*, opening their Gates to *Ptolemy* (a); whom they offered to make their King: But he declaring himself content with his own Dominions, only recommended to them the Restoration of *Demetrius* the true Heir. Which is a plain Proof that he had no Design upon Syria for himself, tho' the contrary be asserted 1 *Maccab.* xi. 1. Whereupon *Demetrius* was received into the City, and placed on the Throne of his Ancestors; and all *Antioch* declared for him. *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, coming thence with his Forces, wasted the Country with Fire and Sword. This brought the two Armies to a Battle; in which *Alexander* being defeated, fled only with five hundred Horse to *Zabdiel*, an Arabian Prince; but was there slain by the Arabian (b), in whom he confided, and his Head sent to *Ptolemy*; who was pleased with the Sight thereof. But his Joy did not last long; for his Horse being frightened with the braying of an Elephant, threw him in the Time of the last Battle, and he received several dangerous Wounds, of which he died in a few Days thereafter. Thus *Alexander Balas* King of Syria, and *Ptolemy Philometor* King of Egypt, both ended their Lives about the same Time, the former having reigned five, and the other thirty five Years; which Event is placed in the Year from the Creation of the World 3804, before our Saviour's Birth 146. *Demetrius* succeeding in Syria by virtue of this Victory, from hence called himself *Nicator*, that is, the Conqueror: But the Succession in Egypt was not so easily determined.

The same Year was rendered famous, by the Destruction of two celebrated Cities, *Carthage* and *Corinth*. In the burning of the latter, all their Brasses being melted down, joining with other Metals, made the (c) famous *Corinthian* Brasses of the Ancients. But I will have Occasion to write of the Coin of these Cities more particularly in the Sequel of this History.

Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, on the Death of King *Philometor* her Brother and Husband (d), endeavoured to secure the Succession for her Son: But he being then young, others set up for *Phyſcon* King of *Cyrene*, Brother to the Deceased, and called him to *Alexandria*; which obliged *Cleopatra* to provide for her self and her Son. *Onias* and *Dositheus* came seasonably to her, with an Army of Jews for her Assistance: But *Thermus* a Roman Ambassador being then at *Alexandria*, Matters were compromised, upon Terms that *Phyſcon* should take *Cleopatra* to Wife, and breed up her Son under his Tuition, as the apparent Heir of the Crown, and in the mean Time should reign himself till the Boy came to be of Age. The Perfidy of *Phyſcon* made all this of no Advantage to *Cleopatra*; for so soon as he had married her, he murdered her Son in her Arms, on the very Day of the Nuptials. Such incestuous Mixtures are often attended with a Curse. This King is commonly called *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, fat bellicd; but he affected to be named *Euergetes*, that is, the Benefactor; which the *Alexandrians* turned into *Kakérgetes*, that is, the Malefactor; for he was the most wicked and cruel of all the *Ptolemies* (e) that reigned in Egypt. He put many to Death almost every Day, some upon groundless Suspensions; some for small or no Faults, and some that he might seize all that they had. Even these who were most forward to call him to the Crown, were many of them the first who suffered by him.

Matters went not much better in Syria, *Demetrius* being young and unexperienced, committed the Management of his Affairs to *Lasthenes* (f), who had hired these *Cretan* Mercenaries, who had brought him to the Crown; and he being a wicked and rash Man run into these Measures that alienated from his Master the Affections of those who should have supported him. One of the first false Steps *Demetrius* made was, that he cut off those Soldiers whom *Ptolemy* his Father-in-law had left in the maritim Towns of Syria and *Phœnicia* (g); which so disgusted the rest of the Egyptian Army that were in Syria; and had placed him on the Throne, that they all left him and returned again to Egypt. Then he proceeded to make a severe Inquisition after those who had been against him or his Father in the late Wars, and put all of them to Death whom he could get into his Power; and thinking he had no more Enemies to fear, he disbanded the greatest Part of his Army, reserving none in his Pay (h) but the *Cretans*, and some other Mercenaries; which so offended the Veterans who had served his Father, and supported him on the Throne, that they made him feel it in the Revolts and Revolutions that after happened. In the mean Time, *Jonathan* finding all quiet in Judea, set himself to besiege the Fortresses which the heathen still held in *Jerusalem* (i); that by expelling them,

(4) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. 1 *Maccab.* xi. 12, — 16. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. 1 *Maccab.* xi. 16, — 19. Diod. Siculus, in Excerptis Photii, cod. 244. (c) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 16, Plinius lib. 34, cap. 2. (d) Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 2. p. m. 1064. Valerius Maxim. lib. 9. cap. 1. Extern. 5. (e) Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 12. cap. 27. Justin, lib. 38. cap. 8. (f) Diod. Sicul. in excerptis Valesii, p. 346. (g) 1 *Maccab.* xi. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. (h) 1 *Maccab.* xi. 38. (i) 1 *Maccab.* xi. 20, — 37. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

them, he might deliver the *Jews* from the Insults which they suffered by them. Accordingly he beset the Place with an Army, and Engines of War, in order to take it; of which Complaint being made to *Demetrius*, he went to *Ptolemais*, and summoned *Jonathan* to give an Account of the Matter. *Jonathan* having ordered the Siege to go on, went himself to *Ptolemais*, taking with him some of the Priests and Elders, with many rich and valuable Presents; and so prudently managed the Matter, as to gain great Favour with the King and Court; for he confirmed him in the High-priest's Office, admitted him into a chief Place among his Friends; and agreed to add to *Judea* the three Præfectures of *Lydda*, *Apherema*, and *Ramatha*, which formerly belonged to *Samaria*; and to free the whole Land of all Manner of Taxes for three hundred Talents to be paid in lieu of them; and then returned to *Antioch*, where by his Methods of Cruelty and Rashness (a) he alienated the People more and more from him, till at length he made them ready for a general Defection. *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, who had formerly served *Alexander Balas* (b), as Governor of *Antioch*, in conjunction with *Hierax*, observing this Situation of Affairs, thought to play a Game for his own Interest, aiming at no less than to put the Crown of *Syria* upon his own Head. To this End he went to *Zabdiel* in *Arabia*, who had the Education of *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander Balas*, and laid before him how favourable an Opportunity now offered for restoring *Antiochus* to his Father's Kingdom; and with some Difficulty prevailed with the *Arabian* to trust this young Prince in his Hands.

In the mean Time *Jonathan* pressed hard on the Siege of the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem*, but finding no Success (c), he sent an Embassy to *Demetrius* to desire him to withdraw the Forces out of that Garrison. *Demetrius* being then very much embarrassed with the Tumults of the *Antiochians*, promised to *Jonathan* that he would do this and much more for him, provided he would send him some Troops against the present Mutineers. Whereupon *Jonathan* dispatched away to him three thousand Men. *Demetrius* confiding in this Recruit, ordered all the *Antiochians* to lay down their Arms; which they refused to do, but rose in a Tumult, to the Number of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, and beset the Palace, designing to slay the Tyrant. The *Jews* coming to his Assistance, fell on the discontented Citizens with Fire and Sword, burning a great Part of the City, and killing of the Inhabitants about a hundred thousand Persons. This brought the rest to pray for Peace; which being granted, the Tumult ceased: And the *Jews* having paid them back for what Injuries they had done to *Judab* and *Jerusalem*, returned laden with Spoils. But *Demetrius*, by his wonted Methods of Cruelty and Oppression, so offended the whole People, that they were ready to execute Revenge on him. And he broke the Bargain he had made with *Jonathan* and the *Jews*: For tho' he had received three hundred Talents to free their Country from Taxes, yet he demanded them, threatening them with War unless they were paid. Mean Time *Tryphon* laid claim to the Crown of *Syria*, for the Son of *Alexander Balas* an Infant, whom he had with him, and a Number of Soldiers whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, with others whom he had made his Enemies, flocked to him, and marched against *Demetrius*, and vanquished him in Battle, forced him into *Sceleucia*, took his Elephants, and made themselves Masters of *Antioch*; and there placed *Antiochus* upon the Throne, giving him the Name of *Theos*, or the Divine. In his Name an Embassy was sent to *Jonathan*, with Letters, whereby the High-priest's Office was confirmed to him, the Grant of the three Toparchies renewed, and a fourth added to them. He was allowed to wear a golden Buckle, and to have place among the King's Friends (d): And *Simon* his Brother was made chief Commander of the King's Forces from the *Ladder*, or Mountain lying between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, to the Borders of *Egypt*, on Condition that these two Brothers should declare for him; which *Jonathan* readily consented to, having just Reason from the Ingratitude of *Demetrius* towards him. A Commission being sent him to raise Forces for the Service of *Antiochus* through all *Calesyria* and *Palestine*, he got together a great Army, and marched round the Country as far as *Damascus*. But the Forces which *Demetrius* had in those Parts, invading *Galilee*, *Jonathan* marched thither to oppose them, leaving *Simon* to command in *Judea* (e). On his first coming into *Galilee*, he was drawn into an Ambush, and was like to have been ruined; for most of his Forces fell into a pannic Fear, and fled, excepting a few valiant Men: But these few making a resolute stand, the rest rallied and gained the Victory. *Simon* in the mean Time laying Siege to *Bethsura*, forced it to surrender, and expelled the Heathen thence, who had been long hurtful to the Country.

Jonathan on his Return to *Judea*, finding all things there in Quiet, sent Ambassadors to the *Romans* to renew the League which they had made with *Judas* his Brother: And on their Return, he ordered them also to renew their League with the *Laoedemonians* (f), and they returned to *Jerusalem* with full Success in all these Negotiations.

Demetrius's Captains encreased his Forces in several Places after the late Defeat, and *Jonathan*

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(a) Justin, lib. 36. cap. 1. Livii epitome, lib. 52. (b) 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 752. Appian. in Syriacis, p. 213. (c) 1 Maccab. cap. xi. 41, — 53. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. (d) 1 Maccab. xi. 54, — 63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. (e) 1 Maccab. xi. 63, — 74. (f) Ibid. xii. 1, — 24. Joseph. lib. 13. cap. 9.

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144.
Jonath.
17.

than went out to meet them as far as *Amathis*, in the utmost Confines of *Canaan*. Having learned by Spies, that their Design was to storm his Camp in the Night, he secured himself so well, as they did not think fit to attack him, but retired over the River *Eleutherus* (a), and *Jonathan* led his Army against the *Nabathæan Arabs*. Having smitten them, and taken their Spoils, he turned his Course towards *Damascus*, and suppressed the Adversaries of *Antiochus* every where; and *Simon* his Brother at the same Time made all the Land of the *Philistines* submit, took *Joppa*, and placed a Garrison in it, expelling the Heathen, who did great Mischief to the Country. After this the two Brothers being returned to *Jerusalem*, called the Sanhedrim (b), and gave Orders to repair and fortify the Walls of *Jerusalem*, where they were decayed or broken down; and that where they were too low, they should be built higher, which was accordingly done; and a Wall or Mount erected between the Fortrefs and the rest of the City, that the Heathen who were in Garrison there, might receive no Provisions; which afterwards forced them to surrender. And at the same Time *Simon* took Care to repair the strong Holds in the Country.

Tryphon thinking his Plot for making away the young *Antiochus Theos*, and seizing the Crown of *Syria* to himself now ripe for Execution, resolved upon it: Only he foresaw that *Jonathan* would not bear so great a Villany, and therefore he determined also if possible to take him off (c). To this End he marched a great Army into *Judea*. At *Bethsan* *Jonathan* met him with forty thousand Men, whom *Tryphon* durst not encounter, but prevailed with *Jonathan* by flattering Words, and perfidious Oaths, of putting *Ptolemais* into his Hands, to dismiss his Army, except three thousand Men, of whom he sent two thousand to *Galilee*, and with the other thousand came to *Ptolemais*, where *Tryphon* with great Treachery caused shut the Gates, made *Jonathan* Prisoner, and put all his Men to the Sword. He also sent Forces to cut off the two thousand in *Galilee*; but they joining close together, put themselves in such a Posture of Defence; as their Enemies durst not attack them, but suffered them to march off to *Jerusalem*; where there was great Lamentation for the Case of *Jonathan*. The Heathen were ready, when the *Jews* were deprived of their Captain, to destroy them; and *Tryphon* resolved on their Ruin (d). But *Simon* called the People to stand to their Defence; and they making Choice of him for their Captain, he led forth an Army against *Tryphon*, which he durst not engage (e); only sent him a deceitful Message, signifying that he had seized *Jonathan*, because he owed a hundred Talents to the King, and if he would send the Money, with *Jonathan*'s two Sons, Hostages for their Father's Liberty, he would set him free. Tho' *Simon* perceived all this was meer Fraud, yet lest he should be blamed in not interposing for so worthy a Brother, he sent both the young Men and the Money. But the Traitor having got his Demands, refused to perform his Promises, invaded the Land again, tho' wherever he came, *Simon* baffled his Designs. The Heathens in the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem*, being straitned by the Blocade, pressed *Tryphon* for Relief, which he promised; but a great Snow falling, made him decamp, and in his Retreat, he put *Jonathan* to Death at *Bascama* in the Land of *Gilead*, after he had governed *Judea* from the Death of his Brother *Judas* seventeen Years, seven Months (f), and had been High-priest nine Years, with a Month or two. *Tryphon* having cut off *Jonathan*, he next caused the young *Antiochus*, Son to *Alexander Balas*, whom he had taken into his Protection, to be secretly murdered; and assuming the Crown, declared himself King of *Syria* (g), and that his Pupil had died of the Stone.

Ant. C. 143. Simon I. When *Simon* heard of his Brother *Jonathan*'s Death, and that they had buried him at *Bascama*, he sent and fetched his Bones thence, which he buried in the Sepulchre of his Father at *Modin*, over which he erected a famous Monument, all of white Marble, curiously wrought, so high as it was seen far off at Sea. Near it he placed seven Pyramids, two for his Father and Mother, four for his Brethren, and the seventh for himself, and encompassed the whole with a stately Portico (h), supported by Marble Pillars, each of a whole Piece. *Josephus* tells us it was remaining entire in his Time (i); and *Eusebius*, who lived above two hundred Years after *Josephus*, speaks of it (k), as if it had been in Being in his Days.

Tryphon, who had usurped the Crown of *Syria*, desiring to have himself acknowledged by the *Romans*, to obtain this Favour, sent a splendid Embassy to the Senate, with a Present of a Golden Image of Victory, to the Value of ten thousand (l) Pieces. But the *Romans* eluded his Expectations; for they received the Image, and wrote on it the Name of *Antiochus* whom he had lately murdered. But the Ambassadors from *Simon*, Governor of the *Jews*, were received with more Respect; for the Senate declared themselves sorry for the Death of *Jonathan*, but glad to hear that his Place was so well filled. They sent out of the City to meet his Envoys (m), received them with Honour, renewed their former Leagues with them; which

(a) 1 Maccab. xii. 24, — 34. (b) 1 Maccab. xii. 35, — 38. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. (c) 1 Maccab. xii. 39, — 52. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 10. (d) 1 Maccab. xii. 53, 54. (e) Ibid. xiii. 1, — 24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 11. (f) Usserii Annales p. m. 343. (g) Justin lib. 36. cap. 1. Epitome Livii, lib. 55. 1 Maccab. xiii. 31, 32. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12. (h) 1 Maccab. xiii. 25, — 30. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. (k) In libro περί τοπικῶν ἱστοριῶν. (l) Diod. Siculus Legat. 31. (m) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16, — 24.

which being engraven on Brasses, were brought to *Jerusalem* and read to the People. The *Lacedæmonians* also renewed their Alliance with them, and authentick Documents of the whole were returned. *Sarpedon*, one of *Demetrius's* Captains, coming into *Phœnicia* with an Army, a Battle happened between him and the Forces of *Tryphon* in those Parts, near the Walls of *Ptolemais*; where *Sarpedon* was vanquished, and retired to the Inland Country. *Tryphon's* Forces returning from the Pursuit to *Ptolemais*, on the Sea Shore a sudden Tide came upon them, and overwhelmed a great many of their Men; and the Sea flowing back with as sudden an Ebb, left the dead Bodies on the Sand, with a Multitude of Fishes mingled with them (a). *Sarpedon's* Men returning, without meddling with the dead Bodies, took up the Fish, and offered them in Sacrifice to *Neptune*, in the Place where the Battle had been before fought, as if they gave Thanks to that Deity for taking Vengeance on their Enemies. But while *Demetrius's* Soldiers were thus fighting for him, he lay idle at *Laodicea* (b), indulging himself in Luxury and Lewdness. The *Jews* being sufficiently provoked by *Tryphon*, and finding him to be a mere Usurper, *Simon* sent a Crown of Gold to *Demetrius*, and Ambassadors to treat with him (c) about Terms of Peace and Alliance, who returned with Letters under his Royal Signature, confirming the Principality and High-priesthood to *Simon*, with the Release of all Taxes and Tributes to the Land, and an Oblivion for all past Acts of Hostility. This being confirmed by the *Jews*, *Simon* was invested with the Government, and the Land declared free from a foreign Yoke: And therefore the *Jews*, instead of dating their Writings and Contracts by the Years of the *Syrian* Kings, as they had hitherto done, in Time to come they dated them by the Years of *Simon* and his Successors: And thus it began to be done in the 170 Year of the *Greeks* (d), before our Saviour's Birth 142 Years.

Simon having thus obtained the Sovereignty, made a Progress over *Judea*, to provide for its Security, and took particular Care to repair the Fortifications of *Bethsura* and *Joppa* (e). The former he made a Place of Arms, and put a strong Garrison in it, the latter he made a Sea-port to *Jerusalem*, being most convenient for the *Mediterranean* Trade. He also reduced *Gazara* (f), which had revolted after the Death of *Jonathan*, but he cast the Heathen out of it, and planted it wholly with *Jews*, and built a House there for himself, when he should have Occasion for it.

The Heathen in the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem*, since *Jonathan* built a Wall round them, which cut them off from all Communication with the rest of the City, were brought to great Distress and Famine, thro' Want of Provisions and other Necessaries, which obliged them to surrender the Place (g), and depart the Land. *Simon* immediately took Possession of this Strength, which had been a grievous Thorn in the Sides of the *Jews* for twenty six Years, even since the Time that *Antiochus Epiphanes* (h) first built it. That it might be no more useful to any Enemy, *Simon* took Care to demolish not only the Fortrefs it self, but also by the Advice of the People, he caused level the Mountain on which it stood, which cost three Years Work; and while this was a doing, he repaired the Outer Wall of the Temple, making it stronger than it was before, and provided Habitations within it for himself, and his Attendants, probably in the Place where the Castle *Antonia* was afterwards built. And *Simon* finding that his Son *John*, afterwards called *Hyrchanus*, was a Man expert in Military Affairs, he made him General of all the Forces in *Judea*, and sent him to live at *Gazara* a Frontier Garrison.

Demetrius was rowzed from his Sloth by several Messages calling him into the East, because the *Parthians* had subdued the whole Country, from the River *Indus* to the *Euphrates*. These of the *Macedonian* Race in those Parts; could not endure such new Masters, who ruled them with Rigour, and therefore promised to assist *Demetrius*: And he, tho' *Tryphon* was at that Time in Possession of a great Part of *Syria*, ventured to go against the *Parthians*, hoping if once he had overcome them, he would soon expell the Usurper. At first he defeated them in several Conflicts (i); but at length being drawn into a Snare, by the Pretence of a Treaty of Peace, he was taken Prisoner, and his Army cut in Pieces. By this Blow, the *Parthian* Empire was so established in those Parts, that it became a Terror to all within their Reach, and even to the *Romans* themselves. *Mithridates*, the Son of *Priapatus*, the Son of *Arfaces* II. the Son of *Arfaces* I. then reigned in *Parthia*; and because he was of the Race of the *Arfacidæ*, he is called by some Authors *Arfaces*. He was a wise and a very successful Prince; for he subdued the *Medes*, *Persians* and *Bactrians*; extended his Dominions beyond *Alexander* the Great's Conquests in *India*, and finally added *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* to his Empire; so that he had *Euphrates* on the West, and *Ganges* on the East, for the Limits of his Dominions. He is said to have gathered from every Nation which he conquered, what he found best in their Constitution, and out of these to have made good Laws for the (k) Government

Ans. C.
141.
Simon 3.

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(a) Athenæus, lib. 8. cap. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 758. (b) Diod. Siculus in excerptis Valefii, p. 355. (c) 1 Maccab. xiii. 34, — 42. xiv. 38, — 41. (d) Ibid. xiii. 41. (e) Ibid. xiii. 33. xiv. 7, 33, 34. (f) Ibid. xiii. 43, — 48. xiv. 7. 34. (g) Ibid. xiii. 49, — 54. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 11. (h) Above p. 348. (i) 1 Maccab. xiv. 1, — 4. Justin, lib. 36, cap. 1. & lib. 41. cap. 5 & 6. & lib. 38. cap. 9. Orosius, lib. 5. cap. 4. (k) Diod. Siculus in excerptis Valefii. p. 361.

vernment of his Empire. After he had got *Demetrius* into his Power, he led him round the revolted Provinces, that they seeing (a) their King a Prisoner, might more easily submit to the *Parthian* Yoke. When this was over, he allowed him Maintenance suitable to the State of a King, sent him to reside in *Hyrcania*, and gave him *Rhodaguna* his Daughter in Marriage, but still detained him Prisoner.

Cleopatra, Queen to *Demetrius*, hearing of her Husband's Captivity in *Parthia*, and of his Marriage, was in great Grief, and shut herself up in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*; where many of *Tryphon's* Soldiers resorted to her: For he being of a brutish and cruel Temper, had concealed this as long as he was courting the Favour of the People; but when *Demetrius* was made Prisoner in *Parthia*, and he possessed of the Crown, he gave loose Reins to his natural Disposition, which many of his Army could not bear, and therefore deserted to *Cleopatra*. But her Party was not yet sufficient to support her; wherefore she sent to *Antiochus*, afterwards called *Sidetes* (b), Brother to *Demetrius* her Husband, inviting him to join his Interest with hers, and offering him the Crown and herself in Marriage; for hearing that her Husband had married *Rhodaguna*, she threw off all Regard to him. *Antiochus* accepting the Offer, took upon him the Title of the King of *Syria*, and wrote a Letter to *Simon* Governor of *Judea*, dated from the Isles of the Sea (c); which seems to be *Rhodes*, (for thither he was sent for Safety in the Wars with (d) *Alexander Balas*) in which Letter he complains of the unjust Usurpation of *Tryphon*; and tells that he is coming to *Syria*, to take Vengeance of that Usurper, and recover his Father's Kingdom, and desires Assistance from *Simon*, making him many Grants, and promising him more when he should be settled on the Throne.

Next Year this *Antiochus* landed in *Syria* with an Army of Mercenaries, married *Cleopatra*, joined her Forces to his own, and marched against *Tryphon*. Most of this Usurper's Troops weary of his Tyranny went over to *Antiochus*, which augmented his Army to a hundred and twenty thousand Foot (e), and eight thousand Horse. *Tryphon* not being able to keep the Field against this powerful Host, retired to *Dora*, a City near *Ptolemais*; where being besieged by *Antiochus* by Sea and Land, he escaped to *Orthosia* in *Phœnicia*, and thence to *Apamia* his Native City. On the Way he is said to have scattered Money in Handfuls, to detain *Antiochus's* Soldiers in the (f) Pursuit. However he was at last taken and put to Death, after he had governed three Years. And *Antiochus* was possessed of his Father's Throne, on which he sat nine Years. He being much given to Hunting (g), had the Name *Sidetes*, that is, *The Hunter*, given him from *Sida*, a Word of that Signification in the *Syriac* Language, or from the City *Sidin* (h) from which he went to besiege *Tryphon*.

Simon having the sovereign Command of *Judea* by the general Consent of that Nation, thought it would be much to his Advantage, if the *Romans* would acknowledge him, and renew their former Leagues and Alliances with him under the Stile and Title which he then bore, of *High-priest* and *Prince of the Jews*; and therefore he sent *Numenius* and others as Ambassadors to them, with a Present of a large Shield of Gold, weighing a thousand *Minae*; which, according to the lowest Computation of an *Attic Mina*, amounted to the Value of fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling* Money. Both the Present and the Embassy were acceptable, and the Senate not only renewed their Alliance with *Simon* and the *Jews* in the Manner desired (i), but also ordered *L. Cornelius Scipio*, one of their Consuls, to write Letters to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, *Ariathes* King of *Cappadocia*, *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, and to all the Cities and States of the Lesser *Asia*, and the Isles, then in Alliance with the *Romans*, to let them know that the *Jews* were Friends and Allies to the *Roman* State; and therefore they should not attempt anything to their Damage, nor protect any Fugitives or Traitors of that Nation, but deliver them up to *Simon*, High-priest and Prince of the *Jews*. The Letters to the *Syrian* King were delivered to *Demetrius*, then Prisoner in *Parthia*, because the other Contenders for that Crown were not acknowledged by the *Romans*; and therefore these Letters were of no Benefit to *Simon* nor the *Jews*. Yea *Antiochus Sidetes* took the first Opportunity to quarrel with *Simon*: For tho' he had sent him two thousand chosen Men, with Gold, Silver, Arms, and other Engines of War, while he was besieging *Tryphon* at *Dora* (k), yet that was never minded; but *Antiochus*, rescinding all that he had formerly promised, sent *Athenobius* with Demands to restore *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the Forts at *Jerusalem*, as belonging to the King of *Syria*, or else five hundred Talents in lieu of them, and five hundred Talents more for the Damages done by the *Jews* within his Dominions. When this Message came to *Jerusalem*, *Simon* answered, That for *Gazara* and *Joppa*, he was content to pay the King a hundred Talents; but as to the rest, they had been the Inheritance of his Forefathers (l), and he was resolved not to part with them. *Athenobius* returning in great Wrath to the King, made report of what *Simon* had said, and added, That he was serv-

(a) Justin, lib. 36, cap. 1. (b) Appianus in Syriacis, p. 214. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, cap. 12. (c) 1 Maccab. xv. 1, — 9. (d) Above p. 364. (e) 1 Maccab. xv. 10, — 14. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, cap. 12. (f) Frontin. Stratagemata, lib. 2, cap. 13. (g) Plutarchi problem. (h) Usserii, Annales ad A. M. 3864. (i) 1 Maccab. xiv. 24, — 27. & xv. 15, — 24. (k) Ibid. xv. 26, — 32. (l) Ibid. x. 32, — 36.

ved in Plate of Gold and Silver, and lived in as great Splendor and Glory as a sovereign Prince. Whereupon *Antiochus* resolved on War; and having made *Cendebeus* Governor of the Seacoast of *Palestine*, sent him with an Army against the *Jews* (a). He marched with his Forces into the Parts near *Jamnia* and *Joppa*; and having fortified *Kedron*, he from thence began to make Inroads, to kill and to plunder the *Jews* (b), and to commit Hostilities in their Land. *John* the Son of *Simon*, who lived at *Gazara* in the Neighbourhood, went and acquainted his Father (c): And *Simon* got together an Army of twenty thousand Foot, with some Horse; but because he was old and infirm, he committed the Command of them to *Judas* and *John* his Sons, who encamped at *Modin* against *Cendebeus*. There soon happened a Battle between them; in which the *Syrians* being overthrown, lost two thousand Men, and with the rest fled to the nearest strong Holds possessed by their Friends. *Judas* being wounded, was forced to stay behind; but *John* pursued them as far as *Azotus*, where he took their Fortresses and Towers, which he burnt with Fire: And the two Brothers having driven the *Syrians* out of those Parts, and settled Matters, returned in Triumph to *Jerusalem*.

If we look into *Egypt* (d), *Ptolemy Physcon* had by this Time reigned there seven Years; during which Space we find nothing on Record concerning him, but monstrous Vices and detestable Cruelties (e), and a great many ridiculous Things that he was guilty of. *Hierax* his chief Minister was the Man who kept the Crown on his Head (f); for he commanded his Armies, and managed all his Affairs, and to this Time kept all things in quiet. Ant. C.
138.
Simon. 6.

Antiochus Sidetes having vanquished and killed *Tryphon*, and wholly broken his Party, did next betake himself to recover the *Syrian* Empire in all such Places and Cities as from the late Distractions that followed upon his Father's Death had revolted from it (g); and having full Success, he settled all things in his Kingdom upon the same Foot on which they were before these Troubles began. Ant. C.
137.
Simon. 7.

But in *Egypt* all things went worse and worse. *Hierax* seems to have been dead, or else his wife Counsels were overborn by the Cruelties and Mismanagements of *Ptolemy Physcon* his Master; who without Cause cut off all those who had called him to the Throne on his Brother's Death, and by his mercenary Soldiers, whom he let loose to commit Murders and Robberies, terrified the *Alexandrians* to that Degree, that most of them fled to other Countries to avoid his Cruelty, leaving their own City in a manner desolate (h). But, that he might not reign over empty Houses, he invited Strangers to repopulate the Place; who in Multitudes flocked thither, and he gave them the same Privileges that the former Citizens had enjoyed. Among those who fled out of *Egypt* on this Occasion, there were many Philosophers, Geometricians, Physicians, Musicians, and other Masters of the liberal Arts and Sciences, who had been encouraged by some of the former *Ptolemies*: And their Banishment at this Time became the Means of reviving Learning in *Greece*, the Lesser *Asia*, the Isles, and other Places, where the Wars of *Alexander* the Great and his Successors had in a manner extinguished it. These *Alexandrians* teaching for a small Matter, drew great Numbers of Scholars to them: And thus several Branches of Literature began to revive in the East and West; and in like Manner the *Greeks*, after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, in the Year of our Lord 1453, helped to disperse valuable Books, and to restore Learning in the West when it was very low. Ant. C.
136.
Simon. 8.

At the same time when Foreigners flocked to *Alexandria* to repopulate it, there came thither *P. Scipio Africanus junior*, *Sp. Mummius*, and *L. Metellus* (i), in an Embassy from the *Romans*. Their Commission was, to pass through *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Asia* and *Greece*, to see and observe how the Affairs of each Kingdom stood, to take account how the Leagues they had made with the *Romans* were observed, and to set Things to rights they found amiss among them: Which Trust they discharged honourably and justly. At *Alexandria*, tho' they were received with great Pomp; yet *Scipio*, then the greatest Man at *Rome*, had no more in his Retinue than one Friend, *Panetius* the Philosopher, and five Servants; and they would take nothing of the sumptuous Fare offered them, but only Necessaries. With this Moderation the *Romans* rose to a great Height; but when their Wealth degenerated into Luxury and Corruption, their Ruin fast advanced. They sailed up the *Nile*, and observed the Fertility and Situation of the Country, and saw that it wanted nothing to make it a potent and formidable Kingdom, but a Prince capable to form it for that End. *Physcon* wanted every good Quality, and had many bad ones: For he was a Monster of Cruelty, Barbarity, Luxury, and polluted with every other Vice; he was of an unpleasant Countenance, short Stature, and most prominent Belly; and over his Body he wore a Garment so thin and transparent, that every thing that should have been concealed was seen through it. He never almost came abroad, but when he ventured out to salute *Scipio*. The *Romans* then had nothing to fear from such a Man.

A a a a a z

Simon,

(a) 1 Maccab. xv. 38, 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 13. (b) 1 Maccab. xv. 40, 41. (c) Ibid. xvi. 1, — 10. (d) See above, p. 366. (e) Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. V. Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1. exter. 5. & cap. 2. exter. 5. (f) D. Siculus, in Excerptis Valesii, p. 361, 362. (g) Justin. lib. 36. cap. 1. (h) Ibid. lib. 38. cap. 8. Athenæi Deipnos. lib. 4. cap. 14. lib. 6. cap. 8. & lib. 12. cap. 27. (i) Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Diod. Siculus, legat. 32. Athenæus, ubi supra. Cicero in somnio Scipionis, c. 2.

Simon, High-priest and Prince of the *Jews*, making a Progress through the Cities of his Territories, to see that all things were well ordered, came to *Jericho*, having two of his Sons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*, with him. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Abubus*, who had married one of his Daughters, being Governor of the Place, invited them to the Castle to an Entertainment: Which they, suspecting no evil Design, accepted of. But the perfidious Wretch, having formed a Design to usurp the Government of *Judea* to himself, and concerted the Matter with *Antiochus Sidetes* King of *Syria*; when his Guests had drunk liberally, he brought forth Assassines who treacherously murdered his Father-in-law *Simon*, and his two Brothers-in-law, with their whole Attendants (a); and thinking immediately to secure *Judea* to himself, sent a Party to *Gazara*, where *John* resided, to slay him also; and wrote Letters to the Officers of the Army in those Parts, with Promises of Rewards to draw them into his Designs. But *John*, called *Hyrcanus*, having notice at *Gazara* of the Murders committed at *Jericho*, fell upon the Party, and cut them off as soon as they approached the Place, and then hasten'd to *Jerusalem* to secure that City and the Mountain of the Temple against the Traitor; and he being declared High-priest and Prince of the *Jews* in place of his Father, took care every where of the Peace and Security of the Country. By these means *Ptolemy Abubus* being defeated of his Expectations, had nothing left to do, but to send to *Antiochus*, to come with an Army and accomplish them by open Force; without which not being able to support himself against *John* in *Judea*, he fled to *Zeno* surnamed *Cotyla*, then Tyrant of *Philadelphia*, to wait till the King of *Syria* should arrive. What became of him afterwards is uncertain; for tho' *Antiochus* came to *Judea*, and a bitter War thereon ensued; yet no more mention is made of this *Abubus*. Tho' the Treason might be acceptable, he could not but abhor such a wicked Traitor and Parricide, and perhaps dealt with him as he deserved. Here ends the whole History of the *Maccabees* contained in the Apocryphal Books of that Name.

Ant. C.
x35.
Jo. Hyr.
tan. 1.1
§. 13. *ANTIOCHUS SIDETES* King of *Syria*, having notice of the Murder of *Simon* and his two Sons, as above related, came into *Judea* with a great Army; and having overrun the Country, and driven *Hyrcanus* out of the Field, shut him up with all his Forces (b) in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him with a great Army divided into seven Camps, whereby he enclosed him all round, and environed the whole with two deep Ditches of Circumvallation and Contravallation, so as none of the Besieged could escape; nor could any Body bring any Relief in to them: So that when *John Hyrcanus* sent some unprofitable Mouths out of the City, which could only consume the Stores, but do nothing for the Defence of the Place, they were so pent up between the Town-wall, and these Ditches, that he was forced to take them in again, to prevent their perishing by Famine. Thus the Siege went on, till the Time of the *Jews* Feast of Tabernacles, which was always kept in the Middle of the first autumnal Moon. At that Time *Hyrcanus* sent to *Antiochus* to ask a Truce during the Festival; which he not only granted, but also sent Beasts, Gold and Silver, Cups full of Spices, and other Things for the Sacrifices. This gave *Hyrcanus* such a Proof of the good Nature of the King his Adversary; and that he was not like, for Impiety, to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who by all Means endeavoured to put Contempt (c) on the Law of *Moses*, as *Josephus*, l. c. observes, that he took Occasion to send another Message for a Treaty of Peace; which was agreed to. And therein *Hyrcanus* having yielded, that the Besieged should lay down their Arms; that *Jerusalem* should be dismantled; and that Tribute should be paid to *Antiochus* for the other Towns he held out of *Judea*. On these Terms Peace was concluded. The King also demanded that the Fortrefs at *Jerusalem* should be rebuilt, and a Garrison received into it: But *Hyrcanus* minding what Mischief the Heathens had formerly done there, would not agree to this, but rather yielded to pay the King five hundred Talents in Room thereof. So much of these Terms as could be presently executed being fulfilled, and Hostages given for performing the rest, one of which was a Brother of *Hyrcanus*, the Siege was raised; and Peace restored to the whole Land nine Months after the Death of *Simon*. That which moved *Hyrcanus* to agree was the Necessity that the *Jews* were reduced to by Want of Provisions; which being known to the Besiegers, many of them advised the King to extirpate the whole Nation whom they called a wicked People, separate from all others (d): But it was owing to the Clemency and Piety of *Antiochus Sidetes*, that Peace was agreed to upon the Terms mentioned.

Of the five hundred Talents promised by the Peace, three hundred were paid down presently; and for the other two, Time was allowed. *Josephus* tells an improbable Story (e), That *Hyrcanus* got three hundred Talents out of the Sepulchre of *David*; and that *Herod* the Great, long after this, digged out of it a great Treasure (f). But 'tis not likely that so much dead Stock should have remained during all the Calamities that had passed over the *Jews* for nine hundred Years, without being touched; nor that when the Temple was plundered and burnt, with the City, in the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and afterwards spoiled by *Antiochus Epiphanes*,

(a) 1 Maccab. xvi. 14, — 23. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 14. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16. (c) Above p. 347. & 349. (d) Joseph. lib. 13. cap. 16. Diod. Siculus in Eclogis lib. 34. (e) Joseph. Antiq. 13. cap. 16. (f) Ibid. lib. 13. cap. 11.

nes, that should never have been meddled with. Nor is the Story that *Josephus* tells in the preceeding Chapter much more probable, as the learned *Primate Usher* (a), and others, have observed. The Sum thereof is (b), *That Hyrcanus besieged Ptolemy Abubus in the Castle of Dagon not far from Jericho. Upon his Approach Ptolemy exposed Hyrcanus's Mother and his Brethren upon the Battlements, whipping and tormenting them, and threatening to kill them unless he would raise the Siege. His Mother, without Regard to her own Sufferings, entreated her Son to take Vengeance on this wicked Man; but at last his Compassion to his Mother made him protract the Siege till the Sabbatical Year came on; in which Abubus having rest, killed the Mother and Brothers of Hyrcanus, and then fled to Cotyla. But 'tis more likely he killed the Father Simon and his two Sons at the same Time, as hath been already related.*

In the first Year of *Hyrcanus*, *Matthias Aphias*, a Priest of the Course of *Joarib*, married a Daughter of *Jonathan*, the late Prince of the Jews, of whom was born *Matthias Curtus*; of this *Matthias* was born *Josephus*, who was the Father of another *Matthias*, of whom was born *Josephus* the Historian (c), in the first Year of the Roman Emperor *Caligula*, being the 37th after Christ's Incarnation.

Scipio Africanus junior, going to the War of *Nimantium* in Spain, *Antiochus Sidetes* sent thither to him very rich and magnificent Presents, which he received publicly (d), while sitting on the Tribunal, in the Sight of his Army, and ordered them to be delivered into the Hands of the *Quæstor* or Treasurer of the Army, for defraying the publick Charges of the War, It being then the Temper of the Romans to do every thing in their Power for the Interest of the Common-wealth, without reserving any Thing to themselves, but the Honour of faithfully serving it. While this Disposition continued they prospered in their Undertakings, but afterwards, when every one plundered the Publick for Self-Interest, Tyranny, and all Calamities came upon them.

§ 14. *ATTALUS* King of *Pergamus* going on in his foolish and wicked Actions (e), took a Fancy of employing himself in the Trade of a Founder; and projecting to make a Brazen Monument for his Mother; while he laboured in the melting and working the Brasse, in a hot Summer's Day, he contracted a Fever, of which he died (f) in the seventh Day; whereby his People had the Happiness of being delivered from a horrid Tyrant: For we have this Account of him (g), That soon after he had possessed the Throne he stained it with the Blood of his near Relations and best Friends of his Family, on Pretence that they had caused the Death of *Stratonice* his Mother, who died of old Age, or the Death of *Berenice* his Wife, who died of an incurable Disease. Others he killed upon groundless Suspicions, cutting off their Wives, Children, and whole Families. Which Executions he did by the Hands of Mercenaries, whom he had hired out of barbarous Nations. After this he withdrew from publick Appearances, and putting on sordid Apparel, without trimming, behaved himself like one condemned for some great Crime; and neglecting the Affairs of the Government, he betook himself to his Garden, where he digged the Ground himself, and sowed it with poysonous and wholesome Seeds, so as the bad infected the good; and sent them in Presents to his Friends. In these wild and cruel Actions he wore out the Remainder of his Life. At his Death he left the Romans Heirs of all his Goods (h). By virtue of which Will they seized the Kingdom, and reduced it to the Form of a Province called *Proper Asia*. But *Aristonicus* the next Heir did not tamely submit; and it cost the Romans the Loss of *Licinius Crassus*, one of their Consuls, and an Army with him, and four Years War, before they could thoroughly settle themselves in the Possession of the Country. And here ended the *Pergamenian* Kingdom, which included once the greater Part of the lesser *Asia*, after it had continued during the Succession of six Kings.

§ 15. IN the thirty eight Year of *Ptolemy Euergetes II.* (i), called also *Physcon*, *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, a Jew of *Jerusalem*, coming into *Egypt*, and settling there, wrote or translated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, for the Use of the *Hellenistical Jews*, the Book of *Jesus* his Grandfather, named in the *Apocrypha Ecclesiasticus*; which is a Collection of Sayings made by *Jesus* the Grandfather, *Sirach* the Son, and *Jesus* the Grandson in *Greek*; for the *Hebrew* Original is now lost. Tho' there be many valuable moral Sayings and Precepts therein, yet there are such Errors also, as plainly prove the Book not to be canonical, nor of divine Authority; particularly in Chap. xxiv. 10. this Author renders that Text, *Prov. viii. 22. The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way; the Lord created me*, taking *ἐν τῷ* for *ἐν τῷ*. In Chap. xlv. 23. he makes the true *Samuel* after his Death to speak to *Saul*; whereas it was only an Apparition, or the Devil called up by that wicked Woman at *Endor*, to represent *Samuel*. Also by a very dangerous Error the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii. 4,—10. expoundeth the Prophecy in *Malachi* iv. 5, 6. of *Elias* himself to come before the *Messiah*; whereas 'tis evident from the New Testament, *Luke* i. 17. *Mark* ix. 11,—17, That this Prediction is to

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(a) *Annales ad annum ante Christum* 135. (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 15.* (c) *Joseph. de vita suâ.* (d) *Epitome Livii, lib. 57.* (e) *Justin lib. 36. cap. 4.* (f) *Ibid.* (g) *Justin ibid. Diod. in Siculus in excerptis Valefii, p. 370.* (h) *Florus, lib. 2. cap. 20. Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto. Justin lib. 36. cap. 4. Plutarchus in Gracchis.* (i) *Ecclesiasticus in Prologo, §. 9.*

be understood of *John the Baptist*, who came in the spirit and power of *Elias*. Besides, what safe Sense do these Words admit of? *Ecclesiasticus* xxxviii. 15. *He that sinneth against his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physicians.* And finally, this Author, in his Preface, v. 6, craves Pardon, *if he have not attained the sense of some Words which he endeavoured to translate*; which is unbecoming the Authority of a canonical Writer. The *Jews* have now a Book among them called, *The Book of Ben Sira* (a); but any Body who will compare it with that of *Ecclesiasticus*, will see no Resemblance between the two, except in the Authors Names.

Ant. C.] § 16. *DEMETRIUS NICATOR* having been several Years detained as a Prisoner in
131. *Hyr-* *Hyrkania* by Order of the King of *Parthia*, *Antiochus Sidetes* his Brother, under Pretence of
Jo. Hyr- effectuating his Deliverance, marched with a powerful Army into the East, against (b)
can. 5. *Phraates* the *Parthian*. The Army consisted of above eighty thousand Men appointed for War: But the Instruments of Luxury that followed them, as Sutlers, Cooks, Confectioners, Musicians, Stage-players, Whores, &c. are said to have been three hundred thousand, which at last caused the Ruin of the whole. At first *Antiochus* had full Success; for he overthrew *Phraates*, in three Battles, and recovered *Babylonia*, *Media*, and some other Provinces that formerly belonged to the *Syrian* Empire, excepting *Parthia* only, which remained with *Phraates*. *Hyrkanus* Prince of the *Jews*, accompanied him in this Expedition (c); and having had a Share in all the Victories that were obtained, returned with the Glory of them in the End of the Year. But the rest of the Army wintered in the East; and by Reason of their numerous Train, were forced to disperse all over the Country, oppressing the Inhabitants in every Place: And therefore the *Parthians* gathered together, and in one Day cut their Throats in their several Quarters, before they could gather to support one another. *Antiochus* with the Forces about him, hastning to help his Men that lay next him, was overpowered and slain; and his whole Army and Attendants were destroyed or made Captives. In the mean Time *Demetrius* was returned to *Syria*; where on his Brother's Death he recovered the Kingdom: For *Phraates* being thrice vanquished by *Antiochus*, had released him from his Captivity, and sent him back into *Syria*, hoping that by raising Troubles there, he might force *Antiochus* to return for suppressing them: But when the *Syrians* were cut off, he sent a Party of Horse to bring him back again, tho' *Demetrius* being aware of them, was got out of their reach: And having recovered his Country, he made great Rejoicings (d), when all the rest of *Syria* was in great Sorrow for the Loss sustained in the East, there being scarce a Family in the Country that had not a Part in it. *Phraates* caused the Body of *Antiochus* to be taken up from among the dead; and having put it in a Silver Coffin, sent it into *Syria* to be buried among his Ancestors. And finding a Daughter of *Antiochus* among the Captives (e), he was smitten with her Beauty and took her to Wife. Being puffed up with this Victory, he thought to have marched his Army into *Syria*, but found himself entangled with a War against the *Scythians*. He had called them to assist him against the *Syrians* (f); but the War being ended before they came, he denied them their Wages, and therefore they turned their Arms against him.

John Hyrcanus Prince of the *Jews*, took the Advantage of the Death of *Antiochus*, and these Disturbances in *Syria*, not only to enlarge his Territories, by seizing *Madeba*, *Samaga*, and several other Places in *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*, and adding them to his Dominions, but also after this Time, to make himself absolute and independent. For after this, neither he nor any Prince of *Judea* that descended from him (g), owned any further Homage or Subjection to the Kings of *Syria*.

In the mean Time *Ptolemy Physcon* King of *Egypt*, went on in his Luxury, Cruelty and Tyranny (h). He deflowred *Cleopatra* his Wife's Daughter by Violence, and then married her, having divorced her Mother, to make Room for her (i). Having by his Cruelty driven out the old Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, and repeopled it with new ones, by his Wickedness he made himself as odious to them as to the former; for he ordered his Mercenaries to surround the young Men in the Place of publick Games, and put them all to Death. The People being exasperated, rose in a Tumult and set Fire to his Palace to burn him in it; but he made his Escape to *Cyprus*, with the young *Cleopatra* his Wife, and *Memphitis* his Son. On his Arrival there, hearing that the People of *Alexandria* had put the Government of the Kingdom into the Hands of *Cleopatra* his divorced Wife, he hired an Army of Mercenaries to make War against them. While he lay at *Cyprus*, fearing that the *Alexandrians* would make his Son, whom he had appointed Governor of *Cyrene*, King in his stead, he sent for him and put him to Death: By which Barbarity the *Alexandrians* being further provoked, pulled down all

(a) Huetii Demon. Evang. Prop. 4. cap. de Ecclesiastico. (b) Justin, lib. 38. cap. 10. Orosius lib. 5. cap. 10. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 1. ext. 4. Aelian de Animalibus, lib. 10. cap. 34. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16. (d) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1. (e) Idem lib. 38. cap. 10. (f) Idem lib. 42. cap. 1. (g) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Justin lib. 36. cap. 1. (h) See of him above p. 366, 371. (i) Justin, lib. 38, cap. 8. Valer. Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1 & 2, ext. 5. Epitome Livii, lib. 54.

all his Statues in their City ; which he interpreted to be done at the Infliction of *Cleopatra* his divorced Queen ; and to be revenged, he caused *Memphitis* a hopeful Son he had by her, to be killed before his Face, and cutting his Body in Pieces, put them in a Box with the Head, to shew to whom it belonged, and sent it by one of his Guards to *Alexandria*, ordering him to present it to *Cleopatra* on the Anniversary of her Birth ; which was accordingly done ; and the Sight turned their Musick into Mourning, but excited the People to raise an Army ; over which the Queen made *Marsyas* General, to defend the Country against this Tyrant.

Hyrchanus Prince of the *Jews* having taken *Shechem* the Prime Seat of the *Samaritans*, destroyed their Temple on Mount *Gerizzim* (a), which had been there built by *Sanballat*. But they had still an Altar in that Place, on which they offer Sacrifices according to the Levitical Law, even to this Day. After this, *Hyrchanus* conquered the *Edomites* or *Idumæans* (b), taking from them the Cities of *Adora* and *Marissa* ; and reduced them to this Necessity, either to embrace the *Jewish* Religion and be circumcised, or leave their Country. They chose the former, and became incorporated with the *Jewish* Church (c), and reputed one People with them : So that about the End of the first Century, the Name of *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, was swallowed up in that of *Jews*. Ant. C.
129.
Jo. Hyrc.
7.

Phraates the *Parthian* having drawn upon him a dangerous War with the *Scythians* (d), committed a great Oversight in the Management thereof : For having taken great Numbers of the *Grecian* Mercenaries, who had followed *Antiochus Sidetes* in his Expedition against him, and used them cruelly, on the breaking out of this new War, he listed these very People among his Forces. When they had got Arms into their Hands, remembring with what Tyranny and Insolence *Phraates* had used them, they went over to the *Scythians* in the Day of Battle, and so cut off *Phraates* and most of his *Parthian* Army. The *Grecians* and *Scythians* having plundered the Country, contented themselves with this Revengc, and both returned to their own Land. On their Departure, *Artabanus* the Uncle of *Phraates*, took the Crown of *Parthia* ; but he being in a few Days slain in Battle by the *Thogrians*, another Nation of the *Scythian* Race, was succeeded by *Mithridates*, who for his remarkable Actions was called *The Great*.

Ptolemy Physcon having got together an Army, sent it against the *Alexandrians* under the Command of *Hegelochus* his General ; who in a Battle got the Victory over *Marsyas*, General for the *Alexandrians*, whom he took Prisoner, and sent in Chains to *Physcon* ; who, contrary to every body's Expectation, pardoned him ; for now he run upon an Extreme of Clemency. *Cleopatra*, the divorced Queen, being distressed by the Loss of her Army, sent to *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, who had married her eldest Daughter by *Philometor*, for his Assistance (e), promising him the Crown of *Egypt* for his Reward ; which Proposal *Demetrius* cheerfully accepting, marched into *Egypt* with all his Forces, and there laid Siege to *Pelusium*. Ant. C.
128.
Jo. Hyrc.
8.

About this Time *Hyrchanus* sent an Embassy to the *Romans* (f), to renew the League made between them and *Simon* his Father ; which was consented to by the Senate : And whereas *Antiochus Sidetes* had made War upon the *Jews*, contrary to what the *Romans* had decreed, besieging *Jerusalem*, and forcing them to a disadvantageous Peace ; they ordered all this to be made null and void : That the Cities of *Gazara*, *Joppa* and others, taken from the *Jews*, should be restored, free of Homage, Tribute or other Services : That the *Syrians* should have no Liberty to march through their Territories : That Reparations should be made to them for what Damages the *Syrians* had done contrary to the League with *Simon* : And that Ambassadors should be sent to see all this executed. And it was further decreed, That the *Prætor* *Fannius* should pay the *Jewish* Ambassadors the Expences of their Journey homeward, and that Letters should be writ to all Princes and States confederate with the *Romans*, to give them a safe and honourable Passage in their Way. All which was done : And this rejoiced *Hyrchanus* and the *Jewish* Nation.

And therefore the next Year they sent to *Rome* another Embassy, by *Alexander* the Son of *Jason*, *Numenius* the Son of *Antiochus*, and *Alexander* the Son of *Dorotheus*, to return their Thanks for the said Decree, and in acknowledgment thereof to present them with a Cup and a Shield, both of Gold, to the Value of fifty thousand Gold Pieces of their Money ; which was kindly accepted of, and a new Decree granted, ratifying all that was done in the former War in their favour. *Josephus* (g) reciteth the Decree at large, but by some strange Mistake it is placed in the Time of *Hyrchanus* II. in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, after the Walls of *Jerusalem* had been pull'd down by *Pompey* ; which could not be, as hath been observed both by the learned *Primate Usher* (h) and *Dr. Prideaux* (i). For *Numenius*, one of the Ambassadors mentioned in the Body of the Decree, was the same Man who had been sent to *Rome* by Ant. C.
127.
Jo. Hyrc.
9.

B b b b b 2

Jona-

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. (b) Ibid. & lib. 15. cap. 11. (c) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. (d) Justin. lib. 42. cap. 1, 2. (e) Ibid. lib. 38. cap. 9. & lib. 39. cap. 1. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 227. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. (g) Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 16. (h) Annales mundi ad annum ante Christum 127. (i) Connection, Part 2. p. 312.

Jonathan (a), who might have been alive in the ninth Year of *Hyrcaus* I. but can never be supposed to be living and able to go about Business in the Reign of *Hyrcaus* II. a hundred Years after *Jonathan*'s Time. Nay these things were done when the *Jews* were a free People; and Allies with the *Romans*, as in the Time of *Hyrcaus* I. and not when they were subdued by, and Tributaries to the *Romans*, as in the Time of *Hyrcaus* II.

§ 17. *DEMETRIUS* King of *Syria*, having by his tyrannical Government; and vicious Manners which he had learned in *Parthia* (b), rendered himself as odious to the *Syrians*, as *Phyſcon* was to the *Egyptians*, they took Advantage of his Absence at the Siege of *Pelufium* to rise in Rebellion against him. The *Antiochians*, the *Apamæans*, and then other Cities joined in the Revolt; which obliged *Demetrius* to hasten out of *Egypt*, and look to his own Interest at home. *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* being deprived of his Support, put her Treasure into Ships, and fled to *Ptolemais*; where she met with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Syria*, her Daughter by *Philometor* her first Husband, who resided there. Upon her Flight out of *Egypt*, *Ptolemy Phyſcon* returned to *Alexandria*, there being no Power then to oppose him. When he had settled himself in *Egypt*, to be revenged on *Demetrius*, he set up an Impostor against him, who was called *Alexander Zebenna*, a Son of a Broker in *Alexandria*, who feigned himself to be the Son of *Alexander Balas*; under which Title he claimed the Crown of *Syria*; and Multitudes joined him out of the great Aversion they had to *Demetrius*. At length the Controversy was brought to the Decision of a Battle; fought near *Damascus* in *Cœlesyria*; where *Demetrius* being overthrown, fled to *Ptolemais* to *Cleopatra* his Wife. But she, retaining Resentments against him for marrying *Rhodaguna* while in *Parthia*, took this Opportunity to be revenged, by shutting the Gates of the City against him: Whereupon he fled to *Tyre*, and was there slain; four Years after his Return from *Parthia*. After his Death *Cleopatra* retained some Part of the Kingdom, and *Zebenna* reigned over all the rest; for some of the *Syrian* Coins (c) yet retain his Name. He seems to have granted the *Tyrians* their Liberty, as an Acknowledgment for killing *Demetrius*; for from this Year (d) they commence a new Epocha. To secure himself in the Government, he made a strict League with *John Hyrcanus* Prince of the *Jews* (e); and *John* made all the Advantage of these Divisions which might be expected from so wise a Man, for establishing the Interest of his Country.

Ant. C. 125. *Jo. Hyrc.* 11. A great Flood of Locusts coming into *Africa* about this Time, destroyed the Fruits of the Earth (f); and afterwards these Insects being by the Wind driven into the Sea, and drowned, and being by the flowing of the Tide again cast up on the Land, caused such a Stench as poisoned the Air, and produced a most terrible Pestilence, which in *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and other Parts of *Africa*, destroyed above eight hundred thousand Persons.

Ant. C. 124. *Jo. Hyrc.* 12. *Seleucus*, the eldest Son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now about twenty Years of Age, took upon him to reign in *Syria* in his Father's stead, contrary to his Mother's Inclination; and therefore, she having caught him within her Power, slew him with her own Hands, by thrusting a Dart through him (g), after he had reigned only one Year.

Antipater, *Clonius* and *Æropus*, three of *Zebenna*'s chief Officers, having revolted from him to *Cleopatra*, seized *Laodicea*, and there endeavoured to maintain themselves against him: But he having soon reduced them; out of his great Clemency pardoned them all (h); for he was a Person of a very mild Temper, which made him be beloved by those who liked not the Cheat whereby he usurped the Crown.

This Year died *Mithridates Euergetes* King of *Pontus*, being slain by the Treachery of some of those who were about him (i), and was succeeded by his Son the famous *Mithridates Eupator*, who maintained a War with the *Romans* for the Empire of *Asia*, for about thirty Years; of which more particularly in the Sequel of this History. He was about twelve Years old when he began to reign. He lived seventy two Years (k), and reigned Sixty; and is said to have been descended from a long Series of Kings, who reigned in *Pontus* for sixteen Generations before him, down from the Time of (l) *Darius Hystaspis*. At the Time of his Birth there appeared a very great Comet for 70 Days together (m), and the like again shined at his Accession to the Crown; the Tails thereof seemed to be so great, as to take up one Quarter of the Hemisphere, and displayed their Rays so bright for four Hours together, as the Heavens seemed all to be in a Flame. This seemed to portend that this Prince would be a great Incendiary in the World: And so it proved; for he begun his Reign with the Murder of his Mother and Brother, and the rest of his Actions were of a Piece; for he was a Person of great Abilities, but employed them to the Ruin of Multitudes of People.

Cleopatra the Relict of *Demetrius* having killed her eldest Son, as hath been related, found it necessary to have one with the Name of a King to countenance her Authority; and therefore

(a) 1 Maccab. xii. 16. (b) Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. (c) Ufferii Annales ad A. M. 3877. (d) Ibid. ad annum ante Christum 126. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. (f) Livii Epitome, lib. 60. (g) Ibid. Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 227. (h) Diod. Siculus, in Excerptis Valeſii, p. 377. (i) Justin, lib. 37. cap. 1. Strabo, lib. 10. p. 477. (k) Eutropius, lib. 6. p. m. 64. (l) Prideaux's Connect. part. 2. p. 316. (m) Justin, lib. 37. cap. 2.

fore she sent for *Antiochus* her other Son by *Demetrius* from *Athens*, where he had been for his Education; and on his Arrival declared him King of *Syria*, designing to keep the Authority to her self; which she hoped easily to do, since he did not then exceed the twentieth Year of his Age; and indeed he for some Time complied with her. To distinguish him from several other Kings of *Syria* of the Name of *Antiochus*, he is commonly called *Γρυπς*, or *Grypus*, from his Hook Nose (a).

Alexander Zebenna being puffed up with his Success, began to despise every Body, and even *Ptolemy Physcon*, who had advanced him to be King of *Syria*; and therefore *Physcon* being reconciled to Queen *Cleopatra* his Niece, married his Daughter *Tryphæna* to *Antiochus Grypus* her Son, and sent an Army into *Syria*, whereby *Zebenna* was overthrown, and forced to flee to *Antioch*, where he endeavoured secretly to rob the Temple of *Jupiter*, and to carry off the Statue of that Deity, all of massy Gold, with an Image of Victory of the same Metal (b), to furnish him with Money to pay his scattered Troops. But being discovered in the Attempt, the *Antiochians* rose and drove him away: And after shifting from Place to Place, he was taken Prisoner, brought to *Grypus*, and killed.

Next Year *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* being Consuls at *Rome*, the Seasons proved so good, that all the Fruits of the Earth were beyond what they used to be at other Times; and especially their Wine of that Vintage remained according to *Pliny* (c) to his Time, that is, about two hundred Years, and tasted like fine rough Honey, being the famous *Opimian* Wine, so called from the Name of the Consul.

Upon *Zebenna's* being vanquished and slain, *Antiochus Grypus* coming to Maturity of Age, began to take on him the Authority, as well as the Name of a King, whereby the Power of *Cleopatra* in the Government became very much eclipsed, which she could not bear; and to recover the same, she resolved to cut off her Son *Grypus* (d), as she had done *Selencus*, and to call to the Crown a younger Child whom she had by *Antiochus Sidetes*, in whose tender Years she might fix her self in the Administration for all the following part of her Life. To execute this Wickedness, she provided a strong Cup of Poison for *Grypus*, as he came home hot and weary from Exercise. But he having Notice of the Design, forced her self to drink it off, which put an End to her wretched Life. She had been the Wife of three of the *Syrian* Kings, namely, of *Alexander Balas*, *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the Mother of four Princes, viz. *Antiochus*, Son to *Alexander Balas*, *Selencus*, and *Antiochus Grypus*, Sons to *Demetrius*, and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, Son to *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had occasioned the Death of two of her Husbands, and had murdered one Son with her own Hand, and designed to do the like with another: But her Mischiefs returned upon her own Head. She being dead, *Grypus* settled his Affairs, and reigned several Years without Disturbance.

Ptolemy Physcon King of *Egypt* having reigned there from the Death of *Philometor* his Brother twenty nine Years, died at *Alexandria*, and put an End to a wicked Life, and tyrannical Reign; many Instances whereof have been already related. He left behind him three Sons; the eldest, named *Apion*, he had by a Concubine (e); the other two by *Cleopatra* his Niece, whom he married after divorcing her Mother (f). The eldest of these was called *Lathyrus*, and the other (g) *Alexander*. By his Will, he left the Kingdom of *Cyrene* to *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, in Conjunction with one of her Sons whom she should make Choice of (h). She looking on *Alexander* as likelier to comply with her, offered to make Choice of him: But the People not bearing that the eldest should be put by his Right, forced her to send for him from *Cyprus*; where, in his Father's Lifetime she had procured him to be banished, and admit him to reign in Co-partnership with her; but before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, she forced him to divorce *Cleopatra*, the eldest of his Sisters, whom he had taken to be his Wife, and dearly loved, and to marry in her stead *Selene* his younger Sister, who was not so acceptable to him.

Antiochus Grypus in *Syria*, after he had enjoyed his Throne eight Years in Peace, designed to prepare for a War against the *Jews*, but was prevented by Commotions raised against him by *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, his half Brother, being the Son of *Cleopatra*, his Mother, by *Antiochus Sidetes* his Uncle, born while her former Husband *Demetrius* was Prisoner in (i) *Parthia*. On *Demetrius's* Return to *Syria*, *Cleopatra* removed this Boy to *Cyzicus*, a City lying on the *Propontis* in lesser *Myfia*, where he was educated by *Craterus* a faithful Eunuch; and from thence had the Name of *Cyzicenus*. *Grypus* being jealous of him, endeavoured to have him removed by Poison: Which being discovered, *Cyzicenus* was forced to arm for his Life, as well as for the Crown of *Syria*. *Cleopatra*, whom *Ptolemæus Lathyrus* King of *Egypt* was forced to divorce, disposed of her self in Marriage to *Cyzicenus* (k); and having got an Army together in *Cyprus*, she offered her Husband the Help thereof instead of a Dowry. By these Means his Forces being made equal to those of his Brother, he came to a Battle with him, wherein *Cyzicenus*

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(a) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 1. (b) Ibid. cap. 2. (c) Plinii nat. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 4. & 14. (d) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 2. Appianus in Syriacis, p. 132. (e) Justin lib. 39. cap. 5. Appian in Mithridat. in fine. (f) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. (g) Trog. Pompeius in Prolog. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. (h) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Justin, lib. 39. cap. 2. Appian in Syriacis, p. 132. Above p. 370. (k) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3.

cenus being overthrown, fled to *Antioch*, and there left his Wife, and went to recruit his broken Forces. *Grypus* laid Siege to *Antioch*; and having taken it, *Tryphæna* his Wife earnestly desired to have *Cleopatra* delivered into her Hands, tho' her own Sister, that she might put her to Death. But *Cleopatra* having taken Sanctuary in one of the Temples, *Grypus* used all Arguments to dissuade his Wife from such a wicked Action; tho' she being moved by Jealousy and Revenge, would hearken neither to Reason nor Affection, but sent Soldiers, who killed the unfortunate Lady, while embracing the Image of their Deity, to which she had fled for Refuge. *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, Mother to both these Sisters, expressed no Regard for either; but to strengthen her self, made *Alexander* her younger Son King of *Cyprus* (a), that she might be assisted by him against *Lathyrus* his Brother, when Occasion should require.

Ant. C. The Death of *Cleopatra* in *Syria* did not go long unrevenge; for *Cyzicenus* having drawn
 112. another Army together, fought a second Battle with his Brother; and having gained the Vi-
Jo. Hyrc. ctory, and in the Pursuit having got *Tryphæna* into his Power, he sacrificed her to the Ghost
cap. 24. of his murdered Wife (b). By this Victory *Grypus* being driven out of *Syria*, fled to *Aspendus* in *Pamphylia*; whence he is sometimes called *Aspendus* (c): But the next Year returning from thence with an Army, he again recovered a great part of his Dominions; and the two
Ant. C. Brothers parting the *Syrian* Empire between them, *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damascus* over *Cale-*
 111. *syr*ia and *Phœnicia*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the rest. Both Brothers were very excel-
Jo. Hyrc. sive in their Luxury and Follies (of which the Curious may see a larger Account in the Au-
cap. 25. thors (d) at the Foot of the Page) and indeed so were most of the latter *Syrian* Kings: And to this, and to their fatal Divisions, they owed the Loss of their Empire, for they were Men most unworthy of it.

Ant. C. § 18. WHILE these two Brothers in *Syria* were harassing each other in War, or wasting
 110. themselves in Luxury, *John Hyrcanus* enjoyed in Peace the Fruits of the Land of *Judea* (e),
Jo. Hyrc. whereby he encreased in Riches and Power. Whereupon he resolved to reduce *Samaria*, and
 26. to this end sent *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, two of his Sons, to besiege that City; which obliged the Inhabitants to send to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, King of *Damascus*, for Relief; who coming with a great Army, was encountered by the two Sons of *Hyrcanus*, who defeated, and pursued him as far as *Scythopolis*, where he hardly escaped. The Victors returned, and pressed the Siege so hard, that the *Samaritans* were forced to send a second Time to *Cyzicenus* for
Ant. C. Support. But he not having Forces sufficient for such an Attempt, desired the Assistance of
 109. *Ptolemy Lathyrus* King of *Egypt*; who sent him six thousand Auxiliaries, contrary to the In-
Jo. Hyrc. clinations of *Cleopatra* his Mother. Upon their Arrival, *Cyzicenus* joined them with what
 27. Force he had; yet durst not openly face his Enemy, but spent his Time in harassing the open Country, hoping thereby to draw the *Jews* from the Siege. But this failing, and finding his Army, by Surprizes, Desolations and other Casualties, much diminished, he retired to *Tripoli*, leaving *Callimander* and *Epicrates* to pursue the War: The former of which rashly venturing on an Enterprize too hard for him, was cut off with all his Party; and the latter coming to an Agreement with *Hyrcanus*, for a Sum of Money delivered to him *Scythopolis*, with other Places the *Syrians* had in that Country. *Samaria* being thus deprived of all further Hopes of Relief, was forced, after it had held out a Year's Siege, to surrender into the Hands of *Hyrcanus*; who entirely demolished the Place, not only pulling down the Houses and Walls, but even drawing Trenches cross the Ground, to be filled with Water, that it might never be rebuilt. This was not done merely from the Hatred which the *Jews* bore to the Sect of the *Samaritans*; for the Inhabitants of that City at this Time were of the *Syro-Macedonian* Race, and of the Heathen Superstition. *Alexander* the Great expelled (f) the *Samaritans* who worshipped God in Mount *Gerizzim*, and they retired to *Shechem*, which hath been the chief Seat of their Sect ever since; and the same Prince planted *Samaria* with a Colony of *Macedonians*, *Greeks* and *Syrians*, and they were of their Posterity when *Hyrcanus* took the Place. From this Time *Samaria* continued in its demolished State, till *Herod* the Great rebuilt it, and gave it the Name of *Sebaste*, in honour of *Augustus*. After this Victory, *Hyrcanus* became Master of all *Judea*, *Galilee* and *Samaria*, and of other Places in the Skirts of the adjacent Country; whereby he made himself so powerful a Prince, that none of his Neighbours durst debate with him, but he enjoyed the Remainder of his Time in quiet from foreign Wars. *Josephus* (g) also informs us, that at this time Providence favoured the *Jews* not only in their own Country, but they were also prosperous in *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*, and in *Cyprus*: For *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, not confiding in her Son *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, had two *Jews*, *Celchias* and *Ananias*, Sons of that *Onias* who built the *Jewish* Temple in *Egypt*, as her chief Favourites, who commanded all her Forces, and directed all her Counsels, and for their Sake she favoured their whole Nation.

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(a) Pausanias in Atticis, cap. 9. p. m. 21. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 225. (b) Justin, lib. 39. cap. 3. (c) Porphyrius ubi supra. p. 227. (d) Athenæus ex Posidonio. lib. 5. cap. 9. & lib. 12. cap. 19. Diod. Siculus in excerptis Valerii, p. 385. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17, 18. (f) Above, p. 270. (g) Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

In the latter End of *Hyrcanus's* Life, he met with some Trouble from the *Pharisees*, a busy and mutinous Sect. They, by their Pretences to more than ordinary Strictness in Religion, had great Interest among the common People; and therefore *Hyrcanus* endeavoured to gain them to his Side. He had been bred up in their Discipline, professed to be of their Sect, and had always given them great Encouragement; and to ingratiate himself further with them, he invited some of their leading Men to an Entertainment, where he told them (a), *That the fix'd Purposes of his Mind had always been, to be just in his Actions towards Men, and to do all things towards God that should be well pleasing to him, according to the Doctrine which the Pharisees taught; and desired, that if they saw any thing wherein he failed of his Duty, they might give him their Instructions, that he might amend it.* In answer to this Speech, the *Pharisees* all approved his Conduct; only one ill-natured Person, named *Eleazar*, stood up, and addressing himself to *Hyrcanus*, said, *Since you desire to be told the Truth; if you would approve your self a just Man, quit the High-priesthood, and content your self with the Government of the People.* *Hyrcanus* asking what Reason there was for this, *Eleazar* replied, *Since you desire to be told the Truth, it is because we are assured, by the Testimony of the Antients, that your Mother was a Captive taken in the Wars; and therefore, as born of her, you are incapable of the High-priesthood, and cannot hold it by Law.* The Law which this *Pharisee* pointed at, seems to be *Levit. xxi. 14, 15. Deut. vii. 3.* But the Matter of Fact, as *Josephus* (b) assures us, was false, and a notorious Calumny; and therefore the Objection was disapproved by all that were present. But it occasioned great Disturbances: For *Hyrcanus* not being able to bear, that his Mother should be defam'd, and his Birth and Capacity for the High-priesthood called in question, was much provoked. About the same time, *Jonathan*, a zealous *Sadducee*, (of which Sect we shall have occasion to write in the next Part of this Essay) and an intimate Friend of *Hyrcanus*, observing how far he was disobliged, set himself to draw over the Prince to his own Party. To this end he affirmed, that *Eleazar* spoke out this false Story as the Mouth of his own Faction; and he might only ask what Punishment the Calumniator deserved. Which *Hyrcanus* complying with, the chief *Pharisees* answered, *That Calumny and Defamation were no capital Crimes, and could be punished no further than by Whipping or Imprisonment.* Whereupon *Hyrcanus* became a bitter Enemy to the whole Sect of the *Pharisees*, abrogated their traditional Constitutions, and renouncing their Party, went over to that of the *Sadducees*.

Hyrcanus did not live long after this; for he died the next Year, having been from the Death of *Simon* his Father, High-priest and Prince of the *Jews* twenty nine Years. *Josephus* (c) makes him also a Prophet, telling us, *That he foretold that Aristobulus and Antigonus his two eldest Sons would not live long after him, and that the Succession of the Government should come to Alexander his third Son, as accordingly happened; and also, that when his two eldest Sons vanquished Antiochus Cyzicenus in Battle, it was made known to him that very Moment in which the Victory was gained, tho' he was then at Jerusalem, at a great Distance from the Field.* Granting that he guessed truly at some of those Things which concerned his own Family, about which his Mind was much employed, I do not see that this makes him a Prophet, or one divinely inspired. But 'tis more justly spoken to his Honour, that he was the Founder of the Castle *Baris* (d); which was the Palace of the *Asmonæan* Princes at *Jerusalem*, as long as they reigned there. When *Simon* his Father had destroyed the Fortrefs on Mount *Acra*, which an Heathen Garrison had kept there for several Years (e), he built Fortifications round the Mountain of the Temple, and within these he erected a House for himself, which seems to be the same which *Hyrcanus* afterwards built into the Castle *Baris*: It stood on a steep Rock fifty Cubits high, or seventy five Foot, without the Outer Court of the Temple, and was a Square Building of two Furlongs in Compass, that is, of half a Furlong (f), or three hundred Feet on every Side. Here *Hyrcanus* and his Successors of the *Asmonæan* Family dwelt; and here they laid up the Pontifical Stole or sacred Robes of the High-priest, to be ready on every Occasion. Thus it continued to the Time of *Herod* the Great; who being made King of *Judea*, and observing the Convenience of the Place, new built it, cased over the Rock of seventy five Foot high with polished Marble; whereby he rendred it impossible for any to climb up that Way; and on the Top of the Rock he erected a Tower called *Antonia*, in Honour of *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir*, who then governed in these Parts. We have frequently in the New Testament the Captain of the Temple mentioned (g): For he commanded a Garrison at this Castle, till at length the Temple, this Fortrefs, and the sacred Robes there laid up, were all destroyed in the Conflagration and entire Desolation of the City *Jerusalem* by *Titus* and the *Romans*. After *Hyrcanus* broke with the *Pharisees*, he lost the Affections of the common People, which created great Troubles to him and his Posterity, as we shall afterwards hear.

Hyrcanus dying this Year, left five Sons behind him: The first was named *Aristobulus*, the second *Antigonus*, the third *Alexander*, and the fifth *Abshalom* (h); what was the Name of the

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fourth

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.* (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. 20.* (d) *Ibid. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.* (e) See above p. 369. (f) See *Lightfoot* of the Temple, chap. 7. (g) *Luke xxii. 52. Acts iv. 1. & v. 24, 26.* (h) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19 & lib. 14. cap. 8.*

fourth is no where said. *Aristobulus* being the eldest, succeeded his Father in the Office of High-priest and supreme Governor of the Country. As soon as he was settled, he put a Crown upon his own Head, and assumed the Title of King, being the first that did so since the *Babylonish* Captivity (a). His Mother, by virtue of her Husband's Will, claiming a Right to the Sovereignty, *Aristobulus* cast her into Prison, and there starved her to Death. As to his Brothers, *Antigonus* the eldest next himself, being for a while much in his Affection, he at first had a Share in the Government with him; the other three he shut up in Prison, and kept them there as long as he lived.

Ptolemy Lathyrus King of *Egypt* having incurred his Mother's Displeasure, for sending an Army into *Palæstine* against the *Jews* (b), which *Chelshias* and *Ananias*, two *Jews* who governed her Counsels, opposed, as what might tend to the Prejudice of their Nation; she carried it so far against him for this and some other Attempts of reigning without her (c), that having first taken his Wife *Selenè* from him, (by whom he had at this Time two Sons, who afterwards died before himself) she drove him out of the Kingdom. To effectuate this Purpose, she caused some of her favourite Eunuchs to be wounded, and bringing them into the publick Assembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended that they had suffered in Defence of her Person against *Lathyrus*, who had made an Attempt against her Life, which so incensed the People, that he was obliged to make his Escape aboard of a Ship for his own Safety. *Cleopatra* having so far gained her Design, called *Alexander* her younger Son, who had for some Years reigned in *Cyprus*, and having made him King of *Egypt*, forced *Lathyrus* to be content with *Cyprus*, which *Alexander* had left.

Aristobulus having settled his Authority at *Jerusalem*, made War upon the *Ituræans* (d), and subduing the greatest Part of them, forced them to become Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion, or else to leave their Country: And thus did the *Asmonæan* Princes often deal with those they conquered. *Ituræa*, which was afterwards called *Aurontis*, lies on the North East Side of the Land of *Israel*, opposite to *Samaria*, and was named from *Itur* (e), one of the Sons of *Ismael*. *Aristobulus* returning sick to *Jerusalem*, left his Brother *Antigonus* to finish the War in *Ituræa*. While he lay ill, the Queen and her Favourites were still telling him Stories against this Brother; who having finished the War in *Ituræa*, returned in Triumph to *Jerusalem*, just as they were celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles; and that he might perform his Devotions at that solemn Time, marched with his armed Guards about him straight to the Temple. *Aristobulus* then lying sick at the Palace of *Baris*, adjoining to the Temple, was told that his Brother came to execute some evil Design against him. The sick Prince sent Orders to his Brother *Antigonus* to put off his Armour (f), and come immediately to him; at the same Time he caused place his Guards in the Way thro' which his Brother was to pass, and ordered them if he came unarmed, they should let him go, but if otherwise, they should kill him. The Messenger, instead of desiring *Antigonus* to come unarmed, being corrupted by the Queen and her Party, told him, that the King hearing he had a very fine Suit of Armour on, desired to see him with it: Whereon he passed thro' a subterranean Gallery armed as he was, and the Guards according to their Orders, fell upon him and slew him. This Fact was no sooner done, than *Aristobulus* grievously repented of it; and minding also how guilty he was of the Murder of his Mother, his Conscience flew in his Face for both, and brought on him a vomiting of Blood. While the Servant was carrying out the vomited Blood in a Basin, he happened to stumble, and spill it in the Place where *Antigonus*'s Blood was shed: At which the Company made some Noise, which *Aristobulus* hearing, obliged them to tell the whole Story; whereupon a grievous Remorse seized him for both these Murders, and in this Agony he died, having reigned only one whole Year. *Josephus* (g) tells us of one *Judas* an *Essene*, who foretold that *Antigonus* would be killed at *Straton's* Tower that very Day. He took this for the City afterwards called *Cæsarea*, two Days Journey from *Jerusalem*; and therefore was vexed when he saw him safe in the Temple: But when the News came of his Murder, he found the Gallery where it was done was just under *Straton's* Tower in the Entry of the Palace.

Aristobulus, who in his Infancy was called *Judas*, was in his Lifetime a great Favourer of the *Greeks*, and therefore called *Philellen*; and the *Greeks* had as great a Value for him: For *Timagenes*, an Historian of theirs, as *Josephus* (h) tells us out of *Strabo*, (whose History is now lost) said, That he was a Prince of Equity, who in many things had been very beneficial to the *Jews*; for he augmented their Territories, ingrafting into the *Jewish* State Part of the Nation of the *Ituræans*, and binding them to it by the Bond of Circumcision. But his Actions already related give him another Character, and his dreadful Terrors at Death may make great Men afraid to commit wicked Actions, tho' the Torments of Hell were not to punish them eternally.

So soon as *Aristobulus* was dead, his Wife *Salome* (i) discharged his three Brothers out of Prison;

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19.* (b) Above p. 378. (c) *Justin, lib. 39. cap. 4.* *Pausanias in Atticis. cap. 9. p. m. 21.* (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19.* (e) *Gen. xxv. 15.* *1 Chron. i. 31.* (f) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 29.* & *de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.* (g) *Ibid.* (h) *Ibid.* (i) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20.*

Prison; and *Alexander* surnamed *Jannæus*, who was now the eldest, took the Kingdom. From his very Birth, his Father *Hyrcauus* had some Displeasure at him, and never suffered him to come in his Sight as long as he lived, but caused educate him in *Galilee*; because, says *Josephus*, an Oracle told him, that neither *Aristobulus*, nor *Antigonus* his elder Sons, whom he loved, but this *Alexander* his third Son would succeed him in the Government of *Judea*. Upon *Alexander*'s Advancement, his Brother next in Age having endeavoured to supplant him, he caused him to be put to Death. But the other Brother, named *Abfalom*, being content to live a private Life, had his Favour and Protection; and we find that he having married his Daughter to the younger Son of *Alexander* his Brother, he engaged in his Cause against the *Romans*, and was made Prisoner by them on *Pompey*'s taking the Temple (a), forty two Years after this.

§ 19. If we look into other Parts of the World, we may find the two Brothers, *Antiochus* *Cyrius* and *Cyzicenus*, the one reigning at *Antioch*, and the other at *Damascus*; and still harassing each other with Wars (b). Some Cities that had been formerly under the *Syrian* Empire, took Advantage of this Situation of Affairs to assert their Liberties; as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, *Gaza* and others: And Tyrants took Possession of other Places; as, *Theodorus* of *Gadara* and *Anathus* beyond *Jordan*, and *Zoilus* of *Dora*, and *Straton*'s Tower, afterwards called *Cæsarea*. At the same time *Cleopatra* and *Alexander* her youngest Son possessed *Egypt*, and *Ptolemy* *Lathyrus* her eldest Son reigned in *Cyprus*. In this Condition were neighbouring Countries when *Alexander Jannæus* became King of *Judea*.

Alexander, when he had settled his Affairs at home, led forth his Forces to make War with the People of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquished them in Battle, shut them up within the Walls of their City; who thereupon sent to *Ptolemy* *Lathyrus*, then reigning in *Cyprus*, to come to their Relief; but fearing this might draw Forces out of *Egypt* against them, they resolved to desire him to delay his coming. But *Lathyrus* having shipp'd thirty thousand Men aboard his Fleet, landed them in *Phœnicia*; and finding that the City *Ptolemais* did not seek his Help, he resolved to succour *Zoilus* Prince of *Dora*, and the City *Gaza*, whose Territories *Alexander* wasted, while with the main Body of his Army he carried on the Siege. *Jannæus* thinking it dangerous to venture a Battle with *Lathyrus*'s Troops; marched home, and entered into a Treaty with him, engaging to pay him four hundred Talents of Silver on condition that he would deliver *Zoilus* with the Places which he held. *Lathyrus* accepted the Terms, and seized *Zoilus* and his Territories, with Intention to have delivered him up. But finding that *Alexander Jannæus* was at the same time treating with *Cleopatra*; to bring her upon him with all her *Egyptian* Forces, he resolved to be revenged both upon *Alexander* and the City *Ptolemais*, for the ill Usage he had received from them (c). Which he found occasion to do next Year; for he besieged *Ptolemais* with one Part of his Army, while with the other he marched to invade the Territories of *Alexander* in *Judea*. He took *Asochis*, a City in *Galilee*, and in it got ten thousand Captives, with much Plunder; and after this he laid Siege to *Sepphoris*, another City of *Galilee*. *Alexander* understanding all this, prepared an Army of fifty thousand, or as others say, of eighty thousand (d), to defend his Country: Which brought on a bloody Battle between them near the Banks of *Jordan*, where *Alexander* being vanquished, lost thirty thousand of his Men, besides those who were taken Prisoners; and *Lathyrus* having got the Victory, pursued it to the utmost. Yea *Josephus* (e) tells us an odd Story of his Cruelty, for which he quotes *Strabo* and *Nicolaus* for his Authors: That finding some Villages near his Camp full of Women and Children, he caused them all to be killed, and their Bodies cut in Pieces, and put into Caldrons over the Fire to be boiled, to leave an Opinion in the Country that his Men fed upon humane Flesh; to create Dread and Terror. After this Defeat, *Alexander* being in no Condition to resist his Enemy, he must have been undone, had he not been relieved next Year; which was ordered thus:

Cleopatra Queen of *Egypt*, apprehending that if her Son *Lathyrus* King of *Cyprus* should make himself Master of *Judea* and *Phœnicia*, he would soon be able to invade *Egypt*, and recover his Kingdom from her, she thought it proper to put a Stop to his Progress. To this end, without Loss of Time she prepared an Army, under the Command of *Celchias* and *Ananias*, two Jews before (f) mentioned, and with them sailed to *Phœnicia*; where she landed her Army, and by the Terror thereof made *Lathyrus* quit the Siege of *Ptolemais*, and retire to *Cœlesyria*. After him she sent *Celchias* with one Part of the Army, and with the other she demanded Entrance into *Ptolemais*; which being refused, she invested the Place (g). While *Celchias* was pursuing *Lathyrus* in *Cœlesyria*, he died, which defeated the Design of that Expedition; and *Lathyrus* took the Advantage to march his Troops into *Egypt*, hoping that in his Mother's Absence he might find that Kingdom unprovided to resist him, and soon become Master of it. But he was disappointed: For the Forces *Cleopatra* had left there made good their Ground, till she sent Succours to them out of *Phœnicia*; which forced him to leave *E-*

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.* (b) *Ibid. Justin. lib. 39. Appian. in Syriacis.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 10.* (d) *Ibid. & cap. 21* (e) *Ibid.* (f) *Above, p. 380.* (g) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.*

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gypt, to return to *Palestine*, and winter at *Gaza*. While this was a-doing, *Cleopatra* took *Ptolemais*; whither *Alexander Jannæus* came, and made her many Presents: But his Enmity with *Lathyrus* her Son was the Thing that made him most acceptable. There indeed wanted not some, who advised her to seize *Alexander*, and to subdue *Judea*. But the Opinion of *Ananias* her General, That such treacherous Dealing to an Ally would make her universally hated, and especially by all the Jews scattered up and down the World, diverted her from this Design. So *Alexander* returned safe to *Jerusalem*, where he recruited his broken Forces, and made up a good Army, with which he besieged *Gadara*.

Ant. C. 101. Al. Jannæus 5. *Ptolemy Lathyrus* finding that he was able to do no more in *Palestine*, returned back to *Cyprus*, and *Cleopatra* sailed back to *Egypt*. Thus *Judea* was happily free of both. She on her Return to *Alexandria*, understanding that her Son *Lathyrus* was carrying on a Treaty at *Damascus* with *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, for obtaining his Assistance again to invade *Egypt*, and recover that Kingdom, gave *Selene* her Daughter, whom she had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus* to Wife; and with her sent him many Troops of Auxiliaries, and large Sums of Money to enable him to renew the War upon *Cyzicenus* (a) his Brother. Whereupon Civil Wars breaking out between them, *Cyzicenus* was able to give no Assistance to *Lathyrus* against *Egypt*, and thus the Design became abortive. *Ptolemy Alexander* her other Son, who reigned in *Egypt* with her, being terrified with the cruel Usage with which she persecuted his elder Brother, taking away his Wife by Violence, and giving her to his Enemy; and observing that she stuck at nothing that stood in the Way of her Ambition, left the Kingdom, chusing rather to live in Banishment with Safety, than with so cruel a Mother in Danger of his Life. But with Difficulty he was persuaded to return; for the People would not allow her to reign without one of her Sons swaying the Scepter by the Name of a King; and indeed this was all she allowed them as long as she lived.

Ant. C. 100. Al. Jannæus 6. *Alexander Jannæus*, after a Siege of ten Months, took *Gadara*; and from thence marched to *Amathus*, one of the strongest Fortresses beyond *Jordan*, where *Theodorus* the Son of *Zeno*, Prince of *Philadelphia*, had laid up his Treasure (b). This Place he took in less Time than *Gadara*, with all the Treasure. But *Theodorus* fell upon him with a powerful Army suddenly; and having overthrow him, and killed ten thousand of his Men, recovered all his own Money, and also all the Enemies Baggage. Thus *Alexander* returned to *Jerusalem* with considerable Loss; which his Enemies, especially the *Pharisees*, improved to his Disadvantage. Notwithstanding this, the *Jewish* King understanding, that on *Lathyrus's* Departure for *Cyprus*, the *Phœnician* Coast was left without Defence, he marched thither, and made himself Master of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, within a few Miles of *Gaza*, whereby he in a Manner blocked up that City: For the *Gazeans* having called in *Lathyrus*, and helped him to gain that Battle near *Jordan*, where so many Jews were killed, *Alexander* resolved to be revenged on them, and therefore laid close Siege to their City. *Apollodotus*, who commanded the Place, defended it with great Valour for a whole Year, and made several successful Sallies. In one of which he made the *Jewish* Army to think that *Lathyrus* was coming against them with a great Force, which struck them with pannick Fear: But when Daylight appeared, and they saw the contrary, they drove the *Gazeans* into their City, with the Loss of one thousand Men. At length *Lysimachus* most treacherously killed his Brother *Apollodotus*, who made a gallant Defence, and delivered the City to *Alexander*. At his first Entry he carried with Clemency; but when he had got thorough Possession, he let loose his Soldiers to kill, plunder and destroy; which produced a great Scene of Barbarity: For the *Gazeans* standing to their Defence, the Jews lost almost as many Men in the Saccage as they killed of the Enemy. But at last *Alexander* ruined the City (c), and returned to *Jerusalem*.

Ant. C. 98. Al. Jannæus 8. This Year died *Antiochus Grypus* King at *Antioch*, being slain by the Treachery of *Heraclion*, one of his Dependants, in the twenty seventh Year of his Reign, and forty fifth of his Life (d). He left behind him five Sons, namely, *Selencus* who succeeded, *Philip* and *Demetrius*, Twins, *Demetrius Eucærus*, and *Antiochus Dionysius*. All these reigned or at least attempted to reign in their Turns.

Ant. C. 96. Al. Jannæus 10. *Ptolemy Apion*, King of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, the Son of *Physcon* King of *Egypt*, dying without Issue, gave that Kingdom by his Testament to the Romans, who gave all the Cities their Liberties (e); and this immediately filled them with Tyrants, which brought all the Country into Confusion; which was in some Measure composed by *Lucullus* (f), on his coming thither in the *Mithridatic* War; but could not fully be removed, till the Country was at last reduced to the Form of a Roman Province.

Antiochus Cyzicenus seized *Antioch* (g), and endeavoured to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom, to the Exclusion of the Sons of *Grypus* his Brother; but *Selencus* having possessed

(a) Justin lib. 39. cap. 4. Livii Epit. lib. 68. in fine. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, cap. 21. (c) Ibidem. (d) Ibid. Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri, p. 227. (e) Epitome Livii. lib. 70. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis. (f) Plutarchus in Lucullo. (g) Græca Eusebiana Scaligeri, p. 227.

possessed many other Cities, drew great Forces after him, to make good his Right to his Father's Dominions.

Alexander Jannæus entering into the Temple at *Jerusalem*, to officiate as High-priest, at the Feast of Tabernacles, had an Affront there offered him by the People; some pelting him with Citrons (a), and giving him opprobrious Words; which enraged him to that Degree, that with his Soldiers, most of whom were Mercenaries, he killed six thousand Jews; and to secure himself from suffering any more the like Affront, he surrounded the Court of the Priests, within which stood the Altar of Burnt-offerings, and the Temple, with a wooden Partition. His Father *Hyrcanus* having differed with the *Pharisees*, and joined the *Sadducees* (b); and this Prince having followed his Father's Footsteps, became the Occasion of this and many other Disturbances: For after this he durst not trust the Jews to guard his Person, but called in foreign Mercenaries to this Purpose out of the *Cilicians* and *Pisidians*, of whom he had six thousand about him (c). With these and twenty thousand Jews of his own Sect, he passed over *Jordan*, and made War upon the *Arabians*, whom he overcame in several Conflicts, and made the Inhabitants of the Land of *Moab* and *Gilead* Tributaries to him.

Seleucus growing powerful in *Syria*, *Antiochus Cyzicenus* marched out of *Antioch* against him; but being vanquished in Battle (d), he was taken Prisoner and put to Death. Whereupon *Seleucus* made himself Master of *Antioch*, and of the whole *Syrian* Empire, but was not able to keep it long: For *Antiochus Eusebes*, the Son of *Cyzicenus* (e) having on *Seleucus's* taking *Antioch*, by the Assistance of a Courtezan, made his Escape out of that Place, and come to *Aradus*, he was there crowned King. And having got his Father's Soldiers and others about him, made up a considerable Army, with which he marched against *Seleucus*; and having obtained a great Victory over him, forced him to flee to *Mopsuestia*, a City in *Cilicia*, for Refuge, where having oppressed the Inhabitants with intolerable Exactions, he provoked them so far that they rose in a Tumult, and besetting the House where he was, put Fire to it, and there burnt him to Death. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the Twin Sons of *Grypus*, to revenge this, marched straight, with all the Forces they could get, towards *Mopsuestia*; and having taken the Place, razed it to the Ground, and sacrificed all they found in it, to the Ghost of their murdered Brother. But in their Return from this Exploit, they were fallen upon by *Eusebes*, near the River *Orontes*, and put to the Rout. *Antiochus*, one of the Twins, endeavouring to swim the River with his Horse, to make his Escape, was drowned: But *Philip* the other Twin, making a safe Retreat, kept most of his Forces together, and recruiting them with fresh Men, was able to keep the Field. So the Contest for the *Syrian* Empire was now between *Antiochus Eusebes*, the Son of *Cyzicenus*, and *Philip* the third Son of *Antiochus Grypus*, each of these, having great Parties on Foot, miserably harassed the Country in their continual Wars.

In the mean Time, *Alexander Jannæus* pursuing the good Success which he had in the last Year's Expedition beyond *Jordan*, carried on the War further on that Side, and invaded the Territories of *Theodorus* the Son of *Zeno* Prince of *Philadelphia*. His chief Design was to take the Fortrefs of *Amathus*, with the Treasure and fine Things there deposited, which *Alexander* had taken about seven Years before (f), and *Theodorus* had recovered them. But at this Time *Alexander's* Name was become so terrible by his many late Successes in these Parts, that *Theodorus* durst not stand his coming; but carrying off his Treasure to *Gerasa*, and withdrawing his Garrison, he deserted the Place (g); whereupon *Alexander* took the Fortrefs without Opposition, and razed it to the Ground.

In *Syria*, *Antiochus Eusebes*, the Son of *Cyzicenus*, to strengthen himself in the Kingdom, had married *Selene* the Relict of *Grypus*. She being an active Woman, had taken Possession of some Part of the *Syrian* Empire on her Husband's Death, and had got Forces to maintain her self in it. This Marriage offending *Lathyrus* King of *Cyprus*, whose Wife she had first been, he sent to *Cnidus*, where *Demetrius Encærus* the fourth Son of *Grypus* had been for his Education (h), and settled him on the Throne at *Damascus*. *Eusebes* and *Philip* being at War against each other, could not hinder this: For tho' *Eusebes* received Accession to his Strength, by marrying *Selene*, yet *Philip* pursued his Quarrel against him; and at length having drawn him into a decisive Battle, gave him a total Overthrow, which forced him to fly to *Parthia* for his Safety (i): Whereupon *Philip* and *Demetrius* became possessed of the *Syrian* Empire.

Alexander King of *Judea* making an Expedition into *Gaulonitis*, a Country lying on the East Side of the Lake *Genesareth*, and there engaging in a War against *Obedas* an *Arabian* King, was drawn into an Ambush; wherein he lost most of his Men, and himself hardly escaped (k), near *Gadara* a City in *Gilead*. *Alexander* fled to *Jerusalem*; where the People, who before did not love him, were now so exasperated as to rise in Rebellion against him, hoping to com-

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 3. (b) Above, p. 379. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22. (d) Ibid. cap. 21. Trogus in Prolog. 40. (e) Appian in Syriacis, p. 133. Euseb. Scaligeri, p. 227. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. (f) Above p. 382. (g) Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 3. (h) Appianus in Syriacis, p. 215. (i) Eusebius in Chronico ad Olymp. 171. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21, & de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 3.

pafs his Destruction : But he soon got together Forces fufficient to oppofe them, and this produced a civil War between him and his People, which lafted fix Years, and brought great Calamities upon both.

I might here give fome Account of the Rife and Progrefs of the *Mithridatick* War, between *Mithridates* Empator King of *Pontus*, fupported by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* on the one Side, and the *Romans* on the other. But I defign a compendious History of the *Roman* Affairs, from the Building of their City to the Birth of our Saviour in the next Part of this Effay, where the Actions of *Mithridates* will come in our Way : And therefore, I now haften to put a Period to this Chapter, if once I had brought the *Syrian* Kings of the *Macedonian* Race to their End, and obferved what happened to the *Jews* during that Time, and to the *Egyptians*.

Ant. C. *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* being weary of her Son *Alexander*, and of the joint Authority
89. which he held with her in the Government of the Kingdom, laid Designs againft his Life, that
Al. Jan- being free of him, ſhe might reign alone. But he being informed, prevented the Plot by cut-
ting her off, making the Miſchief return upon her own Head (a). She was a Monster of Wick-
ednefs, as her Actions declare, and deſerved Death, had it come from any other Hands than
thoſe of her own Son. When the *Alexandrians* heard that the Mother died by the Parricide of her Son, they drove him into Banifhment, and ſent to *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, to whom they reſtored the Kingdom, as by Right belonging to him ; which he held without Interruption to the End of his Life, about eight Years after (b) this. *Alexander* the next Year after his Banifhment, got ſome Ships together to attempt a return into *Egypt*, but was encountered at Sea by *Tyrrhus* Admiral to *Lathyrus's* Fleet ; and being vanquiſhed by him, fled to *Myra* in *Lyſia* ; from whence afterwards, failing towards *Cyprus*, for executing ſome Deſign that he had upon that Iſland, he was met by *Chæreas*, another Sea Commander for *Lathyrus*, and being overborn by him perished in the Fight.

In the mean Time the Civil War went on in *Judea* between *Alexander Jannæus* and the *Jews* his Subjects ; and tho' he had the better of them in all Encounters, yet he could not bring them to ſubmit. To procure Peace, he offered to grant them any Thing they ſhould deſire : They all answered, *then let him cut his own Throat* (c). But becauſe they wanted Forces able to revenge their Cauſe againſt their Native Prince, they ſent to *Damaſcus* to call *Demetrius Eucærus*, who then reigned there, to their Aſſiſtance ; and upon their Invitation, he came into *Judea* with an Army conſiſting of three thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot, *Syrians* and *Jews*. *Alexander* encountered him with ſix thouſand two hundred Greek Mercenaries, and twenty thouſand *Jews*, but was overthrown with ſo great a Slaughter, that he loſt all his Greek Mercenaries, and the greater Part of his other Forces ; and was driven with the poor Remnants of his broken Army to the Mountains ; where he was relieved by an unexpected Turn of Fortune : For the *Jews*, that had been his Enemies, had ſuch Compaſſion on him, that ſix thouſand of them went over to him. *Demetrius* fearing that the reſt would revolt too, departed out of *Judea* : And ſoon after marched againſt his Brother *Philip*, and having taken *Antioch* from him, forced him into *Bærrhea*, now called *Aleppo*, and there beſieged him with an Army of ten thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe. But *Straton* Prince of *Bærrhea* and Friend to *Philip*, called thither *Zizus* an *Arabian* King, and *Mithridates Sinaces* a *Parthian* Commander ; who having vanquiſhed *Demetrius*, and taken him Priſoner (d), ſent him to *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, who entertained him kindly till he fell ſick and died. After this Victory, *Philip* releaſed all the *Antiochians* who were taken Priſoners in the Fight and Deſeat, and ſent them home without Ranſom ; which ſo far ingratiated him with that City, that on his Return thither, he was received with the general Acclamation of the People ; and for ſome Time he reigned over *Syria* without a Competitor.

Ant. C. *Alexander Jannæus*, having got together an Army after the Retreat of *Demetrius*, vanquiſhed
88. the rebellious *Jews* in all the Conſlicts he had with them, yet could bring them to no Terms
Al. Jan- of Peace. But next Year he gave them a terrible Blow in a deciſive Battle ; for he cut off
neus 18. the major Part of them in the Action, and drove thoſe who ſurvived into *Bethome* (e), where he beſieged them ; and ſoon after having taken the City, and all thoſe who fled thither for Refuge, he carried eight hundred of them to *Jeruſalem*, and there crucified them all in one Day, and cauſed their Wives and Children to be ſlain before their Face, while they hung dying on the Croſſes ; which was a Severity not to be juſtified. While this was a doing he made a Feaſt for his Wives and Concubines near the Place of Execution (f), the Sight whereof was a main Part of the Entertainment. From hence *Alexander* had the Name of *Thracidas*, or the *Thracian* ; theſe People being moſt infamous for barbarous Cruelties ; and indeed this was a moſt inhumane Action. However it had this Effect, that the Remainder of the Rebel Party being terrified by it, fled the Country. And after this *Alexander* had no more Diſturbance at

(a) *Justin*, lib. 35. cap. 4. *Eusebius* in *Chronico* ſub *Olymp.* 171. *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, p. m. 21. in *Editione* *Lipſii* 1696. (b) *Porphyrius* in *Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri*. p. 225. (c) *Joſeph.* *Antiq.* lib. 13. cap. 21 & 22. (d) *Ibid.* cap. 22. (e) *Ibid.* (f) *Ibid.* cap. 23. & de *Bell. Jud.* lib. 1. c. 4.

at home to the Day of his Death. Thus ended this Rebellion, after it had lasted six Years, and had cost the Lives of 50000 Jews (a) who opposed their King.

About this Time Anna the Prophetess, the Daughter of Phanuel, of the Tribe of Asher, became a Widow; and, without marrying any more, gave her self up wholly to the Service of God, Luke, ii. 36, 37. in the Temple, with Fasting and Prayer Night and Day.

Antiochus Dionysius, the youngest of the five Sons of Grypus (b), while his Brother Philip was employed in the northern Parts of Syria, seized Damascus, and reigned there: But Philip returning, when Antiochus Dionysius was making War upon Aretas King of Arabia Petraea, got again into Damascus, by the Help of Milesius the Captain of the Castle. Philip not rewarding Milesius as he expected, he took the Opportunity while his new Guest was abroad, to shut the Gates against him, and keep the City for Antiochus, who hearing of the Invasion, returned out of Arabia (c), and had his capital City restored to him again. Whereupon Philip retreating, Antiochus made another Expedition against Aretas, with an Army of eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, taking his Way through Judea, being the best Road. Alexander Jannæus, jealous of his Designs, for twenty of our Miles, between Joppa and Antipatris, drew Lines, which he fortified with wooden Towers at a convenient Distance from each other. But these proved of no Effect: For Antiochus coming the same Way, burnt the Towers; and breaking through the Lines and Ditches, passed into Arabia; where he was surprized at a Disadvantage by Aretas, slain in Battle, and had most of his Forces cut off, and the rest who escaped, got into a Village called Cana, where they perished for Want of Bread. Whereon Aretas became King of Coele Syria, not by Conquest after this Victory, but by Election of the People of Damascus, in Opposition to Ptolemy the Son of Mennæus Prince of Chalcis, whom they liked not. So soon as Aretas was settled in the Government, he made an Expedition into Judea against Alexander, and had the better of him in a Battle near Adida; but a Treaty being commented between them, all further Hostilities were superseded by the Peace.

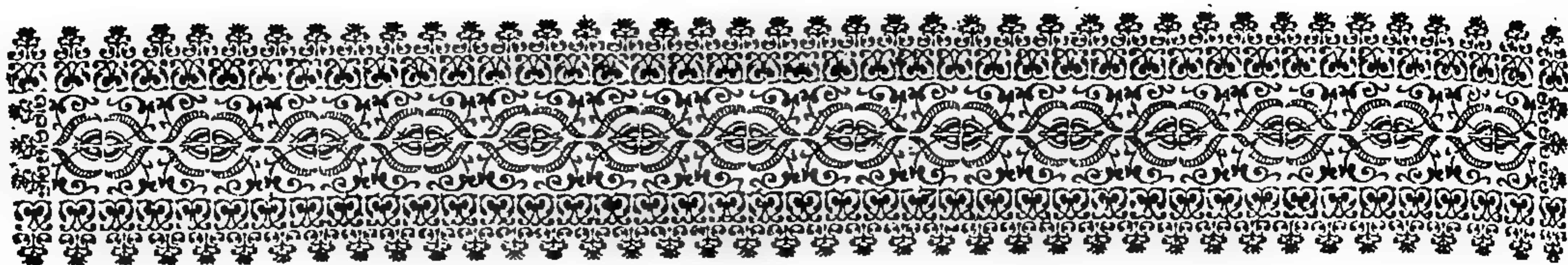
Many Places on the Borders of Arabia having revolted from Alexander, while he was engaged in Wars with the Jews his rebellious Subjects, he being now free of these Troubles, marched over Jordan to reduce them; and having taken Pella and Dia, sat down before Gerasa (d), to which Place Theodorus the Son of Zeno had removed his Treasure, upon deserting Amathus, as already (e) related, which Alexander taking the City gained. And after this he enlarged his Conquests beyond Jordan, where he took Gaulana, Seleucia, and other Places, and made himself Master of the Valley of Antiochus, and strong Fortrefs of Gamela. One Demetrius was Master of these, whom Alexander turned out and made him Prisoner. And at that Time the Jews were possessed of many Parts of Phœnicia, as Straton's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, and Rhinocorura. They extended their Conquests in Idumæa, and over Adora, Marissa, Samaria, and over to the Mountains Carmel and Tabor, also to Scythopolis and Gadara, to the Towns of Moab, Heshbon, Medeba, Lemba, Zara and Pelta; which last they destroyed, because the Inhabitants would not receive the Jewish Rites. Alexander returning to Jerusalem, after he had been absent from it three Years on this Expedition, was received with the joyful Acclamations of the People for his great Successes (f). Then enjoying full Ease, he gave himself up to Luxury and Drunkenness, whereby he contracted a quartan Ague, which he could never get rid of as long as he lived; but died of it three Years after this, as shall be observed in the Sequel of this History.

The Syrians being weary of the continual Wars made in their Country, by the Princes of the Race of Seleucus, debating about the Sovereignty, and not being able to bear the Devastations, Bloodshed, and innumerable Calamities which they endured upon these Occasions, resolved to reject them all at once, and to call in some foreign Prince to rule over them, who might deliver them from these Miseries, and settle their Country in Peace. Some were for Mithridates King of Pontus; but he was already engaged in a War with the Romans, in which they did not desire to be concerned. Others were for Ptolemy Lathyrus King of Egypt: But he had been a constant Enemy to their Country. At last they all agreed on Tigranes King of Armenia, who besides the great Power he had in his own Dominions, was confederated with Parthia, and in a near Alliance to Mithridates, by marrying his Daughter. As soon as this was notified to him by Ambassadors, he came to Syria, and took Possession of that Kingdom, and reigned there eighteen Years (g), till he was subdued by Lucullus, and the Kingdom taken from him by Pompey, and added to the Roman Empire. Here ends the Syrian Kings of the Macedonian Race, who had any Shadow of sovereign Power, in the eighty third Year before our Saviour's Birth; which is the 3867th Year from the Creation of the World, and of the Julian Period 4631. And here I conclude this Chapter.

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CHAP.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. prope finem. (b) Above, p. 382. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. & de Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4. (d) Ibid. cap. 23. & de Bello lib. 1. cap. 4. (e) Above, p. 383. (f) Joseph. ubi supra. (g) Justin, lib. 40. cap. 1. Usserii annales ad annum dictum, p. m. 380.



C H A P. IV.

The History of the Jews under the Roman Empire, from the Conquest of Judea by Pompey, to the Destruction of Jerusalem and Desolation of that Country, by the Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Hadrian; where the Roman Affairs, from the building of the City to the Birth of Christ, are also explained.

THE Study of the Roman History, from the ancient and first Writers thereof, is a very large Subject, and requireth good Skill in Greek and Latin Authors. It is no easy Task to read and understand the Histories of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Polybius*, *Dion Cassius*, *Appian* and *Plutarch*, all originally written in Greek; with *Livy*, *Sallust*, *Cæsar*, *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Tacitus*, who wrote in Latin; besides the Compendizers of the Roman Story, as, *Florus*, *Velleius Paterculus*, *Eutropius*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Justin*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Paulus Diaconus* and others. There are also many other ancient Books that may give Light into their Affairs, as, *Pliny's Natural History*, *The Memorable Examples of Valerius Maximus*, *Gellius's Noctes Atticæ*, *Macrobius*, *The warlike Stratagems* written by *Frontinus* and *Polyænus*, *Athenæus's Deipnosophists*, or, *Table-discourses of Philosophers*, *Columella* and other Writers of their rustic Affairs; their Orators, as, *Cicero* and *Quintilian*; their Poets, as, *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Catullus*, *Propertius*, and others of a later Date. Nor will the reading of any one of these Historians give a complete View of the Roman Affairs; for many of their Writings are transmitted to us mawk and imperfect, the greater Part of them being lost in obscure Ages; wherein Learning suffered a great Shipwreck. Hence we sometimes are obliged, for want of better Authorities, to make use of the Epitomes or Contents of *Livy*, where his Books are lost, the Prologues of *Trogus Pompeius*, and the Collections of the learned *Photius*, who had seen many of these Authors which are now perished. From those Writers *Frensbemius* and *Dujatius* have some Years ago made a Supplement to *Livy*, which is a Book useful in its kind. It is true, there may be a shorter Way of reading the Roman History, tho' not so sure nor so instructing, by perusing Moderns who have done it in English; as, *Eachard's Roman History*, the Abbot *de Vertot's Revolutions of the Roman Republic*, writ originally in French, and rendred into English, *Howel's General History*, *Roman History* by Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, and several others.

§ 2. I might, if the Nature of this Performance did allow, offer some critical Remarks upon the principal Roman Authors, and the Time wherein they wrote; but in this I shall be very compendious. *Diodorus Siculus* was born at *Agyrium* in *Sicily*, from whence he had the Name of *Siculus*, and is the Author of the general History called his *Bibliotheca*: In collecting and writing of which, he employed thirty Years, travelling over most of the Countries whose Affairs he was to describe. For this purpose, he tells us (a), he went into *Egypt* in the first Year of the 180th Olympiad, which was the sixtieth Year before the Birth of Christ, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Dionysius Neos*, or, *The new Bacchus*, then reigning there. His *Bibliotheca Historica* contained forty Books; of which only fifteen are now remaining; and some few Fragments and Abstracts of the rest in the Works of other Writers. It begins from the ancientest Times, mentioning some Affairs and Fables before the *Trojan War*, (for which, as he himself owns (b), there was no Certainty) and was continued to the Wars carried on by *Julius Cæsar* against the *Gauls*. The five first Books are all entire, but the next five are now all wanting.

(a) Biblioth. Historica, lib. 1. cap. 4, 5. (b) Ibid.

ing. The other ten remaining are from the tenth to the twentieth *inclusive*, where all that is now extant of that Author ends, in the Year of Rome 452, *M. Livius Dentor* and *M. Æmilius Paulus* being then Consuls. Of the other twenty five Books we have nothing but Fragments: Had they been still entire, so valuable an History would have been very useful to the Learned. The five first Books, tho' intermixt with Fables, do contain several valuable Particulars, which may afford some Light to the holy Scriptures; and the next five would have yielded more, and a greater Discovery of the Vanity and Wickedness of Heathenism, (as we may guess by the Contents of the sixth Book) had they been extant: For which Reason the Loss of those five is to be more lamented than of all the other twenty. This Author lived to a very great Age; for he continued to the middle of the Reign of *Augustus*.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus began to write his *Roman History* seven Years before the Birth of Christ, and continued it down, in twenty Books, to the Time of the first *Punic War*; where *Polybius* commenced: But of those twenty Books, only eleven now remain entire, wherein he is as full and accurate as any who writes of the *Roman Affairs* in that Period. He came to Rome twenty two Years before he began his Composition, a great Part of which Time he spent in gathering Materials for it. Besides his History of *Roman Antiquities*, he hath some valuable Discourses on Rhetoric and Criticism extant at the End of his Works.

Of *Polybius* I shall discourse afterwards, and therefore I now go to *Appian* of *Alexandria*, who flourished in the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, that is, in the second Century of the Christian *Æra*. He had been a Lawyer for some Time at Rome, and wrote his History in twenty four Books (a), beginning with the pretended Descent of the Romans from *Æneas*, and continuing it down to the Reign of *Augustus*, with some Occurrences to the Time of *Trajan*. But of this great Work there remains now only his Treatises of the *Carthaginian*, *Syrian*, *Parthian*, *Mithridatic*, *Iberian*, *Illyrian* and *Hannibalic Affairs*, with five Books of the Civil Wars, and a Fragment concerning the *Germans*. He is said to have borrowed many things from *Polybius* and *Plutarch*. However, in my Opinion, *Appian* may be very useful to an Historian.

Dion Cassius lived in the Time of *M. Aurelius* and *Alexander Severus Roman Emperors*: We find him Consul with the latter *A. D.* 229. He was born at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, but lived for a great Part of his Time at Rome, where he enjoyed several honourable Offices. In his old Age, with leave of the Court, he retired to his native Country, where he wrote his History of *Roman Affairs*, from the building of the City to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, in eighty Books; of which thirty four, and a Part of the thirty fifth are lost, in the great Shipwreck which learned Authors sustained in the dark Ages. Twenty five of his Books are still remaining, beginning with the Actions of *Lucullus*, and ending with the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*. The following Part of his History is also lost, but we have some Compend thereof by *Xiphilin*. He is a valuable Author, imitating *Thucydides* in his Speeches, tho' in a more plain easy Style: Only he is blamed by *Vossius* (b) for too sharp Reflexions against some eminent Romans, as, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Cassius* and *Seneca*.

Plutarch was born in *Cheronea*, a City of *Bœotia*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*; and began to be much noticed in the Reigns of *Domitian*, *Nerva* and *Trajan*, by whom he was advanced to several Honours. *Eusebius* (c) placeth him in the third Year of *Hadrian*, that is, *A. D.* 122. His eminent Skill in Heathen Philosophy, Philology and History, may be seen in his *Lives* and *Morals*, which are both very useful in their kind. By the first of these, I mean his *Lives of the illustrious Men of Greece and Rome*, he deserves the Character of one who hath given excellent Memoirs for making up the *Greek and Roman Histories*, and hath left an excellent Pattern to all Biographers who shall succeed him.

I am not to go upon the many *Greek Historians* who have wrote of the *Roman Affairs*, but are now altogether lost, which the Curious may find in the learned *Gerard Vossius*, *De Historicis Græcis*; but shall proceed to those who have writ the *Roman History* in *Latin*. In entering upon this Subject, it may be observed, that soon after the founding of Rome, the Pontifex *Maximus* used to record the most memorable Things that happened in his Time by way of Annals, without any Ornament, as *Cicero* (d) tells us, being rather a Register of the Facts, than any finished History: But whatever those Annals were, they all perished when the City was burnt by the *Gauls* (e). The Poets *Ennius* and *Nævius* wrote some Part of the *Roman History* in Verse; *Fabius Pictor*, *Cincius Alimentus*, *Scribonius Libo*, *Piso*, and some others (f), wrote in Prose: But all these being lost, I shall here only offer some Character of the ancient *Latin Historians* that remain in whole or in Part, and of some other ancient Authors that may give Light to those Affairs. Among whom *Titus Livius* deserveth the first Room: He was born at *Padua*, and began to write his History after *Augustus's* Victory at *Actium* (g), which was in the Year of Rome 725. He survived that Emperor, and is recorded by *Euse-*

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(a) Appian. in Præfatione. Vossius de Hist. Græcis, p. 122. (b) Ibid. p. 236. (c) in Chronico. (d) De Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 12. (e) Livius, lib. 5. (f) See Gerard Vossius de Hist. Latinis, p. 1, — 60. edit. 1651. (g) Livius, lib. 1.

bius (a) to have died in the fourth Year of *Tiberius*, the same Year with *Ovid* the Poet. He wrote the *Roman* History from the building of the City to the War in *Germany* by *Drusus*, in 140, or rather in 142 Books; of which thirty five now only remain, for the second Decad is all lost, and all after the forty fifth Book: As to the rest, we have only the Contents or Epitomes. This Author excels in a plain elegant *Latin* Stile, and is very full and copious in his Narration. Tho' some have censured him as a little too verbose and circumstantial, and too much given to Prodigies and Patavinity, I chuse rather to forbear passing any Judgment against so valuable an Historian.

Sallust, or as his Name more fully reads, *Crispus Sallustius*, was born in the Year of Rome 668, and died four Years before the *Actiac* Victory (b). He enjoyed the Prætorship (c), and some other honourable Offices at Rome; was made Governor of *Numidia* by *Julius Cæsar*, which Province he plundered to enrich himself (d), and with the Money bought fine Houses and Gardens at Rome: So that any Praise that is due to him is not for his Life, but for his Books. He wrote a large *Roman* History; of which there now only remains, his Treatises of the *Catilinarian* Conspiracy and of the *Jugurthine* War, four short Orations, two Epistles, and a few scattered Sentences and Fragments gathered out of several Authors. He is blamed for his Preface, which is large enough if he had been to write the History of the World, and might stand before any other Book as well as his.

The Life and Actions of *Julius Cæsar* shall be afterwards narrated. His Commentaries of his War with the *Gauls* are exceedingly well writ, suitable to the Genius of so great a Man, and so good an Author. *Appian* (e) tells us, That *Mark Anthony* made some Alterations in them after *Cæsar*'s Death. *Aulus Hirtius*, who was Consul at Rome with *Vibius Pansa*, did write the eight Book of *Cæsar*'s War with the *Gauls*, and also the *Alexandrian* and *African* Wars, in an elegant Stile.

C. Cornelius Tacitus flourished in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*, that is, about the Beginning of the second Century; and wrote thirty Books of History (f), of which only five are now remaining, so that from the Reign of *Galba* to that of *Cocceius Nerva*, is now wanting, which is the Space of twenty one Years. He wrote also sixteen Books of Annals from the Death of *Augustus* to *Nero*; where four Books are also lost, from the seventh to the eleventh. We have his short Treatises of the Manners of the *Germans*, and of the Life of *Julius Agricola* his Father in Law. He was a great Man, a good Orator, an excellent Politician; and writes in a fine concise Stile, which few can imitate.

Suetonius Tranquillus, who wrote the Lives of the twelve *Cæsars*, was a Person employed to write Letters for the Emperors *Trajan* and *Hadrian* (g). He is a very sincere Author, who doth not spare the Faults of great Men; but is rather a Biographer than an Historian.

As to the Compendizers of the *Roman* History: *L. Annaeus Florus* wrote four Books of the *Roman* History about the Time of *Trajan* and *Hadrian* (h). He is an elegant Author, only his Stile is too florid and Poetical for an Historian, nor is he accurate in his Chronology. *Velleius Paterculus* was of a noble *Roman* Family of the Senatorian Rank. His two Books that remain, are in an elegant Stile, where we may meet with curious Characters and fine Remarks, not to be found in other *Roman* Authors; but when he comes near his own Time, he flatters a little too much the *Augustan* Family, and the House of *Sejanus*. *Eutropius* an *Italian*, hath writ a Breviary or Compend of the *Roman* Affairs, in a plain easy Strain, from the Building of the City to the Reign of *Valens*, to whom he dedicates his Book, about the Year of our Lord 365. *Sextus Aurelius Victor* wrote his Books of illustrious *Romans*, and of the *Roman* Emperors from *Julius Cæsar*, to *Julian* called *The Apostate*: To which is frequently prefixed a Treatise, entitled *Origo Gentis Romanæ*; which seems to be done by the same Author. *Paulus Diaconus*, hath continued this compendious History two Centuries lower.

Long before any of these Compendizers, did *Cornelius Nepos* write his Lives of twenty two eminent Captains among the *Greeks*, and of *Atticus* a *Roman*: For he wrote in the Time of *Cæsar*'s Dictatorship. There were several other Treatises done by him (i), which are now lost. In the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, flourished, as some think, *Justin*; who is Author of the Compend of History called by his Name: It is in an easy Stile, but there is little good Order or exact Chronology in it. If the History of *Trogus Pompeius*, writ in the Time of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, had been extant, which *Justin* abridged, this had been a more useful Work.

Besides these Historians, there are many other antient Authors that may give Light into the *Roman* Affairs, and into the History of those, and perhaps also of elder Times; as particularly *Pliny*'s History of the World which he wrote in *Nero*'s Reign; and contains natural History, antient Geography, and many other valuable Things. *Valerius Maximus* wrote nine Books of memorable Actions and Sayings both of *Romans* and *Foreigners*, and seems to have flourished about the End of *Tiberius*'s Reign, tho' his Stile does not resemble that Age, when

Latin

(a) In Chronico. ad ann. Christi 19. (b) Ibid. ad Olymp. 186. (c) Hirtius de bello Africano, non longè ab initio. (d) Dion Cassius, lib. 43. pag. 246. (e) De bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. m. 859. (f) Hieronymus in Zecharix cap. 14. (g) Spartianus in Hadriano. (h) Flori Proœmium, in fine. (i) See Vossius de Hist. Latinis, lib. 1. cap. 14.

Latin was so pure. *Gellius* his *Noctes Atticæ*, and *Athenæus Deipnosophists* in fifteen Books, contain many Observations on the Learning, Manners, and Customs of the Ancients; very useful to an Historian, and seem to have been composed about the End of the second Century. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* a Prætor in the City, in the Reigns of *Vespasian* and *Titus* (a), wrote his *Warlike Stratagems*. The same Argument is managed by *Polyænus* a Barrister in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, in Greek, in eight Books. About the same Time *Ælian* an *Italian* wrote in Greek his various History, and his Books of *Animals*. *Columella* wrote upon rustick Affairs, in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*. His Book is extant, and may be useful. *Aurelius Macrobius* lived about the End of the fourth Century, being one of the Emperor *Theodosius's* Chamberlains. He composed some Commentaries upon that Piece of *Cicero* called *Scipio's Dream*, and his *Saturnalia*, where is a pleasant Mixture of Criticks and Antiquities. There is also extant a Fragment of *Julius Obsequens de prodigiis*. He lived in the Reign of *Honorius*, near the End of the fourth Century.

Strabo is an Author that deserves more particularly to be considered. He was born at *Amasia* in *Pontus*, and became a *Peripatetic* Philosopher (b), and published his *Geography* in Greek in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, being then a very old Man. The Antients have scarce left any Work more valuable; for 'tis done with great Judgment and Care, he having travelled over almost all the Places which he describes; and his Accounts are so exact, that these Parts may be known by them to this very Day. He also wrote a History which *Josephus* quotes and hath some Passages out of it; but excepting a few such Fragments dispersed in several Authors, that History is entirely lost. *Pomponius Mela* a *Spaniard* hath also wrote three Books of Geography or of the Situation of the World, about the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*; and there are three little Tomes of antient Greek Geographers, but most of those relate to the Times of *Alexander* the Great, and the Greek Monarchy.

Also *Paulus Orosius*, by Profession a Christian, and by Nation a *Spaniard*, when *Rome* was taken by the *Goths*, in the Beginning of the fifth Century, and the *Gentiles* alledged that Christianity brought on these Calamities, at the Desire of *Augustin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, wrote seven Books, which he entituled, *Adversus Paganos*, shewing that Calamities did always happen in every Age, since the Creation of the World, as much as since Christianity prevailed. This Book, containing a general History, and especially of the *Roman* Affairs, may afford some useful Hints to such as are inquisitive after these Matters.

The *Roman* Orators are not to be neglected. In popular Commonwealths, Eloquence became most necessary for those that would gain the Affections, or manage any Interest with the People; and it was the particular Care of all the great Men in *Rome*, to be Masters of this Art. Most of their great Captains were good Scholars, and sufficient Orators, if we except *Marius*, a rough cruel Man, and some few others. Yet there are not many of them who have left any Writings of this kind on Record. *Quintus Hortensius*, and *M. Tullius Cicero*, were two of the most eminent Orators of their Time. We have scarce any Thing of the first now extant. As for *Cicero*, I shall have Occasion to take Notice of his Life and Death in its proper Place: And as to his Works on Philosophy, Law, and Oratory, these are so well known, that they need no Character from me. When he retired from publick Business in the Time of *Cæsar's* Dictatorship, he wrote his Philosophical Works for most Part by Way of Dialogue, wherein he rendered this Study more sweet and easy than had been done by the *Greeks*: And the whole of his Works are useful to the learned and curious. *Fabius Quintilian* was another excellent Orator, born in the Time of *Nero*, brought to *Rome* by *Galba*; where he lived in the Time of *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, having a great Share in their Favour. He taught Eloquence in that great City, and *Domitian* committed to him the Care of the Education of his Nephews. His Institutions of Rhetorick are extant, and to this Day deserve the Name of a complete Piece.

I go now to the *Roman* Poets. The first Writers of *Roman* History composed their Books in Verse (c). These are now lost, as are also the most antient of their Poets, as, *Livius Andronicus*, a Writer of Tragedies, about the Year of *Rome* 514, before the Birth of Christ 240. *Nævius* who wrote dramatic Pieces, in the Year of *Rome* 519. Soon after him *M. Pacuvius* and *L. Attius* composed some Tragedies. But *M. Plautus* is the first *Roman* Poet of whom any thing entire hath been transmitted to us. He was born at *Sarsina* in *Umbria*; and taking himself to Merchandizing, he lost all his Goods, and was obliged to live by serving a Baker: But in spare Hours he applied himself to write Comedies, whereof twenty remain. He died in the Year of *Rome* 570; *Claudius Pulcher* and *Publius Licinius* being then Consuls (d). There is a great deal of Spirit and Art in his Works.

Publius Terentius, born at *Carthage* in *Africa*, Slave to *Terentius Lucanus* at *Rome*, where by his Wit and good Mien he soon obtained his Liberty, and became the next comic Poet. He

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happily

(a) Tacitus Hist. lib. 4. Vossius de Hist. Latinis p. 739. (b) Vossius de Hist. Græcis lib. 2. cap. 6. (c) Vide Ser. Vossium de Hist. Lat. p. 6. & de Poetis Latin. p. 1, — 8. (d) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 15. Hieron. in Chron. ad Olymp. 145.

happily hit upon the Strain of a Comedy, and left some Pieces of that kind, which few have been able to imitate, and is so elegant in a pure Stile and neat Expression, that *Cicero*, a good Judge, frequently (*a*) commends him for it. We have six of his Comedies. He died in the Year of Rome 595. About that Time *C. Lucilius* a Roman Knight, great Uncle by the Mother's Side to *Pompey* the Great, wrote Satyrs, being the first of that Kind among the Romans, as *Quintilian* and *Pliny* assure us: His Books are lost.

Titus Lucretius Carus was the first at Rome who turned natural Philosophy into Verse. He had studied at *Athens*, where he drunk in the Principles of *Epicurus*. He killed himself in the 44th Year of his Age, in a Rage, which he had been cast into by some noxious Liquor (*b*), about the Year of Rome 700. His six Books of the Nature of Things, according to the Principles of *Epicurus*, in fine Hexameter Verse still remain. Mr. *Creech* hath made an excellent Translation of them into *English*, with proper Caveats against his dangerous Principles.

C. Catullus, a very polite Poet (*c*), was born at *Verona*, in the seventh Consulat of *Marinus* and second of *Cinna*, 86 Years before the Birth of Christ, and died aged 36. Of his Epigrams there remain 117: His other Works are lost. His Stile is native and elegant, soft and tender, tho' in his Amours with his *Lesbia*, he is sometimes a little smutty. The Limits I have confined my self to, will not allow me to make any Enquiries about the Latin Poets after this, which are lost (*d*), but shall only give some short Remarks upon those which remain.

The best of the Latin Poets flourished in the Reign of the Emperor *Augustus*, as particularly *Publius Virgilius Maro*, who was born in the Territory of *Mantua* in the Year of Rome 684, when he went to the City, his great Merit gained him soon the Friendship of the best Wits and greatest Men of that Age, especially of *Augustus*, *Mæcenas* and *Pollio*; and no Wonder, for he raised Latin Poesy to the highest Degree to which it ever arrived. Hence he is called the Prince of Poets. He composed his Eclogues in Imitation of *Theocritus*, his *Georgics* in Imitation of *Hesiod*, and his *Æneid* like *Homer's Iliad*. 'Tis said he laboured on this last Work eleven Years, and yet left it unfinished. He died nineteen Years before the Birth of Christ, in the fifty first Year of his Age, and 735th of Rome.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born at *Venusia*, in the Territory of *Naples*, and died in the fifty seventh Year of his Age, nine Years after *Virgil*, to whom he was an intimate Friend. He fought at the Battle of *Philippi* for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. His Wit and Poetry made him a Favourite to *Augustus* and *Mæcenas*; and indeed he excelled in two kinds of Poesy, which are very different, *Lyric* and *Satyr*. Of the first we have five Books of *Odes*, and of the second two Books of *Satyrs* and two of *Epistles*. His *Art of Poetry* is a Master-piece in its kind.

Sextus Aurelius Propertius was a Native of *Bevagna* in *Umbria*. Losing the greatest Part of his Estate at the taking of *Perusa*, he came to Rome, where he had the Favour and Esteem of *Mæcenas* and *Cornelius Gallus*. He excels in *Elegies*, in which kind of Verse he insists much upon his Love to a Maid called *Hostia*, to whom he gives the Name of *Cynthia*. He is thought to have died after *Virgil*, and before *Horace*. *Albius Tibullus*, a Roman, lived about the same time, and wrote the same kind of amorous Verses, which were then well received. There are six *Elegies* said to be writ by of *Cornelius Gallus*, printed with some Editions of *Tibullus* and *Propertius*: But the Learned now agree that they were really composed by *Corn. Maximianus*.

Publius Ovidius Naso was born at *Sulmo*, a City of the *Peligni*, in the Year of Rome 711, in the Consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* (*e*). In his Youth he bore Arms under *Marcus Varro* (*f*). By his Father's Importunity he was obliged to study the Laws; but his Inclination from his younger Years leading him to Poetry, after his Father's Death he wholly devoted himself to that beloved Art; and was much admired at the Court of *Augustus* for the natural Easiness of his Verse, and Sweetness of his Expression. For a Time he was in good Esteem with that Emperor, who afterwards banished him to the Province of *Pontus* in *Europe*; some say, for making Love to *Julia*, *Augustus's* Daughter, whom he courted under the Name of *Corinna*; others presume, that it was for being too familiar with the Empress *Livia*, and that for her sake he wrote his Books, *De Arte amandi*, *Of the Art of loving*. In his Exile he spent six Winters (*g*), and in the Beginning of the seventh Year of his Banishment he died, being the seventeenth Year of the Christian *Æra*, and the third of *Tiberius's* Reign. We have still of his Works fifteen Books of *Metamorphoses*, six of *Fasts*, the other six being lost: Also we have his *Elegies*, his *Epistles*, his Books of *Love*, and of the *Art of loving*, with his *Ibis*. His Stile is sweet, agreeable, and no way forced.

Phædrus, a Native of *Thrace*, an enfranchised Servant of *Augustus*, wrote his Fables under the Reign of *Tiberius*, and excels in Purity and Delicateness of Language. *Manilius* wrote his *Astronomy* in fine Verse in the same Age; for he dedicated it to *Augustus* (*b*). His Work still

(*a*) Cicero de Inventione lib. 1. cap. 19, 23. De optimo genere oratorum cap. 18. & alibi, Euseb. in Chron. ad Olymp. 155. (*b*) Ibid. Olymp. 171. (*c*) Ibid. ad Olymp. 173. (*d*) De iis vide Vossium de Poetis Latinis. (*e*) Amorum lib. 3. eleg. 15. (*f*) Tristium lib. 3. eleg. 2. (*g*) De Ponto, lib. 4. eleg. 13. ad Carum, Sed me jam, Care, nivali Sexta relegatum bruma sub axe vider. (*h*) Manilii Astronomicum, lib. 1. lin. 8, 9.

still remains in five Books. *Aulus Persius Flaccus* wrote Satyres, of which there are six remaining, a little obscure, but full of Flame and good Sense. He died in the Reign of *Nero*, the sixty second Year after the Birth of Christ, and the twenty ninth of his Age.

About the same time flourished *M. Annæus Lucanus*, born at *Corduba* in *Spain*. *Nero* envied him the Glory he gained by his Poetry, in which he wrote very much, tho' nothing now remains of him but his *Pharsalia*, or ten Books of the Civil Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in elegant *Hexameters*; and because this is a Subject more proper for an Historian than for a Poet, *Gerard Vossius* (a) puts him among the Number of the Writers of History.

The only tragical Poet we have in that Age is *Seneca*, who we conceive is not the same with *Annæus Seneca* the Philosopher: However, his Thoughts are sublime, and his Stile is good. *Petronius Arbiter*, a Satyrical Poet about that Time, was a Favourite of *Nero*, and paints his Vices in too plain Terms.

C. Silius Italicus, born at *Old Seville* in *Spain*, called *Italica*, was Consul at *Rome* when *Nero* died; and being pretty well advanced in Years when he wrote his Poem of the second *Punic* War in seventeen Books, there is, as the younger *Pliny* observed, more of Pains than Wit in this Performance: Yet there are some valuable Hints which are not to be found in others who write on this Subject (b). He was a rich Man, having a Country Farm which formerly was *Cicero's*, and another which contained *Virgil's* Tomb: Yet he is said to have starved himself to Death when aged seventy five. His Books were not found till the Council of *Basil*, that is, about the Year of our Lord 1431.

C. Valerius Flaccus, born at *Sezza* in *Campagna di Roma*, flourished under the Emperor *Domitian*. He hath wrote eight Books, of the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, in *Hexameters*. The Facts are more curious than the Poesy. *P. Papinius Statius* of *Naples* had a great Share in *Domitian's* Favour and Friendship, to whom he dedicated his Poem called *Thebais* in twelve Books, his *Achilleis* in two, and his *Sylvæ* in five Books. He died at *Naples*, not long after *Domitian's* his Patron. *Decimus Junius Juvenalis*, born at *Aquinum* in *Italy*, flourished under *Nero*, and is said to have lived to the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Hadrian*. His Satyres are very elegant, being writ in a sharp biting Stile, against the Vices of that Age, and the Manners of *Rome*, which he was well acquainted with.

Valerius Martialis was born at *Bilbilis*, a Town of the ancient *Celtiberia*, came to *Rome* at the Age of twenty one, lived there 35 Years, and died in the Reign of *Trajan*. We have fourteen Books of his Epigrams, of which many are witty, and others mean and smutty. Nor are we to forget *Claudian*, an eminent Poet in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, about the End of the fourth or Beginning of the fifth Century, in whom Pagan Poesy then declining did for a short Time revive. I have given some Account of the most considerable *Roman* Authors now extant in History, Philosophy, Oratory, and Poesy, till the second Century, and some of them beyond it. The Pagan Writers after this, are not so considerable, nor do they fall within my present Undertaking.

Notwithstanding the Multitude of those Authors, there are about five hundred Years of the *Roman* History very uncertain for want of sufficient Vouchers, acquainted with the Times whereof they wrote. It is certain we have no prophane History now extant (I don't speak of the sacred History of the Scriptures) written before the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, that is, about sixty Years before the Birth of Christ, except these four, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*. As to the first three, I have discoursed of them formerly, when treating of the Affairs and Learning of *Greece* (c). They do not touch the *Roman* Affairs: In their Time *Rome* was but an obscure Place, little noticed in the World. As to *Polybius*, he indeed wrote his History at *Rome*, deducing his Narration from the first *Punick* War, or more fully from the second *Punick* War to the End of the third, for the Space of fifty three Years: And because I reserved to speak of this Author (d), I shall observe, that of the forty Books *Polybius* wrote, there are now only five remain entire: All that we have of the rest, is only Fragments and Abstracts. His Discourse concerning Vertue and Vice, printed at the End of his Works in a late Edition (e), is not properly a Part of the History; he was by Birth of *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*, the Son of *Lycortas*, the famous Supporter of the *Achaean* Commonwealth. The *Romans* being jealous of what this rising Republick might come to, resolved to suppress it, and in order thereto, they forced from them a thousand of the best of their Men, to live in *Italy* in the Manner of Hostages, of whom this Historian was the chief. In his Confinement he had leisure to write this History. He was highly esteemed by *Scipio Africanus junior*, who carried him with him to *Africa* to the third *Punick* War; where it was in great Measure owing to his Counsel and Advice, that *Scipio* ended that Affair so soon, and with such Success; with the End whereof, *Polybius* ended his History, much grieved that at the same Time the *Achaean* Commonwealth came to its fatal Period, in the Destruction of *Corinth*, and subjecting the Cities and States of which it did consist to the *Roman* Yoke.

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(a) De historicis Latinis p. 137. (b) Vossius Ibid. p. 155. (c) Above p. 274. (d) Above p. 387. (e) See *Polybius* in the Edition at Amsterdam 1670. p. 1463, to 1486.

But since *Polybius*, the first Writer of the *Roman* History extant, commenceth his Narration only from the first *Punick* War, or rather from the Beginning of the second, which was in the Year of *Rome* 536, that is, from the Creation of the World 3735, before the Birth of *Christ* 215, we can have no Light from him concerning Times before this.

§ 3. IT is now Time to give a short View of the *Roman* Affairs; from such Helps as remaining Authors do afford. In the Entry we may notice; that the Story of the *Aborigenes*, of *Aeneas* and his Descendants in *Alba*, is generally looked upon as fictitious; or as a proper Subject for Poets to divert their Fancy with; where they may amuse themselves and others, with Fables concerning Times of which they had no distinct Knowledge from any plain Historical Documents. *Strabo*, one of the most judicious Writers among the Ancients, assures us (a); *That Aeneas staid in the Country of the Trojans, and that he and his Posterity succeeded to that Kingdom, because the Offspring of Priamus was intirely cut off.* And the learned *Bochart* hath made it very probable (b), that *Aeneas* never came into *Italy*, nor were the *Romans* descended from the *Trojans*, the former having no Affinity either in Rites or Language with the latter. But leaving those fabulous Times, the Date of the Building of *Rome* is commonly reckoned on the first Year of the seventh *Olympiad*, 753 Years before the Birth of *Christ*. Now if we compute our Lord's Birth, with very good Chronologers, in the Year 3950 from the Creation, the building of *Rome* by *Romulus*, (with which their History commenceth) will be in the Year of the World 3197, the sixth Year of the Reign of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Pekah* King of *Israel* (c). Tho' this be no ancient Record, when compared with the Chronology and History of the *Jews*; yet even as to a considerable Part of that Time, namely from the Building of *Rome* to the expelling of the Kings, and erecting the Consular State; which is computed two hundred and forty four Years, they had no certain Documents (d); as *Plutarch* owns: They had no Evidence for their History and Chronology before the Censors Tables, and the *Fasti Consulares*, which could not be till these Offices were erected after the Expulsion of their Kings.

Romulus was their first King. He is said to have been born of *Rhea*, a Vestal Virgin, the Daughter of *Numitor*; and that she was got with Child by *Mars* the God of War; that she brought forth Twins called *Romulus* and *Remus*, who were cast into the River *Tyber*; by Order of *Amulius* their Uncle, to be drowned, but the Wind and Stream were so favourable, that at the Fall of the Water they were left alive upon the dry Ground, and there found by *Laurentius* the Herdsman of *Amulius*; and suckled by a Wolf, or rather by the Herdsman's Wife called *Lupa*; that these Boys were educated among the Shepherds, and when they were come to Age, being informed of *Amulius*'s Designs to have them killed, they murdered him and set up their Grandfather *Numitor* on his Throne. Afterwards, by the Advice of *Romulus*, they built the City *Rome* upon the *Palatine* Hill, and surrounded it with a Ditch; which when *Remus* despised, he was killed, and the Foundations of this Warlike City consecrated with his Blood. Thus *Romulus* became sole King of this small City, in which he built an *Asylum*, to be a Receptacle to Malefactors and discontented Persons, who came thither in great Numbers from neighbouring Parts. He divided the People into three Tribes, and made some *Patricians* or Nobility, others *Plebeians* or Commons; he chose a Senate of a hundred Men of the first Rank, called *Patres Conscripti*, (their Number was afterwards increased) and appointed three hundred *Celeres* for his Guard, and twelve *Lictors* or Serjeants, who went before him with their Bundles of Rods and Axes, called *Fasces*, signifying the different Punishments which he might inflict. When he considered that his new founded City wanted Women to increase Posterity, he appointed a solemn Feast and Game in honour of *Neptune*, to which all Sorts of People resorted from the Neighbourhood, and especially from among the *Sabines*; and out of this Flock, the *Romans*, with drawn Swords, surprised and carried off six hundred and eighty three Virgins, to whom Husbands were appointed. This occasioned several Battles with the *Sabines*, wherein the *Romans* for the most part were Victors. They also conquered *Fidenæ* and some Places among the *Veii*; for having no Trade nor Territory of their own sufficient to support them, they lived by robbing and plundering their Neighbours. After a Reign of thirty seven Years, *Romulus* died, or was destroyed by the Senate (e) for his Tyranny; and is said to have been deified.

After a short *Inter-regnum*, *Numa Pompilius* was called by the Senate, from *Cures* in the Territory of the *Sabines*; when he was forty Years old, to be the second King of *Rome*. He contrived their Religion to answer the Necessities of the State, that their Soothsayers with their Victims and Auguries might excite Hope or Fear as the Necessity of their Affairs did require; and provided, that the Priests might be chosen from among the best of the People; that they might be the more regarded. The *Roman* Idolatry which he taught was no other than the *Greek* Heathenism; for almost all *Italy* was then planted with Colonies from *Greece*: And

(a) *Strabo* lib. 13. p. 608. (b) *Bochart* de questione num *Aeneas* unquam fuerit in *Italia*? In annexis ad *Phaleg*, Ed. dt. *Francofurti* 1681. (c) *Helvici* Tab. Chronologica. (d) *Plutarch*. in *Numa*, near the Beginning. *Propagation of Christianity*, vol. 1. p. 167. (e) *Florus*, lib. 1. cap. 1.

And therefore the *Romans*, as well as the rest of the *Italian* Cities, look'd on *Delphos* as the principal Place of their Worship, with the same Veneration as the *Greeks*, and had frequent Recourse thither on religious Accounts. *Numa*, while he lived among the *Sabines* being accurately vers'd in this Religion, and a diligent Practiser thereof, and finding the *Romans* before his Time had minded little else but Fighting, he judg'd it needful to instruct them therein, and framed several Rules and Constitutions for the regular Practice of the same : All which he pretended he had received from the Goddess *Egeria*, That (as *Florus* (a) speaks) the barbarous People might the better entertain them, and manage with Religion and Justice the Empire which they had gotten by Force and Robbery. But I have discoursed elsewhere (b) concerning the Idolatry of the Heathen World, and particularly of that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to which I shall not now add. *Numa* had only one Daughter, named *Pamphilia*. After a Reign of forty three Years, being above eighty Years old, he died, and was buried with Honour. He forbade his Body to be burnt, as was usual in those Days, and therefore was buried in a stone Coffin ; and there was laid by him, in another, the Books of his Ceremonies, being twelve writ in *Latin*, and as many in *Greek*. These were taken up about four hundred Years after ; and because it was thought a Piece of Impiety to communicate such Mysteries to the Multitude, they were burnt by Order of the Senate.

Tullus Hostilius was created King after *Numa* by universal Consent. He was of a bold fiery Temper, and one who sought and greedily embraced all Occasions of War. He gave some Portion of Land to the poorer Sort, and inclosed within the Walls of the City the Hill *Cælius*, where he had his Palace. His first War was with the City *Alba*, in which *Cluilius* was Dictator, and after him *Suffetius*. The Armies being drawn out, it was agreed, That for the Safety of both Nations, the Quarrel should be decided by a Combat of three Persons on each Side ; and that the conquering Party should obtain the Pre-eminence and Command over the other. After Enquiry for Combatants, they found, that one *Sequinius* of *Alba* had sometime ago two Daughters, one married to *Curatius* an *Alban*, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman* ; who being both with child at the same Time, each Daughter was delivered of three Sons at a Birth. To these two Ternions of Brothers was this great Combat committed, as being of equal Years, Strength and Courage, and all Matters of private Affection were dispensed with. In the Fight the *Curatii* or *Albans* were all three wounded, and two of the *Horatii* or *Romans* killed : The other surviving Brother, pretending to retire, drew out his Adversaries one after another, and slew them all ; whereby *Rome* became Conqueror. At his Return to the City, his Sister met him with reproachful Words for embrewing his Hands in the Blood of his Cousins ; for which he killed her, and was acquitted by the People : And the *Roman* King triumphed for his Victory over the *Albans*. Soon after this, the *Fidenates* and *Vejentes* broke out in War ; and the *Romans* and *Albans* joined against them. But when the Day of Battle came, *Suffetius* drew off all the *Alban* Troops. *Tullus Hostilius* observing this Conduct of his Ally, that his Men might not be discouraged, cried out that it was done by his Order ; and in a little Time put his Adversaries to the Rout. But after the Victory, he severely punished *Suffetius* for his Treachery, by causing him to be torn in Pieces by Horses ; and sent *Horatius* to *Alba*, who utterly demolished that City, transplanting the Inhabitants to *Rome*, that a City so nearly ally'd to the *Romans* should not seem to have perished, but to return again to its own Body (c). *Tullus* fought also prosperously with the *Sabines*, and died after a Reign of thirty two Years.

Ancus Marcius was after him chosen King, in the Year of *Rome* 115. He was Grandson to *Numa Pompilius* ; and being much of the same Temper, he rebuilt the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, and fortified the Hill *Janiculum* on the other Side of the *Tiber*, uniting that River to the City by a wooden Bridge. He also enlarged the *Roman* Dominions, by adding to them a greater Part of *Etruria*, gained from the *Vejentes*, and a much better Footing in *Latium* (d) ; and reigned twenty four Years.

After him *Tarquinius Priscus* was the first who obtained the Kingdom by his own ambitious pretending to it, in the Year of *Rome* 138. He made the Number of the Senate to consist of three hundred, and increased the *Vestal* Virgins from four to seven. He took from the *Latines*, *Collatia*, five Miles North-east of *Rome*, over which he placed his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius* Governor. He also subdued the *Sabines*, and took from them a Crown of Gold, an Ivory Chair, a Sceptre with an Eagle on the Top, a purple Coat wrought with Gold, and some other Badges of Royalty, which after this the *Romans* used ; and he was the first who triumphed in a fine Chariot drawn with Horses. He also adorned the *Forum* at *Rome* with stately Portico's, Galleries and Shops ; made *Cloacæ*, or common Sewers, to carry off the Nastiness of the City into the *Tiber*, and several other Buildings. After a Reign of thirty eight Years, he was killed by two Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, who owed him a Grudge because he was preferred to their Father's Throne before them.

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(a) Lib. 1. cap. 2. (b) Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 1. cap. 2. p. 370. — 393. (c) *Florus*, lib. 1. cap. 3.

(d) *Livius*, lib. 1. cap. 32, — 35.

Servius Tullius, Son in Law to *Tarquinus*, succeeded. He was born of one *Ocrisia*, who had been taken Captive at *Corniculum* in *Latium*; and in Remembrance of his Mother's Bondage, had the Name of *Servius*. But he was royally educated by *Tanaquil*, the Wife of *Tarquinus Priscus*; and her Husband came to have so good an Opinion of him, that he gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and committed to him the Management of most of his Affairs during his old Age. He divided the publick Land among the poorer Sort, distinguished the People into Tribes or *Curiae*: And that the *Census* or publick Tax, might be the more easily gathered, according to the Riches of each Citizen, he ranked the People into six Classes, that the Affairs of the whole City might be governed as regularly as those of a private Family (a); and at the *Lustrum*, which was once in five Years, the *Census* was made up according to the Circumstances of the People. At the first *Lustrum*, there were found above eighty thousand Citizens at *Rome*; and that their Number might be encreased, Orders were given for manumitting Slaves, or making them Freemen in the Common-wealth. He also enclosed the *Quirinal*, *Viminal*, and *Esquilin* Hills (b), within the Precincts of the City. This King had two Daughters, whom he married to *Lucius* and *Aruns Tarquinus*, Grandsons to *Tarquinus Priscus*. The first being of a proud tyrannical Nature, had a modest Wife; but the last being of a mild Temper, had a haughty wicked Woman. *Lucius* envying *Tullius* for possessing his Grandfather's Throne, contrived with his Brothers Wife to dispatch their Consorts; which they did: And those two wicked Persons married together. This being done, they raised Factions against the King, claiming the Crown to themselves, as Heirs to *Tarquinus Priscus*. And at last *Lucius* going to the Senate-house, with some Friends, took Possession of the Throne. *Tullius* going to turn him out, was thrown down Stairs, and carried home in great Disorder. Mean Time *Lucius's* Wife came, and saluted her Husband King: And, by her Advice Ruffians were sent who killed her Father *Tullius*; and she most inhumanely caused her Charioteer drive over his Body weltering in its Blood. Thus died *Servius Tullius*, after a Reign of forty four Years.

Lucius Tarquinus after this Murder obtained the Kingdom by meer Force and Violence in the Year of *Rome* 220; and by his tyrannical imperious Carriage, soon got the Name of *Superbus*. He would not permit the late King's Body to be publicly interred, alledging that *Romulus* died without Burial, and murdered such as he suspected to be of *Tullius's* Faction. Fearing the Consequences of this Tyranny, he kept a stronger Guard than ordinary about his Person, by whom he killed many of the first Rank, seizing their Wealth for his own Use, and chose no more in their Places, that their Power might decrease, and in a little Time be worn out. When he had wearied himself and others by these Cruelties, he begun his Wars, wherein he took *Ocriculum*, *Gabii*, and *Suessa Pometia* from the *Latines*; which Cities were all within thirty Miles of *Rome*. Out of the Plunder of those Places, especially out of the last of them, he got Riches, which enabled him to build a stately Temple. When the Workmen were digging to lay the Foundation of this Fabrick, a Man's Head was found very fresh and lively, which gave the Name of the *Capitol* to the Building. *Florus* (c) and *Livy* (d) tell us, That this portended that there should be the Seat of the Empire of the World. The People being some Years employed in this Building, began to complain; and therefore *Tarquin*, to satisfy them and to recruit his own Coffers, proclaimed a War against the *Rutuli*, pretending that they had entertained some *Roman* Exiles. In the Beginning of the War, he invested *Ardea*, the Metropolis of his Enemies, a City lying sixteen Miles south-east of *Rome*. While the Army lay before this Place, *Sextus* the King's eldest Son, with *Tarquinus Collatinus*, and some other Courtiers, were drinking in the Camp, and happened to discourse about their Wives, each Man praising his own. *Collatinus* told them their Eyes might soon convince them how much his *Lucretia* excelled the rest. Upon this they took Post Horses to *Rome*, and thence to *Collatia*, where they found *Lucretia*, not indulging Idleness, like the rest of the Wives, but hard at Work; whereon they all admiring her Goodness, Modesty and Beauty, gave her the Preference. Upon this *Sextus* resolved to enjoy her at any rate; and to obtain this End, within a few Days came to *Collatia*, where being lodged at her House in the Night Time, he came to her Bed with a drawn Sword, threatening the poor Lady with Death if she offered to stir: But finding her inflexible either to Threats or Promises, even of enjoying a Share of a Crown, he told her, *If she would not yield he would kill her, and then lay his Slave dead by her Side, and report it was for surprizing her in Adultery with him.* By those Means he obtained his End and departed. *Lucretia* being enraged with this Injury, sent for her Husband and her Father, desiring them to bring some special Friends along with them, for a signal Mischief had befallen her. With her Father came *Publius Valerius*, and with her Husband *L. Junius Brutus*, before whom she told the whole Matter, conjuring them to avenge her Cause, and then stabbed her self with a Knife to the Heart, as a Proof of her Chastity. While they stood amazed, *Brutus* pulled out the bloody Knife, and swore by all the *Roman* Gods to exterminate *Tarquin*,

(a) *Florus*, lib. i. cap. 6. (b) *Livius*, lib. i. cap. 44. (c) *Lib.* i. cap. 7. (d) *Lib.* i. cap. 55.

quin, with his impious Wife and Progeny (a), and never to suffer any of them to reign at Rome, the rest doing the same. As for this *Brutus*, his Father *Marcus Junius*, tho' one of the first Roman Quality, had been murdered by this King *Tarquin*, and his Estate seized. *Lucius Junius* counterfeiting himself a Fool, whence he had the Surname of *Brutus*, was taken into the King's Family to make Sport; and when the King sent his Son *Sextus* and *Titus* to *Delphos*, to consult the Oracle in the Time of a great Pestilence, he went with them; and they laughed to see him present a wooden Staff to *Apollo*; but they knew not that Gold was within it. When they had done their Business, they enquired at the Oracle which of them should be Prince at Rome? It was answered, *He who should first kiss his Mother*. When they landed in *Italy*, *Brutus* pretending to fall down by Chance, kissed the Earth, the Mother of all Men. Afterwards he kept his Resentment; but soon threw off the Mask; and, in an elaborate Speech, declared the Wickedness of the *Tarquines*, exposed *Lucretia's* Body, and enflamed the People to assert their Liberty. The Multitude ran to Arms; and in a publick Assembly held in the *Campus Martius*, *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were nominated to exercise the Regal Power. *Tarquin* being informed of what had happened, hastned to Rome, where the Gates were shut against him. When he returned to the Camp, the Army refused to admit him; and so he was forced to retire to *Gabii*. This Revolution happened after *Tarquin* had reigned twenty five Years, 244 Years after the Building of Rome, from the Creation of the World 3441, before the Birth of Christ 509 Years. The Roman Dominions were then about forty Miles long, and thirty broad; a Spot of Ground not much larger, than is now the Commonwealth of *Lucca*.

§ 4. HERE begins the Consular State; but the Name of those Magistrates, and the Limits of their Power, were not so soon fixed. *Tarquin* after his Expulsion, sent Ambassadors to the City, promising a more regular Administration if they would receive him as their King, but the People rejected his Offers: Only some young Men being educated at Court, in Licence and Pleasure, entertained Designs to re-establish the Regal State. Among them were *Titus* and *Tiberius*, two Sons of *Brutus*, three of the *Vitellii*, Nephews to *Collatinus* the Consul, and two of the *Aquillii*. One *Vindicius* a Slave, having concealed himself in the Room where the Plot was formed, revealed the whole to *Valerius Poplicola* (b), who secured the Slave, and then with his Friends and Clients seized the Conspirators with their Letters, and brought them into the *Forum*. The Consuls having taken their Seats, *Vindicius* was sent for, who narrated the whole Story, and the Letters being publicly read made the Conspiracy evident. The accused Persons being astonished, could plead nothing, only the Tears and Pity of *Collatinus* gave them some Hopes of Mercy. At last *Brutus* with a stern Countenance said to his Sons thrice, *can you make no Defence against those Crimes laid to your Charge?* And upon their Silence, he said to the Lictors and Executioners, *now it is your Part to perform the rest*, and with an unshaken Firmness, beheld his Sons scourged and beheaded, and then left the Assembly. The People being offended with *Collatinus's* Backwardness to punish the other Prisoners, he thought fit to resign his Place, and *Valerius Poplicola* was chosen Consul in his Room; who gave *Vindicius* the Privilege of a Roman freed Man, (hence a full Manumission was afterwards called *Vindicta*) and the rest of the Conspirators were beheaded. *Tarquin's* Goods were divided among the People, his Palace demolished, and the *Campus Martius* which he had enclosed for himself, laid open for the Benefit of the City.

Tarquin now finding that all his Prayers and Politick Views for Restoration were ineffectual, drew together an Army of *Tuscans*, with which he advanced to Rome, and the Consuls led out their Forces to oppose him. *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the Consul singled out each other, and fighting with more Zeal than good Conduct, were both slain. A very bloody Battle followed, which a Tempest parted, so as neither Party had Reason to boast of the Victory: But in the Night Time an extraordinary Fright is said to have seized the *Tuscan* Army, so as they abandoned their Camp, and five thousand of them were taken Prisoners by the *Romans* with the Spoil. Next Day the Bodies of the dead being numbered, there were found 11300 *Tuscans*, and of the *Romans* as many save one (c). *Valerius Poplicola* the remaining Consul had a more noble Triumph than any before him. Having restored the Peace, he made a funeral Oration for his Colleague, and his Example was followed by Posterity. *Poplicola* delaying the Election of another Consul till Affairs were settled, and mean Time dwelling in a stately House on Mount *Velia*, the People feared he would prove another *Tarquin*. But he soon shewed them the contrary, by pulling down his House, and bowing so courteously to the People in publick, that he was called, *The People pleaser*: And to ingratiate himself further with them, he made several Laws for retrenching the Consular Power; by allowing Appeals from the Consul to the People; by making it Death for any Man to take on the Office of a Magistrate without the People's Consent; and to relieve poor Citizens from Payment of Tribute. He also made Laws for punishing Disobedience to the Consuls, and for creating two *Quæstors* or publick Treasurers to take Care of publick Moneys and

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(a) Livius. lib. 1. cap. 56, — 59. (b) Plutarch. in *Poplicola*. Livius. lib. 2. (c) Plutarch. in *Poplicola*.

and Contributions, and appointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or Treasury. Then he held an Assembly for electing another Consul, where *Lucretius* the Father of *Lucretia* was chosen, and the Precedency yielded to him. But he dying a few Days after his Creation, *Marcus Horatius* was chosen in his Room, in whose Time the *Capitol* was finished and dedicated. In *Poplicola's* second Consulship, which was in the Year of Rome 246, *Tarquin* made a new Effort to recover his Kingdom: For gaining *Porfenna*, King of *Clusium*, one of the *Etrurian* Princes to espouse his Quarrel, he came with an Army, seized the *Janiculum*, and laid Siege to *Rome*. In an Attack *Poplicola* was wounded and carried off; upon which the *Romans* flying were pursued to the Bridge, and the Enemy might have entered the Town, had not *Horatius Cocles*, and a few Men with him valiantly defended the Passage, till the *Romans* broke the Bridge: Then *Cocles* threw himself in his Armour into the River, and swam over unto his Friends, tho' he received a Wound in the Hips while on his Way. *Poplicola* rewarded him, by bestowing upon him a Piece of Land, and by erecting to his Memory a Statue of Brass in the Temple of *Vulcan*. Mean Time *Porfenna*, by carrying on the Siege, reduced the City to great Straits by Famine. But *Poplicola* in his third Consulship stole out of the City, and overthrew and killed five thousand of the *Tuscans* (a). However the Siege continued, till *Mutius* a *Roman*, but wearing the *Tuscan* Habit and speaking their Language, broke in upon their Camp, designing to have killed *Porfenna*, but instead of him slew one of his Courtiers; whereupon being apprehended, he thrust his Right Hand into the Fire to punish it for so gross a Mistake. The King observing his Resolution, reached him back his Sword and dismissed him with Applause. *Mutius* taking it with his left Hand, whence he had the Name of *Scævola*, told the King, That three hundred *Romans* in the Camp now waited to take away his Life, but that he was satisfied he had missed killing a Person, whose Magnanimity entitled him to the Friendship of the *Roman* Nation. Whereon *Porfenna* admiring the *Roman* Courage, abandoned the Interest of *Tarquin*, and came to an Accommodation with the *Romans* upon Terms, that they should quit the *Tuscan* Lands which they had formerly taken, and that Prisoners and Deserters should be returned on both Sides.

Ann. U. C. 249. A Year or two after this, the *Sabines* being very troublesome by their Incursions into the *Roman* Territories, *M. Valerius*, the Brother of *Poplicola*, and *Posthumius Tubertus* being Consuls, they were twice overthrown, and many of them killed, with little Loss to the *Romans*. The Year following *Poplicola* being Consul a fourth Time, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* joined with the *Latines* against *Rome*. But *Appius Claudius*, an eminent Man among them, being much against the War, retarded the Preparations, and afterwards came over to the *Romans* with five thousand of his Friends (b), who had large Privileges and Possessions allowed them in the City, especially *Claudius* himself, who was made a Senator, and the *Claudi*, afterwards called *Claudii*, became as great a Family as any at *Rome*. The rest of the *Sabines* were soon defeated. In a little after this *Poplicola* died, and was buried with Honour on the publick Charge.

Ann. U. C. 255. *Tarquin* being still restless and unsatisfied, by the Assistance of *Mamilius Octavius* his Son in Law, stirred up the whole Body of the *Latines* to make War against *Rome*, and also procured *Fidenæ* to revolt. He endeavoured to foment Jealousies between the richer and poorer Sort of the *Romans*; the latter complaining of Usury, and that the Creditors used their Debtors worse than Slaves; *Sulpicius* one of the Consuls punished the Mutineers, and the City *Fidenæ* yielded to *Largius Flavius*. The rest of the *Latines* enraged at the Loss of this Town, began to complain of their principal Men; which Opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* so far improved, as to obtain all the *Latin* Cities, being twenty four in Number, to declare War against the *Romans*, engaging them by dreadful Oaths, that none of them should forsake their Associates, nor make any separate Peace. This Confederacy obliged the *Romans* to prepare for War; but when they began to levy Men, the poorer Sort refused to list, except their Debts were remitted by a Decree of the Senate (c). The *Patricians* endeavoured to pacify the Multitude by gentle Words, but all in vain: At length it was resolved, that all Suits and Processes concerning Debts, should cease till this War was finished. The Senate also found it necessary, upon the Account of the Wars abroad, and Troubles at home, to create a particular Magistrate from whom there should be no Appeal, and who for a limited Time, should be sole Governor, by the Name of Dictator. *Largius Flavius* (d) was the first created by the Senate into this Office. This was the first Intermision of the Consular Power; which long afterwards in the Time of *Cæsar*, proved the Ruin of the Commonwealth, and the Means of introducing Monarchy. The Dictator appointed *Sp. Cassius* his Master of Horse, and began a Census; where fear of losing their Freedom and Estate so far prevailed, that Abundance of People listed themselves; and he got the *Latines* to make a Truce for one Year. This being done, he laid down his Dictatorship, no Man having suffered Death or Banishment in his Time: Nor

(a) Plutarchus in *Poplicola*. (b) Plutarch. *ibidem*. (c) Livius lib. x. (d) Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. 5. cap. 82, & seq.

Nor was this extraordinary Office much abused to the Prejudice of the Republick till the Days of *Sylla*.

The Truce being at an End, both Parties prepared to take the Field. The *Latines* being very strong, the Senate nominated *Virginius Posthumius* Dictator, who chose *Ebutius Elva* for his Master of Horse, and encamped at the Lake *Regillus*, fourteen Miles East of Rome; where a bloody Battle was fought. *Florus* (a) says, That *Posthumius* threw one of the Ensigns among the Enemy, that his Men might be the more eager to fall upon them and recover it, and that *Cossus* ordered the Bridles to be taken off the Horses, that they might charge with the greater Violence and Fury. At last the Victory fell to the Side of the Romans, who fought with so much Bravery, that *Florus* (b) says, No Body doubts but *Castor* and *Pollux* were present on Milk white Steeds, and the Dictator vowed to build them Temples. The *Latines* lost *Mamilius* and *Sextus Tarquinius*, and were so broken, that scarce a fourth Part of them escaped, and therefore they begged Peace; which was granted. Thus ended the Wars upon Account of the *Tarquins*, after they had continued for thirteen Years: And the old proud *Tarquin* being the only Person left of all his Family, retired to *Cumæ*, where he soon died, being about ninety Years of Age, and the last King, bearing that Title, that ever Rome saw.

Upon finishing this War, *Posthumius* laid down his Dictatorship, and *Appius Claudius* the Sabine, with *Servilius Priscus* were made Consuls for the following Year, being the 258 of Rome. The Severity of the Creditors made new Complaints among the People; which occasioned *M. Valerius* a Popular Man, to be next Year chosen Dictator; who pleasing the People with fair Promises, lifted ten Legions, and with those (c) marched against the *Volsci*, *Æqui* and *Sabines*, then all up in Arms, and having reduced them, he divided most of the Lands of the *Volsci* among his Soldiers, but was not able to satisfy their Demands concerning their Debts. And therefore, when he had laid down his Office, and Peace was restored, Debates and Humours between the Patricians and Plebeians came to a great Height, so as the People retired and encamped in *Mons Sacer*, and would join in no War till their Grievances were redressed (d). There were different Opinions in the Senate about the proper Method to satisfy those Complaints. *Appius Claudius*, a venerable Senator, pleaded that by complying with the Multitude, they had impaired the Dignity of their own Order, and that nothing ought to be granted to the Rabble. *Menenius Agrippa* on the other Side urged the great Necessity of Compliance with the People, since the Roman Dominions could neither be preserved nor increased without the Assistance of the inferior Sort, and in this he was seconded by *Posthumius* the last Dictator and several others. At last it was agreed, that the People should chuse *Tribunes* to preserve their Privileges and secure their Liberties. The Authority of those Tribunes was so great, that they could assemble the People, propose what they pleased, hinder the Deliberations of the Senate, annul its Decrees, summon other Magistrates before the People; yea sometimes they imprisoned the Consuls. They were to keep their Doors open Night and Day, to hear Complaints and relieve the oppressed, and had no Power to be absent from the City. They were at first only five in Number (e); but thirty seven Years after this, five more were added, and this Number long continued. They were at first chosen from among the common People; but afterwards the Senators and Patricians looked on this Charge as honourable, and the Emperors themselves after *Augustus*, did not disdain the Title of *Tribuni Plebis*. This Remarkable Change happened in the Year of Rome 260, from the Creation of the World 3457, before the Birth of Christ 493 Years.

The Commons having obtained from the Senate a Confirmation of the Tribuneship, they got another Privilege superadded, even to chuse yearly two out of their Body to assist these Officers. They were called *Ædiles*, *ab ædibus curandis*, because one Part of their Business was to take Care of the publick Buildings: And besides, they were, by Permission of the Tribunes, to punish excessive Usurers, to restrain Tipling and Gaming-houses, to correct false Weights and Measures, and to provide, Bread, Corn and Oyl in Time of Famine. The Commons having obtained those Grants, readily lifted (which before they had refused) against the *Volsci*, under *Posthumius Cominius* the Consul, who took *Longula*, and *Polustia*, and then invested *Corioli* their Metropolis. When the Romans attempted to storm this Town, the Besieged received them with so much Courage as to drive them back to their Trenches: But *Caius Marcius* a Patrician stood the Shock, and forced the Besieged back to the Town, following them so close at the Heels, that he entred the Gates with them, overthrew the Enemy, and took the City. Whereupon the Consul gave *Marcius* great Praise, and offered him the tenth Part of the Spoil, before the Division of the rest among the Soldiers: But he generously refused all, except one single Horse, and the Relief of one single Person he had a Favour for among the Prisoners. Which being granted, he was honoured with the Surname of *Coriolanus* (f), and a Peace was granted to the *Volsci* upon their Submission.

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(a) Lib. i. cap. xi. (b) Ibid. & Dion. Halicarnassens, lib. 6. cap. xi. (c) Livius lib. 2. cap. 30. (d) Dion. Halicarnassens, lib. 6. cap. 37, — 81. (e) Livius, lib. 2. cap. 33. (f) Plutarch. in Coriolano. Dionysius Halicarnassens, lib. 6. cap. 85.

Ann. U.C. 261: Next Year there was a Famine in the City, occasioned by the Want of Tillage in the Time of the late Confusions between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; which obliged the Senate to send to *Sicily*, and several Parts of *Italy* for Corn, a great Quantity whereof was bought at an easy Rate, or half given by *Gelon* King of *Sicily*. When the Senate came to consult how to dispose of it, *Coriolanus* advised to keep it up at a high Rate, and to shew no Favour to the Insolence of the *Tribunes*, and of the *Rabble*, but to take away the *Tribuneship*, as the only Way to remedy the Disorders of the State (a). Upon which he was indited before the *Tribunes*, and *Sicinius* one of that Number pronounced against him the Sentence of Death, ordering their *Ædiles* to seize him, and cast him headlong over the *Tarpeian* Rock. But a Tumult arising, he was rescued by the *Patricians* out of their Hands; and the *Tribunes* themselves granted the third *Nundinæ*, or ninth Day thereafter for his Trial. When the appointed Day came, *Coriolanus* was accused for aspiring to be King, and using tyrannical Power over *Rome*; but when they found this Charge could not be proved, they accused him of hindering the Corn to be distributed among the People at a mean Price; and that he had not made a Distribution conform to Law, of the Spoils taken in the Territory of the *Antiates*. For these Things the Majority of the Tribes gave their Sentence that he should be banished the City for ever. Accordingly having taken Farewell of his weeping Family, he left the City, accompanied only by some few Friends, retired to *Antium* in the Territory of the *Volsci*, and sat down in the House of *Tullus Attius*, the principal Man in the City, a great Enemy to the *Romans*, to whom he represented his Cause; and he cheerfully engaged in his Quarrel. *Coriolanus* having got an Army together, plundered the *Roman* Territories, taking *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*: And understanding the great Dissentions that were at *Rome*, he marched all the Way to *Cluilius's* Ditch, within five Miles of the City; which put all the Citizens in a Fear, especially when he refused, at the Desire of their Ambassadors, with their Priests and Sooth-sayers, so much as to treat of a Peace. At last his Mother *Veturia*, with his Wife *Volumnia*, and some other Ladies, made their Addresses to him in favours of his Country; and after a moving Speech of his Mother, which is pathetically represented by *Plutarch* (b), he told her, O Mother, you have gained the Victory, most fortunate to my Country; but mortal and unhappy for your Son. And upon this withdrew his Army from the *Roman* Territories. *Tullus Attius* represented this as the highest Treachery to the *Volsci*, and got poor *Coriolanus* to be cut in Pieces by them, without allowing him to speak a Word for himself, in the Year of *Rome* 265. The *Roman* Senate decreed the Temple of Fortune to be built for the Women, and allowed them to mourn ten Months for the Death of *Coriolanus*.

Soon after this *Virginus* and *Cassius* overthrew the *Volsci*, and killed *Tullus* their General: Yet equal Privileges were granted to them with the *Latines*, by the Means of *Sp. Cassius*; which together with his Triumph lately obtained, without performing any thing that deserved it, procured him much Envy, especially when he became proud by his three Consulships, and two Triumphs, and seemed to affect a Continuation of this Power to himself as sole Governor. Nor did his granting the People the *Agrarian* Law, by which the conquered Land was divided among the Commons, excluding new Allies and Associates, who could not expect to share of what was gained before their Time, mend the Matter: But at last *Cassius* was accused of affecting Tyranny, condemned and executed for it (c).

In this summary Account of the *Roman* Affairs, I don't pretend to take Notice of the Transactions of every Year, but of the more remarkable; and therefore may here observe, that when *Cæso Fabius*, and *Titus Virginius* were Consuls, in the Year of *Rome* 275, the *Veientes* engaged in War with the *Romans*, and were opposed by the Family of the *Fabii*. The *Veientes* not daring to attack them in their Fortrefs, drew them out by a Stratagem; and they fell in an Ambuscade; where that whole Family, consisting of three hundred and six Men; saith *Livy* (d), and *Aurelius Victor* (e), or of three hundred, according to *Eutropius* (f), were all cut off, fighting valiantly, and killing many of their Enemies: Only one Boy, not fit for the War, remained; of whom afterwards sprung *Fabius Maximus*. But the *Veientes* were soon so overpowered, as they were forced to beg Peace of the *Romans*; which was granted them for forty Years (g). A Census being kept at *Rome*, a hundred and nineteen thousand Citizens were entred in the Tax-Roll (h). The *Romans* still continued to have War with the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volsci*, wherein they generally had the Advantage. From the *Volsci* they took *Antium*, a considerable City on the Sea-coast, twenty eight Miles South-east of *Rome*; which was made a *Roman* Colony. Nor had any of those People any considerable Advantage over the *Romans* for nine Years together, tho' in the midst of these Wars there happened a most grievous Plague in the City, which swept away a great Multitude both of Nobility and Commons (i). The *Æqui* and the *Volsci* were much weakned; their Territories wasted;

Ann. U.C. 291:

(a) *Plutarchus* in *Coriolano*. (b) In *Coriolano*. *Dionys. Halicarnas.* lib. 8. cap. 1, — 71. (c) *Ibid.* lib. 8. cap. 79. — 91. *Florus*, lib. 1. cap. 26. (d) Lib. 2. cap. 50. (e) *De viris illustribus*. (f) Lib. 1. p. m. 10. (g) *Livius*, lib. 2. cap. 54. (h) *Eutropius*, lib. 1. p. m. 10. (i) *Dionys. Halicarnas.* lib. 9. cap. 48. & 84.

waisted; and *Lucretius* and *Veturius* the Consuls obtained the one a Triumph, and the other an Ovation, which was an Inferior Sort of Triumph, over them.

Amidst these Successes *Rome* had against her Neighbours, her Affairs were frequently in Danger of Ruin at home, by seditious Debates and Contentions between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. Sometimes these happened about the *Agrarian Laws*, or Division of Lands among the common People. At other Occasions, the Tribunes of the People, (who were now ten in Number) would have the Power of the Consuls limited, alledging they had the whole Regal Power, tho' without the Name. The *Romans*, from the building of their City to this Time, seem to have had no fixed Law, nor constant Form of administering Justice. It was then proposed by *C. Terentius*, or *Terentillus*, a Tribune of the People, that Ambassadors might be sent into *Greece*, to bring thence a Body of Laws, for regulating their Procedure in all Time coming. Accordingly three Envoys were sent by Sea on the publick Charge; who, after three Years Stay, returned, and brought a System of Laws, called the Law first of the Ten, and afterwards of the Twelve Tables, concerning sacred, publick and private Rights; which is now for most part lost, except some Fragments excerpted out of various Authors (a). When the Ambassadors returned, the Tribunes required that Magistrates might be nominated to execute those Laws. And after a grave Debate in the Senate, it was agreed, that ten Men of the chief Senators should be elected, whose Power continuing only for a Year, should be the same with that of Kings or Consuls, without any Appeal; And that other Magistrates should lay down their Authority, till their Commission should be renewed according to the Laws. This being done in the Senate, and confirmed by the People, the Consuls elect, resigned their Office, and were made part of the Decemvirate. As also the Tribunes, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, &c. were divested of all Power and Authority (b). This remarkable Change of Government, and second Sort of Intermision of the Consular Power happened 303 Years after the Building of *Rome*, 3499 Years from the Creation of the World, and 451 Years before our Saviour's Birth. Ann. U. C. 300.

§ 5. THE *Decemvirs* began their Government with Moderation: The sinking of the Office of Tribunes of the People was acceptable to the Senate, and the Equity of the new Laws was pleasing to the People; and hence they had the Interest to have their Power continued for about three Years. But when they began to act in an arbitrary Way, and tyrannize over the People, the Scene changed; particularly when *Appius Claudius*, the first and chief of the Decemvirate, formed a Design to make their Power during Life; when, contrary to the Advice of *C. Claudius* his Uncle, he tyrannized over the Senators, and commanded the Clerk to draw a Decree, whereby the sole Power of levying Forces and commanding them was given to the *Decemvirs*; when he and his Collegues were forced by the *Æqui* to flee shamefully, and abandon their Camp; when he caused murder *Siccius Dentatus*; and finally, when he seized *Virginia*, the beautiful Daughter of *Virginius* a Plebeian, for his own Lust; whom her Father killed in the Market-place with a Butcher's Knife, and cried out, *Appius, thou Tyrant, with this Knife I doom thee to Death*, and with the same bloody Knife in his Hand ran through the City, calling to the People to regain their Liberty, and the same way ran to the Camp, persuading the Army to revolt from the *Ten*, and redeem their sinking Country: Then the Power of the Decemvirate came to an End (c). *Appius*, the chief of them, was committed to Prison; but before his Trial, was found dead. *Oppius*, the next to him, was accused and condemned; but died the same Day in Prison, by his own Hands. The other eight went willingly into Banishment. This was done in the End of the third Year after the *Decemvirs* were nominate, being the Year of *Rome* 306.

§ 6. THE Power of the *Decemvirs* being abrogate, the Government of the City returned to its former Channel. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were chosen Consuls, and *Virginius*, who had so active a Hand in this Revolution, was chosen one of the Tribunes of the People. The Consuls took the field against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, so successfully as to deserve a Triumph; which tho' the Senate refused, yet by the Assistance of the Tribunes, they procured a Law to pass by the Votes of the People, granting them the Honour they demanded. Thus the Plebeian Power did daily increase. In the Year of *Rome* 309, the same Enemies of the State made Incursions and Ravages, even to the Walls of the City, till *Quintius* and *Furius* the Consuls gave them a signal Overthrow.

The Tribunes of the People became still more insolent, and nothing would satisfy the Commons but to have a Share in the highest Offices and Places of Trust; for which end they proposed two Laws, one, to permit the Marriage of the Plebeians with the Patricians, and the other, to make Plebeians capable of the Consulship. The Senators took those Demands in ill Part; but, to prevent Commotions in the State, they passed the Law about Marriages. This pacified the Commons only for a short Space; for when the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made Ravages in the *Roman* Territories, they refused to list themselves in the War, till they were made Par-

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takers

(a) Vide Rosini Antiq. Roman. lib. 8. p. m. 404.—437. Roman History by Carrou & Rouille, vol. 1. (b) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 10. cap. 64.—69. Livius, lib. 3. (c) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 11. cap. 1.—50. Livius, lib. 3.

takers of the Consulship. After some Conferences among the Senators, *Claudius* proposed this Expedient, by no means to suffer the Consulship to come into the Hands of the Plebeians, but to create certain Governors in the room of the Consuls, fix or eight in Number, whereof one half at least should be Patricians; for by this means they should seem not to take too much Power to themselves, and yet retain their Prerogative. And he added, That when the Senate should assemble, he would speak against the Demand of the Plebeians as unreasonable, with some elder Senators; but that *Genutius*, the Consul's Brother, with some younger Members of the Senate, should offer this Mean of Reconciliation, and the rest should go in to it (a). When the Meeting of the Senate came, this Method being taken, the Plebeians were pleased with the Offer; and tho' some of their Number stood for the Office, they bestowed it upon three eminent Patricians, being satisfied with the bare Novelty of the Thing. This was the third Intermission of the Consular Power, tho' the Authority was equivalent, which happened in the 310th Year of Rome, 443 Years before our Saviour's Birth. And here ends the eleventh Book of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, which is the last of his Roman History or Antiquities that is transmitted to us, the rest being lost.

§ 7. THESE new Magistrates were called *Military Tribunes*; but within three Months after their Election, the Augurs found some Flaw in it (b), and the Government returned to its former Channel. Next Year the Consuls, to ease themselves of a Part of the publick Business, got two new Magistrates created called *Censors* (c), being so named because the overseeing of the *Census* was a principal Part of their Office, whereby an Estimate was made of the Romans Estates, distributing them into Classes and Centuries, and taking their Numbers. They were chosen once in five Years, when the *Lustrum* was to be performed, and continued only a Year and a half. In process of Time they became Persons of great Dignity and Power, being Inspectors of Mens Lives and Manners, taking upon them to degrade Senators; to take away the Horse and the Ring from the *Equites* or Gentlemen, and to turn Plebeians from a higher to a lower Tribe, and to do other things of the like Nature; and were for a long Time chosen out of the Patricians. About the same time, *Geganus* the Consul relieved *Ardea*, and triumphed over the *Volsci*, leading *Cluilius* their General a Captive before his triumphal Chariot (d). About three Years after this, in the Time of a great Famine, *Sp. Maelius* a Roman Knight, who was very rich, distributed a considerable Quantity of Corn to the Poor at his own Charge, whereby he affected to be popular, and to raise himself to the Sovereignty. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, an aged Man, being then chosen Dictator, and *Servilius Abala* his Master of the Horse, the Dictator summoned *Maelius* to appear (e); who being back'd by the Mob, refused to obey. Whereupon *Abala* set upon him in the Forum, and killed him; and was justified by *Quintius*, who ordered his Goods to be sold, and his House to be demolished. The Tribunes of the People being enraged at the Death of their Friend *Maelius*, caused Military Tribunes to be created for the following Year; and three Patricians were elected, to the disappointment of the Plebeians: But Consuls were chosen next Year.

Ann. U.C. 115. For some Time the Romans had Wars with the *Fidenates* and *Vejentes*, the *Volsci* and *Æquii*, their Neighbours; who being subdued, a more dangerous Enemy did arise, I mean the Gauls; who finding their own Country too narrow for them, and desiring a Remove into new Habitations, under the Conduct of *Brennus* their King they broke into *Etruria*, and invested *Clusium*, a City in alliance with Rome. These were the *Galli Senones*, a numerous and warlike People, inhabiting that Part of Italy which is now called *Lombardy*, a People vast in Body, rude and barbarous in their Manners, who wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Ann. U.C. 352. The Inhabitants of *Clusium*, affrighted at their Numbers and dreadful Looks, sent to Rome (f), begging the Republick to interpose by Ambassadors to dissuade those unjust Aggressors from their Enterprize. Accordingly the Senate dispatched three of the *Fabii*, whom the Gauls received courteously, and in a Conference the Ambassadors demanded the Reasons of their present Undertaking, since the *Clusians* had done them no Injury. To which *Brennus* answered, That the *Clusians* had refused to part with some of their Lands to him, when they had more than they could easily manage; and this was the same kind of Quarrel that the Romans had with the *Albans*, *Vejentes* and others, with whom they had constant Wars. These Answers so enraged the Ambassadors, that they straight stirred up the Besieged in *Clusium* to make a Sally against the Besiegers (g), they themselves heading them. *Fabius Ambustus*, one of these Envoys, in the Fight killed a Gaul of huge Bulk, and was discovered while disarming him. This provoked *Brennus*, to see Ambassadors acting so contrary to the Duties of their Office, and made him break up the Siege, and march directly to Rome. But, that he might not seem to do any thing unjustly, he demanded the Men to be delivered up who had broke the Law of Nations; which the Senate and People not only refused, but also created the same Persons, in conjunction with three others, Military Tribunes for carrying on the War. *Brennus*, on hearing this, hastned

(a) Dionys. Halicarnas. lib. 11. cap. 57 & seq. Livius, lib. 4. cap. 1, — 7. (b) Livius, Ibid. (c) Ibid. cap. 8. Gellius, lib. 4. cap. 12. (d) Livius, lib. 4. cap. 10. (e) Ibid. cap. 13, 14. Augustin. de civitate Dei, lib. 3. cap. 17. (f) Florus, lib. 1. cap. 13. Livius, lib. 5. cap. 33. (g) Plutarch. in Camillo. Livius, lib. 5. cap. 36.

hastened his March; but spared the affrighted Country on the Road. The Romans met him at the River *Allia*, eleven Miles from the City, with an Army of forty thousand Foot; but for most part they were raw unskilful Soldiers, and, which was worse, under the Conduct of several Tribunes equal in Command. Hence they were soon defeated: Their left Wing being driven into the River *Allia*, and there drowned or cut in Pieces, their right fled; and the Day was ever after marked as unlucky in the Roman Kalendar. Rome was in great Consternation at the News of their Loss, and the sudden Approach of the Enemy, nothing being heard but Howlings; so that the City was left abandoned and open: Only a Part of the Citizens retired to the Capitol, and resolved there to endure a Siege. Some of the Priests and ancient Senators, who had been honoured with Consulships and Triumphs, could not quit the City; but placed themselves in the *Forum* in their Robes and Ivory Chairs, resolving, since they had lived in Honour, to die in State. *Brennus*, the third Day after the Victory, entered the defenceless City, and marched on to the *Forum*; where he wondred to see so many grave Men sitting like Statues, and thought them to be an Assembly of Gods. At last a Soldier stroked *Papirius's* Beard; but the old Man not bearing this, gave the Fellow a Blow with his Ivory Staff, till the Blood came: Whereupon the Soldier killed the Senator with a Sword, and the rest of the Gauls did the like to all the Romans, without Mercy or Distinction, that came in their Way (a); and for many Days plundered the City, and then burnt it down to the Ground. Thus all Rome was burnt, except the Capitol, 364 Years after it was built, from the Creation of the World 3561 Years, before the Birth of Christ 389.

Mean time the Capitol was closely besieged by the Gauls, and the Country round about ravaged and destroyed by their Army (b). At this Time *M. Furius Camillus* was at *Ardea*. Upon mentioning this noble Roman, who acted a very generous Part, in delivering his Country, it is not out of my Way to give a short Account of his Life: And therefore we may observe, that he raised himself by his Merit and great Skill in military Affairs. For at the Siege of *Veii*, which lasted ten Years, he was twice a Military Tribune. He being chosen Dictator, and finding that the City was not to be taken by Storm, he carried on a Mine; which being finished, he made a general Assault, which obliged the Besieged to stand to the Defence of their Walls; and in the mean time the Roman Soldiers broke open the Mine, leaped into the City, and opened the Gates to the Dictator; where he entering, took great Spoils, and particularly *Juno's* Image, which he carried to Rome (c); and obtained a more noble Triumph than any of his Predecessors. When the Tribunes of the People proposed a Law, to divide the Senate and People into two Parts, whereof one should stay at Rome, and the other remove to *Veii*, *Camillus* opposed the Motion, and got it put off, as what might tend to the Ruin of their ancient City. In the Year of Rome 360, he was made a third Time Military Tribune against the *Falisci*; whom he shut up and besieged in their City *Falerii*, which was strong, and well provided for Defence, and therefore not easy to be taken. During the Siege, the Schoolmaster of the Town several Times led out his Boys to Game, and at last, thinking to merit a great Reward from the Roman General, delivered his whole Scholars to the Besiegers, as a Pledge whereby they might gain the City. But *Camillus*, abhorring this base Treachery, ordered the Schoolmaster to be ty'd, and whipp'd by his Scholars into the Town; and the Besieged were so taken with this noble Generosity, that they yielded to *Camillus*; who took them and the *Falisci* into Friendship with the Romans, only fining them in a Sum of Money. Notwithstanding these good Services, *Camillus* was indicted by the Tribunes of the People, for fraudulent Practices with respect to the Plunder obtained in the Wars, and for not giving the tenth of the Spoil to *Apollo* conform to his Vow, and fined in fifteen thousand *Asses*, which amounts to about fifty Pounds *Sterling*. *Camillus* taking this in ill Part, especially because he found the Multitude exasperated against him, retired to *Ardea*, praying, *That if he was innocent, his Country might find the Loss of him*. In this Retirement, he was moved with Compassion; when he heard of the Saccage and burning of Rome by the Gauls, and finding these Enemies went about in Parties plundering the Country, and frequently lay at Night drunk in the Fields, he persuaded the Men of *Ardea* who were able to bear Arms to join him, and fall upon them; which they so effectually did, as to cut off a great Party, scarce leaving a Man to carry News to Rome of the Defeat. The Fame of this Victory revived a little the fainting Spirits of the Romans, and those of them who fled to *Veii* after the late Overthrow at *Allia*, sent to *Camillus* to be their General. But he refused to act unless he obtained a Commission from those shut up in the Capitol, whom he considered as the surviving Roman State. Now, it was very difficult to have any Correspondence with the Besieged in the Capitol: However, *Pontius Cominius* undertook this Service, and putting on a poor Garment, with a Bundle of Corks under it; he swam the River *Tyber* upon the Corks, and scrambled up the Rock, where he soon got his Instructions from the Besieged; and returning the same Way, delivered to *Camillus* an Order of the Senate constituting him Dictator, who chose *Valerius Potitius* his

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(a) Livius, lib. 5. cap. 41. (b) Ibid. cap. 42, 43. (c) Plutarch. in Camillo.

his Master of Horse ; and getting together a considerable Army, resolved to march against the Enemy.

In the mean time the *Gauls* discovered that some body had scrambled up to the Capitol, and told the same to *Brennus* ; who ordered a Party in the Night-time to climb up the same Way, and surprise the Place. The Attempt was made with great Secrecy, not so much as a Dog barking ; only some Geese, said to be sacred to *Juno*, by gagging, and clapping their Wings, discovered it. Whereupon the *Romans* snatched up their Weapons ; and particularly *Manlius*, a noble Patrician, throwing down two of the foremost of the *Gauls*, and others doing the like, these by their Fall overthrew others who were behind them ; so as the whole Design was disappointed. After this the Affairs of the *Gauls* were in a worse Condition by want of Provisions, and the Plague raging among them ; which made them offer to capitulate upon the following Terms, *That upon the Romans paying a thousand Pound-weight of Gold, they should leave the City.* The Gold being brought forth, the *Gauls* pulled back the Balance as they thought fit ; which the *Romans* complaining of, *Brennus* cast in his Sword and Belt into the Scales, crying, *Væ victis, Wo to the Vanquished*, which became a Proverb. While they were thus disputing, *Camillus* arrived with his Army, and told the *Gauls*, *That it was the Custom of the Romans to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold ; and that he disannulled the Compact, as being made without his Consent, who being Dictator, had the sole Power of making Peace.* Whereupon they went to Blows ; and next Day, in a bloody Battle the *Gauls* were entirely overthrown, their Camp taken, and such Execution done in the Pursuit that the *Roman* Territories were in a short Time cleared of them. Thus *Rome* was as remarkably recovered as it had been before lost, after it had continued seven Months in the Enemy's Hands ; for they entered *Rome* on the fifteenth of *July*, and were driven out on the thirteenth of *February* following (a). For which Victory *Camillus* triumphed, the People all rejoicing, and calling him their Saviour and second Founder.

This War being finished, the Tribunes of the People once more began to urge for removing to *Veii*, which made the Senate to order *Camillus* to hold his Dictatorship for a whole Year (b), which was six Months longer than the usual Term. He declared to the People how dishonourable it was, to forsake the Seat of their Ancestors to inhabit a conquered City, and ordered *Rome* to be rebuilt ; which was done with greater Diligence and Haste than good Order. Next Year Military Tribunes were chosen ; who being block'd up by the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Hetrurians*, *Camillus* was made Dictator a third Time, who chose *Servilius Ahala* for his Master of Horse ; and they forced their Enemies to submit, after several of their Cities had been taken : For which *Camillus* triumphed a third Time. Three Years after this, he being then a Military Tribune, overcame the same People again, together with the *Hetrurians* and *Latines*. In the Year of *Rome* 369, four Tribes were added, which made the whole Number twenty five. *Manlius*, for his good Service in preserving the Capitol, had got the Sirname of *Capitolinus* : But being proud, ambitious, and seeming to aim at the Sovereignty, by pleasing the People ; *Cossus*, then Dictator, accused him ; and he being found guilty, was thrown over the *Tarpeian* Rock. So jealous was *Rome* then of her Liberty.

In the Year of *Rome* 372 *Camillus* was chosen a military Tribune the sixth Time, against his own Inclination ; but it was found necessary to conduct the Army against the *Prænestines* and *Volsci* ; and he marched to oppose them : But at the Time of the Action, being confined with Sickness, his Colleague *Lucius Furius*, too eager for the Glory of a Victory, engaged without him, and was defeated. This made *Camillus* venture abroad on Horseback ; his Soldiers seeing him, rallied, and stopped the Enemy, and next Day attacked and overcame them. In his Return he destroyed some *Tuscans*, who had killed the Inhabitants of the City *Sutrium*, and came to *Rome*, loaded with Spoils. Next Year, *Quintius Cincinnatus* being Dictator, took *Præneste*, and eight Towns that were its Dependants, by Surrender. In the Year of *Rome* 375, there were such Combustions in the City about making one of the Consuls out of the *Plebeians*, that for five Years thereafter there was no supreme Magistrate chosen, but only Tribunes of the People, and *Ædiles*. When *Manlius* was Dictator, he chose *Licinius Stolo*, Master of the Horse, being the first *Plebeian* that ever obtained this Honour. *Stolo*, to gratify those of his own Rank, preferred a Law, *That no Citizen of Rome should possess above five hundred Jugera* (c), that is, about three hundred and thirty of our Acres. This being disadvantageous to the *Patricians*, was in the Event found also so to himself ; for possessing more than the Law allowed, he was the first who was punished by Virtue of his own Constitution.

While Parties were thus contending, News were brought that an Army of *Gauls* was marching from the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Rome*. This made them lay aside their private Differences, and think of the common Safety : For they feared the *Gauls* so much, that a Law was made, that the Priests should be excused from Wars, except in case of an Invasion from the *Gauls*. And all Parties agreed to make *Camillus* Dictator a fifth Time ; who tho' now he was eighty Years

(a) Plutarch. in Camillo. (b) Livius, lib. 6. cap. 1. (c) Plutarchus in Camillo.

Years of Age, declined not the Charge in this dangerous Juncture, but presently chose *Quintus Cincinnatus* for his Master of Horse; and, considering that the Force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, he caused his Men to be furnished with light Iron Helmets, binding their wooden Targets about with Brass; and teaching them so to handle their Swords, as to blount those of their Enemies. By such Means, and by a steady regular Conduct, he overthrew the *Gauls* at the River *Anio*; and, in his Return had the City *Velitræ* surrendered to him. While the *Romans* were thus victorious, the Commons renewed their domestick Contentments, insisting to have one of the Consuls chosen out of their own Body; and the Contention was so hot, that the Tribunes of the People charged *Camillus* the Dictator to rise from the Chair, and answer before their Tribunal. Whereupon a Tumult arose; and the Meeting was adjourned to the Senate-house, where a Law was agreed to, that one of the Consuls for the Future might be chosen out of the *Plebeians*. From this Time the military (a) Tribunes were for ever laid aside, which was seventy one Years after their first Creation. The People and the Senate being reconciled, a Temple was built, and dedicated to *Concord*. *Camillus* died of the Plague. *Plutarch* remarks concerning him (b), That he was never once Consul, tho' his great Actions raised him to be five Times Dictator, won him four Triumphs, and gained him the Name of a second Founder of *Rome*.

§ 8. THE *Patricians* desiring that a *Prætor* should be chosen out of their Body, for administering Justice; this was immediately granted (c): Also two *Patricians* were made *Ædiles*, who from the Ivory Chair wherein they sat, when giving Justice, were called *Ædiles Curules*. In the Year of *Rome* 392, the Ground cleaving asunder in the *Forum* to a vast Depth, *M. Curtius*, a brave young Soldier, to deliver his Country (as he imagined) rod into the Gulph in his Armour, and was there swallowed up (d). The Enemy of Mankind did frequently cheat the blinded Heathens to perform such inhumane Sacrifices, which we are now delivered from by the Light of the Gospel. The *Hernici* being up in Arms *Genucius* the *Plebeian* Consul marched against them, but himself was slain, and his Army put to the Rout. This threatening Danger made the Senate create *Claudius Cassinus* Dictator, who gained so much Advantage over the Enemy, that he obtained an Ovation, or an inferior Sort of Triumph. Next Year the *Gauls*, in great Numbers, marched within three Miles of *Rome*; whereupon *Quintus Pennus* was created Dictator. The Armies being drawn up, a *Gaul* of vast Bulk and Height, challenged any of the *Romans* to meet him in a single Combat; which *T. Manlius* accepting, (by Leave of the Dictator) he killed his Adversary, and taking a golden Chain from his Neck, had the Surname of *Torquatus* (e) given him, which he and his Posterity for a long Time enjoyed. With this Action the *Gauls* were so discouraged, that they fled by Night into the Country of the *Tiburtines*, and the Dictator returned in Triumph. Afterwards, when *Furius Camillus* was Consul, in the Year of *Rome* 405, the *Gauls* being up in Arms against the *Romans*, and the Armies within Sight of each other, a *Gaul*, remarkable for his Stature, and the Richness of his Arms, challenged any one of the *Romans* to a single Combat; which was accepted of by *M. Valerius*, with Leave of the Consul; and in a short Time he slew his Adversary, being assisted in the Fight, as was imagined, by a Crow: Whence he had the Surname of *Corvus*, and his Posterity of *Corvini* (f). This Combat brought both Armies to a Battle, in which the *Gauls* were intirely routed; and next Year this *Valerius Corvus* was created Consul, which was very extraordinary, in regard he was then only twenty three Years of Age. For a short Space after this the *Romans* had Peace abroad, and Concord at Home, which was not their ordinary Privilege. And by this Time their Dominions contained double the Extent of what they enjoyed at the Expulsion of the Kings (g). Notwithstanding, they did not yet possess the fourth Part of *Italy*, now when their Power had continued four hundred and ten Years, about fourteen Years before the Fall of the *Persian*, and beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire.

The *Romans* before this Time had their Wars nigh their own Gates; but now their Republick being encreased in Power, they ventured Abroad against the watlike *Samnites*, a People who lived about one hundred Miles East of *Rome*, in that part of *Italy* now called *Abruzzo*, near the Territories of *Naples*. For the *Campanians*, an effeminate People, being vexed with the Incursions of the *Samnites*, sent to *Rome* for Aid, imploring it with Tears, and offering both themselves and their Country into the Hands of the *Romans*; which the latter accepted of (h); and upon the *Samnites* refusing to desist from ravaging the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, the *Romans* did undertake the War; and the Consuls *Valerius* and *Cornelius* began their March with two Armies; the one to *Capua*, and the other to *Samnium*. *Valerius* after a most obstinate and bloody Fight, overthrew the Enemy, and became Master of their Camp: The other Consul unwarrily led his Army into a dangerous Place, where *P. Decius*, a Tribune or Colonel of the Army, ventured himself to break through the Throng of the Enemy, and thus became the Mean of obtaining a great Victory, for which the Consul triumphed, and

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Decius

(a) For these Tribunes were first created in the Year of *Rome* 317, and for ever laid aside in the Year 388. (b) *Plutarch's* Life of *Camillus*, at the End, and at the Beginning. (c) *Livius*, lib. 7. cap. 1. (d) *Ibid.* cap. 6. (e) *Ibid.* cap. 10. (f) *Titus Liv.* lib. 7. cap. 26. (g) See above, p. 395. (h) *Livius*, lib. 7. cap. 30, — 38.

Decius was highly honoured, and nobly rewarded. The *Roman* Soldiers taking up their Winter Quarters in *Capua*, were so charmed with the Pleasures of that Place, that they resolved at any Rate to take it for themselves. Their Design being discovered, they began to rebel; but upon the Approach of *Valerius Corvus*, who was chosen Dictator, they yielded, and were received into Favour.

Ann. U. C. 411. Next Year the *Latines* and *Campanians* revolting, *Manlius Torquatus*, now Consul the third Time, and his Collegue *Decius Mus*, were sent by the Senate to chastise them, if they would not submit on reasonable Terms. But the *Latines* would be satisfied with nothing less, than that one Half of the Senators should be chosen out of their own Nation, which could not be granted: Wherefore the War went on. But before the Battle, the Consuls agreed that one of them, if the Army should be distressed, should devote themselves to the Gods, and die for his Country; and that no Man upon Pain of Death should fight without Orders. Before the Engagement *Decius* had solemnly devoted himself; the Ceremonies whereof are described by *Livy* (a): And in the Time of the Action, finding the *Latines* pressing hard upon that Wing of the Army commanded by him, he rushed violently into the midst of the Enemies; where, after a great Slaughter, he lost his Life. Tho' *Livy*, (b) and *Florus* (c), speak of this Fact of *Decius*, as a noble Act of Religion, I find *Cicero* is of another Mind (d); for he says, *Does thou think that the Gods were pleased with the Decii devoting themselves to Death? Was their Wickedness so great that the Deities could not be satisfied, unless such Men were destroyed? Nay, it was a Stratagem of the Generals, to make their Men fight with Intrepidity, thinking that if the Commanding Officer rushed upon the Enemy with his Horse at full Speed, his Army would follow, as they did.* And indeed after this Act of *Decius*, the *Romans* fought with such Courage, that the *Latines* were soon overthrown. At the same Time the Discipline of the Consul *Manlius* was remarkable, if not too rigid and severe. His Son *Manlius* passing with his Troops before the Battle, was challenged by *Geminus Metius*, Captain of the *Tusculans*; whom he engaged, stripped and killed: But upon his Return to the Army, his Father caused the Lictor strike off his victorious Son's Head (e), because he had fought without Orders. The *Latines* being defeated, begged Peace; which was granted them. The Consul *Manlius* returning in Triumph, was met only by the old Men, the young ones refusing to do him that Honour, because of his Son's Death. In the Year of *Rome* 422, about one hundred and seventy Women were put to Death, for their exquisite Skill in the Art of Poysoning; which was discovered by a She-slave; and this was looked on as such a Prodigy, that a Dictator was created to drive a Nail into *Jupiter's* Temple (f), in Order to remove the Danger that this threatened.

Various were the Events of the War with the *Samnites*: For after they had been overcome, they renewed their Insurrections with such Vigour, that the *Roman* Senate found it necessary to create *Cornelius Arvina* Dictator; who appointed *Fabius Ambustus* his Master of Horse: And they gave the *Samnites* a great Overthrow, so as they of their own Accord sent their Prisoners and Plunder to *Rome*, together with the dead Body of the Author of the Revolt, who had killed himself, that he might not be delivered up to his Enemies, and all this to purchase a Peace. But the Senate receiving the Men, and such Goods as the Owners particularly challenged, denied them Peace. This provoked *Pontius* the chief Man among the *Samnites*, to such a Degree, that he vowed to do the *Romans* a Mischief; and in order to this End drew out his Men to a Place called *Caudium*, and putting ten Soldiers in the Habit of Shepherds, sent them to *Calacia*, where the Consuls, *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius* then lay (g), with Orders to report, that the *Samnites* were now in *Apulia*, and had almost taken *Luceria*. The Consuls believing the Report, made all the Haste they could to relieve the Town, lest their Allies the *Apulians* might be obliged to join with the *Samnites*. In this Hurry the *Romans* taking the nearest but the most dangerous Way thro' the Straits of *Caudium*, a Place encompassed with high Mountains, where they being blocked up on all Sides by *Pontius*, could neither get out nor stay there for Want of Victuals. The *Samnites* having got the *Romans* in this Net, sent to *Herennius* the Father of *Pontius*, a wise old Man, but disabled from fighting, for his Opinion what to do; who advised either to dismiss the *Romans* free and untouched, which would lay a perpetual Obligation upon them; or to put them all to the Sword, which would so weaken them for a long Time, as they could not have a powerful Army to oppress their Neighbours. *Pontius* would not hearken to either of these Advices, but imposed upon the *Romans* the following Articles; *That their whole Army should march away only with their Garments, having first in Token of Slavery passed under the Jugum or Gallows, that they should wholly quit Samnium, removing all their Colonies, and that both the Romans and Samnites should live in Terms of Confederacy and Alliance.* To these hard Terms, the Consuls in their present Circumstances consented, which, so far as at present they could, were instantly performed.

(a) Lib. 8. cap. 9. (b) loc. cit. (c) Lib. 1. cap. 14. (d) *Cicero* de *Naturâ Deorum* lib. 3. cap. 6. (e) *Livius*, lib. 8. cap. 7. (f) *Ibid.* cap. 88. (g) *Titus Livius*, lib. 9. cap. 1. & seqq.

formed, and six hundred Hostages given for performing the rest. Upon the Soldiers Return to Rome, disarmed and half naked, there was nothing but Sorrow and Confusion for this Dis-
 after and shameful Treaty. *Posthumius* offered that he and his Collegue would deliver them-
 selves to the *Samnites*, since they only were obliged to observe the Articles, which the *Roman*
 State knew nothing of. But *Pontius* refusing this Offer, and exclaiming against the *Romans*
 for Perfidy, they on the other Hand raised a powerful Army under the Conduct of *Papirius* Ann. U. C. 433.
Cursor the Consul; who revenged former Affronts, overthrew the *Samnites* in several
 Battles, making them all pass under the *Yugum*, took several Towns from them, recovered
 the six hundred Hostages, and with Difficulty granted them two Years Truce. In short, as
Florus (a) tells us, *The Romans in fifty Years Time, by the Fabii and Papirii and their Sons,*
ruined both Town and Country of the Samnites, so as scarce any Footsteps of them remain, nor
does it easily appear where there should be Matter for four and twenty Triumphs.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into the Quarrel; but the Force of the former was
 well broken before the latter began to stir, so as both became at length Tributary to Rome. In
 the Year from the Building of the City 441, *Appius Claudius* one of the Censors, made the
 famous Cawsey or High Way called *Via Appia* (b); and also brought a Channel of fresh Wa-
 ter into the City; which were very great and useful Undertakings. The City became still
 more populous: For in the Year of Rome 460, there were entred into the *Census* two
 hundred sixty two thousand, three hundred twenty two free Citizens (c). And here ends the
 first Decad of *Livy*; the second being wanting, makes it more difficult to piece up the Ro-
 man History between this and the second *Punick* War, where *Livy*'s third Decad begins.

The *Tarentines* and their Adherents were the last of the *Italians* who made Trial of the
Roman Arms. They had interposed themselves as Mediators between the *Romans* and *Sam-*
nites, with a peremptory Denunciation of War to that Party that should dare to refuse the
 Peace they offered. The *Romans* having their Hands free of other Wars, made those Words
 Ground of a new Quarrel: They also complained that some Ships of theirs were robbed, and
 sent Ambassadors to *Tarentum* demanding Restitution; and some Wrong being pretended to
 be done to those Envoys (d), this was a further Handle to begin the Controversy. *Tarentum*
 lieth on the South East Part of *Italy*, on the Sea which is now called *Golfo di Tarento*. The
 People finding a War approaching, got the *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, *Brutians* and *Apulians* their
 Neighbours to join with them, and also procured the *Samnites*, and some other Subjects of
Rome to rebel and take their Part. But Experience of the *Roman* Strength having taught all
 these People their own Weakness, they therefore sent for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, by whose
 Help, being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were, Hopes were conceived that the Domini-
 ons of *Rome* should be confined to narrower Bounds.

Pyrrhus was the Son of *Æacides* King of the *Illyrians*, and is said (e) to have been descend-
 ed of *Achilles*. Being left of his Father very young, he was taken Care of by *Glaucias*, who
 secured him from those who would have killed him, and re-established him in Spite of his En-
 emies, and defeated *Neoptolemus* his Competitor to the Crown. When he came to be of Age,
 he proved an ambitious Man, but always richer in Hope than in Possession. He gave Proofs
 of his Valour at the Battle of *Ipsus* (f), defeated *Demetrius*, and made himself intirely Ma-
 ster of *Macedonia*; but about seven Months after his Conquest, he was expelled out of that
 Kingdom. The Fall of *Demetrius* having encreased the Power of *Lysimachus* in *Macedon*,
 and *Pyrrhus* being unable to deal with him, he was forced to live in Peace; which he abhor-
 red as much as a wiser Prince would have done War. In these Circumstances the Ambassa-
 dors of the *Tarentines* came to him with Compliments and Presents, telling how much they
 desired a General of his Conduct and Reputation in their Wars against the *Romans*, offering
 Ships to carry his Men into *Italy*. *Pyrrhus*'s Army being then idle, he immediately complied Ann. U. C. 473.
 with the Proposals made to him; and sent over with *Cineas* an excellent Orator and Schol-
 ar of *Demosthenes*, three thousand Men to *Tarentum*; and soon after he embarked himself
 with twenty Elephants, three thousand Horse, twenty thousand Foot, and five hundred Bow-
 men and Slingers. Meeting with a Storm his Ships were much dispersed; however upon his
 Arrival he rendezvoused his Troops, and being created General of the *Tarentines*, he began to
 act: And first of all he restrained these People from Drinking, Games and idle Shows, to
 which they were immoderately given. Upon Notice that *Lævinus* the Consul was approach-
 ing with the *Roman* Army, he sent an Herald to enquire if the Consul would accept of his Me-
 diation between the *Romans* and the *Grecian* Cities in *Italy*? To which *Lævinus* answered,
That he neither esteemed him as a Mediator, nor feared him as an Enemy: Whereupon the Ar-
 mies came to an Engagement; in which both Sides fighting valiantly, *Pyrrhus* had his Horse
 slain under him, and was obliged to change his Armour and Cloak with *Megacles*, who being
 taken for the King was killed. But at last the *Roman* Horse being frightened with the Noise and

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Smell

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 16. (b) Livius, lib. 9. 29. (c) Idem, lib. 10. cap. ult. (d) Florus, lib. 1. cap. 18. (e) Plu-
 tarch. in *Pyrrho*. (f) See above p. 315.

Smell of the Elephants, broke their Ranks, and *Pyrrhus* charged them so warmly, as to give them a total Overthrow, taking their Camp and thirteen hundred Prisoners.

The Romans with great Haste recruited their Troops, and supplied their Legions with fresh Men; which *Pyrrhus* understanding, dispatched *Cineas* a cunning Man, and eloquent Orator, to Rome with Presents and Offers of Peace; who indeed prevailed with some Members of the Senate to hearken to his Proposals, tho' they refused his Presents. But *Appius Claudius* then blind with Age coming to the Senate, so warmed the House with his Speech, as *Cineas* got no other Answer than this, *That if Pyrrhus expected the Friendship of the Romans, he must first leave Italy with his Army, and then treat of Peace (a)*. *Fabricius* one of the Prisoners, refused Offers of Gold made by *Pyrrhus*, and appeared nothing damped by the Fear of his great Army, and mighty Elephants. The same *Fabricius* being released, and made Consul at Rome, *Pyrrhus's* Physician wrote him a Letter, offering to kill his Master; but this noble Roman despised so base an Offer, and wrote in Conjunction with his Colleague, giving a Discovery of the Treason; which being found true, the Traitor was put to Death: And to requite this Act of Friendship, *Pyrrhus* dismissed all the Prisoners without Ransom. The Roman Army being recruited, came to a second Engagement near *Asculum*; where after two Days fighting, the Romans with considerable Loss were forced to retire to their Camp. *Pyrrhus* himself was wounded, and when his Friend congratulated him upon the Victory, he said, *If we gain another at this Price, we are utterly undone*. Mean Time Ambassadors came out of *Sicily*, beseeching him to come and drive the *Carthaginians* out of that Isle, and offering to put several of their Cities into his Hands: And other Letters came from *Greece*, telling that *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was killed in a Battle against the *Gauls*, and that he might return in a lucky Time, for the *Macedonians* wanted a King. These Things made him uneasy what Course to take. At last he resolved to go into *Sicily*, whither he went with the greater Part of his Army, and in less than two Years had considerable Success; but turning Tyrannical in his Government, he was hated of the People, and his Fortune began to decline. In the Time of his Absence, the Romans, having recruited their Armies sore distressed the *Tarentines* and their Confederates; whereupon they intreated *Pyrrhus's* Return, and he came back to them with an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. The Roman Army under *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* the Consuls soon engaged him and his Allies. By this Time they had learned not to fear the Elephants, but attacked them vigorously with Darts and with fired Pitch and Hemp; which made the Beasts turn back and do great Hurt to their own Party, so as the Romans gained a notable Victory. *Pyrrhus* having lost twenty thousand Men, had his Elephants killed, and his Camp taken (b), which learned the Romans the Art of encamping. He himself with the Remainder of his Forces embarked and returned to *Epirus*, having spent six Years in this Expedition; which in the End proved unsuccessful. He would have been a better General under some great King, than a Prince with absolute Command, being rather valiant in War, than prudent and steady in his Conduct. *Pyrrhus* being gone, the Romans soon made themselves Masters of all these *Italians* who had confederated against them; their Dominions being thus extended over the whole of ancient *Italy*, five hundred Miles in Length, and one hundred and thirty in Breadth. This was the State of their Affairs in the Year of their City 489, which we reckon 3686 from the Creation of the World, and before the Birth of Christ 264 Years.

§ 9. ABOUT this time *Carthage* was a powerful Republic, that had subsisted above six hundred Years, being of *Phœnician* or *Canaanitish* Extract. The learned *Bochart* (c) hath given us a curious Collection concerning its Antiquities, and also of the *Punic* or *Carthaginian* Language (d), and its Correspondence with the *Hebrew*: But I shall only notice, that *Carthage* once commanded most part of *Africa* that now goes by the Name of *Barbary*, extending about two thousand Miles in Length, along the *Mediterranean*, besides great Acquisitions in *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Sicily*, and other lesser Isles, as also in *Spain*. The Romans began a War with this Republic upon account of the *Mamertines*, Lords of *Messana*; who being attacked by *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* and the *Carthaginians*, asked Succours of the Romans, which they willingly granted. This War continued twenty four Years, namely, from the Year of Rome 490, to 513. *Polybius* (e) hath a large Account of the Transactions of that Time; but my intended Brevity alloweth me only to touch at a few of the most material Events. In the first Year of the first *Punic* War, as this is commonly called, *Appius Claudius* the Roman Consul was sent over to *Sicily* with a small Fleet; who raised the Siege of *Messana*, and afterwards defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two several Battles. Notwithstanding the great Waste of Men by continual Wars, there was this Year entred into the *Census* 292,224 free Citizens of Rome (f). The following Year both the Consuls were ordered for *Sicily* with all their Legions; where they managed the War so successfully, that going to invest *Syracuse*, *Hiero*

was

(a) Plutarch. in *Pyrrho*. (b) Eutropius, lib. 2. p. 12. (c) In *Chanaan*, de coloniis & sermone *Phœnicum*, lib. 2. cap. 24. (d) Ibid. lib. 2. (e) *Historiarum* lib. 1. (f) *Livii Epitome*, lib. 16.

was glad to make Peace with them on these Terms, *To restore all Prisoners without Ransom, and to pay a hundred Talents of Silver*; which the Romans willingly accepted, because the Carthaginians being Masters at Sea, *Hiero's* Friendship was useful to supply their Army with Provisions and Necessaries. Next Year they sent only two Legions to *Sicily*, and took *Agrigentum*, overthrowing *Annibal* the Carthaginian, who came to relieve it by Land. But still the Carthaginians being entire Masters at Sea, relieved all the maritime Towns in *Sicily*, and sadly molested the Coast of *Italy*, their own Interest in *Afric* being out of all Danger. The Romans then resolved to have a Fleet; but how to come by it, was the great Difficulty; for till this Time they had neither any Ships of War, nor Carpenters to build them. But having thoroughly viewed a Carthaginian Vessel or two driven ashore, they set about building a Fleet of a hundred Ships of five Banks of Oars a Side, and twenty of three Banks, as well as they could, teaching their Men in a strange Way to row upon Land (*a*), knowing that their Courage must supply all Defects. The Consuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius*, in the fourth Year of the War, boldly ventured aboard these Ships, and proceeded to engage the Enemy. *Cornelius* with seventeen Vessels parting from the rest, was surpris'd and taken by the Carthaginians: But *Duilius* with the rest of the Fleet defeated fifty Sail of the Enemy, and by the Help of a new grappling Engine boarded their Ships, fighting as on dry Land, till they were taken. Pursuing his Victory, he raised the Siege of *Ægesta*, and took *Marcella* by Storm. And the following Year, the Romans invaded the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* with so good Success, that *Hanno* the Carthaginian General was there slain, and his Army cut off by *Cornelius Scipio* the Consul. This Victory was followed by another, over *Annibal*, whom they surpris'd at Sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*: For which the unfortunate Admiral was crucified by his own Soldiers who out-lived the Defeat (*b*).

After the War had continued eight Years, the Romans finding themselves so strong as well by Sea as by Land, resolved to remove the Seat of the War into *Afric*; and accordingly put to Sea with a Fleet of 330 Sail, under the Command of *Regulus* and *Manlius* the Consuls. The Carthaginians, to keep the Wars from their own Doors, oppos'd them by a Fleet of 350 Sail; and a threefold Battle was fought on the same Day, in which the Romans, by their great Courage, and by the Help of their grappling Engines, became Conquerors, taking fifty four Ships, sinking thirty, and losing only twenty four of their own. In pursuit of this Victory they made a Descent upon *Afric*, taking *Clupea* upon the Promontory *Hermea*. This being done, they marched into the Country, laying waste all before them. *Manlius* returned to *Rome*, and *Regulus* was continued in *Afric* with a Proconsular Power; who encamping on the River *Bagrada*, was obliged to engage a Serpent of a monstrous Bigness; which with his Engines and Darts, as if he had been assaulting a City, he killed, and sent the Skin thereof, being a hundred and twenty Foot long, to *Rome* (*c*), where it remained as a Monument in one of their Temples till the War with *Spain* (*d*), which was 115 Years after this. The Carthaginians ordered a considerable Army against the Romans; but *Regulus*, by chusing an ill-ly Place for the Field of Battle, where his Enemies had no Advantage by their Elephants nor by their Horse, soon defeated them. Afterwards the Carthaginians chose *Xantippus*, a brave *Lacedemonian*, for their General; who engaging *Regulus* in a plain Field, where the Horse and Elephants had Liberty to act their Part, gave the Romans a great Overthrow, the Proconsul himself with a considerable Number of his Men being taken Prisoners, his Army cut off, and only about two thousand escaping to *Clupea* (*e*), where their Enemies besieged them. When this Overthrow was heard of at *Rome*, the Senate caus'd equip a strong Fleet of 350 Sail, under the Conduct of *M. Æmilius* and *Servius Fulvius* the Consuls; who encountered the Carthaginians, and defeated them near their own Coasts, taking 114 of their Ships with all that was in them (*f*). This being done, they took in the Garrison of their Friends in *Clupea*. But in their Way homeward, they met with such a Tempest, that of 363 Vessels only eighty escaped being lost. Next Year they equipped a Fleet of 220 Sail; but of these, failing thro' the Streights, 150 were cast away in another Tempest. Such redoubled Losses discouraged their naval Preparations, and made them place their Hopes in their Land-forces. However, *Cæcilius* and *Metellus* the Consuls were sent with some Legions to *Sicily*, in sixty Transport-vessels. When they came by Land to engage the Enemy, they ordered their Front to retire before the Elephants of the Carthaginians, into some Ditches; where they so plied the Beasts with Darts and Javelins, that they recoiled, and made great Havock among their own Party, and the Romans gained a notable Victory (*g*). The War had now continued fourteen Years; and the Carthaginians being weary of it, sent *Attilius Regulus* their Prisoner, with some other Ambassadors, to sue for Peace, obliging him by Oath to return, if Peace was denied. Yet, contrary to their Expectation, he openly in the Senate discovered the Weakness of the Carthaginians, and advis'd the Senate to make no Peace; and according to his Oath, returned

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to

(a) Polybius, lib. 1. p. 28, 29. edit. Amst. 1670. (b) Livii Epitome, lib. 17. (c) Gellii Noctes Atticæ, lib. 6. cap. 3. (d) Plinii Nat. hist. lib. 8. cap. 4. (e) Polybius, lib. 1. p. 50. (f) Ibid. p. 52, 53, 56. (g) Ibid. p. 58, 59.

to *Afric*; where his enraged Enemies are said to have put him to a most tormenting Death: Tho' some learned Men (a) are of opinion that he died a natural Death; and that the other Report was only raised by the Wife of *Regulus*, to excuse her hard Usage of the *Carthaginian* Prisoners, *Bostar* and *Amilcar*, committed to her Custody, as a Pledge for the Redemption of her Husband. Indeed the Silence of *Polybius*, a diligent and faithful Historian, and next to that Time of any extant, makes me to question the Story of *Regulus's* Torments. Next Year the *Romans* lost their Fleet, by the Mismanagement of *Claudius Pulcher* and other Misfortunes, and for about five Years after that they abstained from Armaments by Sea, especially because the publick Treasury was exhausted. But the *Carthaginians* being very troublesome on the Coasts of *Italy*, made the *Romans* once more to fit out a considerable Fleet out of their private Purfes, under the Command of *Lutatius* the Consul; who besieged *Drepanum* in *Sicily*. This made the *Carthaginians* in great Haste to victual and man their Ships, under the Conduct of *Amilcar*; who came to an Engagement with *Lutatius*, where the *Carthaginians*, near the Isles *Ægates*, got a great Overthrow, having fifty of their Fleet sunk, and seventy taken (b). This Victory brought on a Peace, which was concluded on the following Terms, That the *Carthaginians* should quit all *Sicily*: That they should make no War with *Hiero*, nor against the *Syracusans*, nor their Allies: That they should relieve all Captives and Prisoners without Ransom: And that they should pay two thousand two hundred Euboic Talents to the *Romans* in twenty Years Time. The Senate narrowed the Time of Payment, and added a thousand Talents to the Sum (c). Thus the first *Punic* War ended, in the Year of *Rome* 513. During the Course thereof, the *Romans* are said to have lost seven hundred Vessels, and the *Carthaginians* five hundred.

This War being concluded, two new Tribes were added, viz. the *Veline* and *Quirine* (d), which made up the whole Tribes to be thirty five; and this Number was never exceeded. The *Romans* at this Time began to be a little more polite; and the first Tragedies and Comedies were made by *Livius Andronicus*, about the Year of the City 514.

The *Carthaginians* soon after the Peace fell into a bloody War with their Mercenaries; which is at large described by *Polybius* (e); where we may find, that above forty thousand of them were destroyed at one Time. And this may shew how dangerous such an Army of hired Soldiers may prove, when they turn mutinous for want of Pay and Employment. The *Carthaginians* were also obliged to quite the whole Isle of *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and to pay twelve hundred Talents over and above their Compact (f).

For five Years successively the Temple of *Janus* was shut; and in the sixth it was opened by Reason of a War with the *Illyrians*, a People dwelling nigh *Greece*, in that Country which is now called *Dalmatia*. *Tenta*, Queen of that Nation, allowing her Subjects to rob by Sea, they happened to fall upon some *Italian* Merchants, whom they used barbarously. Ambassadors being sent from *Rome* to demand Satisfaction, the Queen took their Freedom so ill, that she sent after them, and slew one of them. This so provoked the *Romans*, that they proclaimed War, sending the Consuls *Fulvius* with a Fleet, and *Posthumius* with a Land-Army to be revenged on the *Illyrians* (g). *Fulvius* had *Corcyra* surrendered to him: And the Armies having joined, most of the *Illyrick* Towns yielded to the Consuls; which obliged the Queen to send to *Rome* for Peace; which was granted on Condition, That she should quite all *Illyricum*, except a few Places, for which she should pay a yearly Tribute; and that her People should not sail beyond the River *Lissus* with more than two Barks, and these unarmed. By this Peace the *Romans* enlarged their Territories, the *Grecian* Cities were free of Neighbours that had been very troublesome (h), and were so pleased with the generous Behaviour of the *Romans*, that the *Corinthians* made them free of the *Isthmian* Games, one of the four solemn Exercises of *Greece*. At *Rome* the *Prætors* were encreased to four, one of which was sent to the Province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*.

The *Gauls* designing again to attack the *Roman* Republick, called for the Assistance of their Neighbours called the *Gessatæ*, dwelling on the other Side of the Mountains near the River *Rhosne*. This being granted, they came into *Etruria*, with an Army of fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse (i). The *Romans* made the greatest Preparations possible to oppose them; which was the more necessary, because the Enemy had come all the Way to *Clusium*, three Days Journey from *Rome*; and being loaden with Plunder, had Thoughts of returning home with the Spoil. Mean Time the *Roman* Army attacked them before and behind; which obliged them to Form two Fronts, and fight with great Disadvantage, especially the *Gessatæ*, who had the Vanity to fight naked; so that in End they were overthrown with a great Slaughter, forty thousand of them being killed, and ten thousand taken Prisoners, and among the rest *Concolitanus*, a King of the *Gessatæ*. For which Victory, the Consuls obtained

(a) See upon this Question learned Notes on Appianus Alexandrinus, p. 4, — 6. edit. Amst. 1670. Also see the Great Historical Dictionary on the Word *Attilius*. (b) *Polybius*, lib. 1. p. 87. (c) *Ibid.* p. 89. (d) *Livii Epitome*, lib. 19. (e) *Polybius*, lib. 1. p. 91, — 120. (f) *Ibid.* p. 124. (g) *Florus*, lib. 2. cap. 5. *Livii Epitome*, lib. 20. *Polybius*, lib. 2. p. 126, — 140. (h) *Polybius*, p. 140. (i) *Idem*, lib. 2. p. 155, — 165.

ed a most splendid Triumph, scarce any being more remarkable, for the Number of the Prisoners, or Variety and Value of the Spoils. The next Year great Inroads were made into the Territories of the *Gauls*, and they were several Times overthrown; which made them beg Peace on any Terms. But *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cornelius Scipio* being then Consuls, in the Year of Rome 531, persuaded the Romans to continue the War. Whereupon the *Gauls*, resolving to make their last Efforts, to that End procured thirty thousand Auxiliaries from the *Gessatæ*. The Consuls opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Acerræ*; and the *Gauls* invested *Clastidium* a confederate Town of the Romans. *Marcellus*, with two thirds of the Cavalry, and a Detachment of light armed Men, marched Night and Day towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers, and the Fatigue of his long Marches, fell upon them, and after a bloody Battle, overthrew them (a). With his own Hands, *Marcellus* killed *Viridomarus* King of the *Gessatæ*, and dedicated the third *opima spolia*, or Royal Spoils, after *Romulus*, to *Jupiter Feretrius* (b), and obtained a noble Triumph. The *Gauls* who escaped, fled to *Mediolanum*, now called *Milan*; which being soon after taken, the War ended, after six Years Continuance, to the Enlargement of the Roman Dominions, Colonies being planted not long after at *Cremona* and *Placentia*.

§ 10. THE second Punic War, which began soon after the Gallick was concluded, proved the most dangerous of any that ever the Roman State was engaged in. And I go now in as few Words as I can to consider the Rise and Progress thereof. The *Carthaginians* being vexed that the Romans had taken from them the rich Isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and imposed a heavy Tribute upon their State; particularly *Amilcar Barca*, the Father of *Hannibal*, a Man of great Authority, who had saved *Carthage* in the War with the *Mercenaries* (c), thinking these Articles of Peace in the Conclusion of the first Punic War had been too easily granted to the Romans, vowed Revenge. To this End he embarked with a considerable Army for *Spain*, taking with him his Son *Hannibal*, then a Boy of nine Years old; whom he made swear at the Altar, never to be a Friend to the Romans. *Amilcar*, after considerable Success in *Spain* died, and *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was entrusted with the Command of the Army. Upon his Death, *Hannibal* being much beloved by the Army, was made Lieutenant General, tho' then but twenty six Years of Age. He having reduced most Part of *Spain* on the other Side of the River *Iberus*, attacked *Saguntum*, a City in Alliance with the Romans; from which they desired him to desist, as contrary to the Treaties with them: But he went on with the Siege, till he had reduced and ruined the City (d). Whereupon the Romans sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to require *Hannibal* to be delivered up; and in case this should be refused, to denounce War. The *Carthaginians* being unwilling to grant what was proposed, the Senior Ambassador, holding up the Skirt of his Robes, said, *Here we bring you War or Peace; chuse which*: And the other Side replied, *Which you will* (e). Whereupon War was declared and accepted of. *Hannibal* having left *Hanno* with some Troops to secure the Peace in *Spain*, marched over the *Pyrenean* Mountains; and in some few Days arrived at the Foot of the *Alps*, with an Army of fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, and thirty seven Elephants (f). Sending some of this Number home, himself with the Remainder passed the Mountains in the Winter Season, not without great Difficulty, and considerable Loss, scarce ever an Army having passed that Way before, tho' many have done it since. Coming to the Country of the *Insubres*, on the *Italian* Side of the Mountains, his Army consisted, according to *Polybius* (g), of twelve thousand *Africans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and six thousand Horse. The Consul *Scipio* hearing of *Hannibal's* Approach, hastened to meet him, before his Men were well refreshed; and both Armies engaged at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, where the Consul was wounded, but saved from Death by his Son, afterwards called *Africanus*; and, in a few Hours the Romans were defeated, especially by the *Numidian* Cavalry, who unexpectedly fell in upon their Reer. After this *Sempronius* the other Consul joined *Scipio* at the River *Trebia*, and inclined to give the Enemy Battle, before too many of the *Gauls* had joined *Hannibal*, as they generally inclined to do. *Scipio*, who was now under Cure of his Wounds, was against fighting at that Time: But *Hannibal* was glad of it; and *Sempronius* was so keen, that he caused his Men to pass the River to their Arm-pits. In this Condition *Hannibal* attacked them, while the Romans were wet, weary, and almost starved with Hunger and Cold; and gave them a great Overthrow, twenty six thousand being either slain, taken or drowned in the River, and ten thousand are said to have escaped to *Placentia* (h). The *Carthaginians* after the Pursuit returned to their Camp, almost stupified with Cold; for it was a rough snowy Day, which killed many of their Men, and almost all their Elephants.

These Losses made the Romans more diligent in their Preparations for the next Campaign, for managing whereof *C. Flaminius*, and *Servilius Geminus* were chosen Consuls in the Year

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(a) Polyb. lib. 2. p. 169, 170. (b) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 4. (c) Plutarch. in Hannibale. I know that Life is not writ by Plutarch, tho' it goes by his Name. (d) Appian. in Annibalicis, p. 575, in edit. Amstelodami, qua utor. (e) Appian. in Hispanicis, p. 436. (f) Polyb. lib. 3. p. 272. (g) Ibid. p. 290. (h) Polyb. p. 314.

of Rome 536. The former of these had a good Faculty of speaking, but no great Skill in War. *Hannibal* marched to *Etruria*: The River *Arno* at that Time had overflowed all its Banks (a); and he passing that Way through the Fens, as the nearest and most unexpected Road, marched three or four Days and Nights through Water, without any Sleep or rest; which sorely distressed his Men and Beasts; and himself riding upon an Elephant, which was the only one left, lost one of his Eyes. Being at last arrived upon dry Ground, he wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, to provoke the fiery Temper of *Flaminius*; which had the desired Effect; for that Consul became resolute upon a Battle, without waiting for the Assistance of his Colleague's Forces. The Place of Engagement was near to the Lake *Thrasymenus*, where *Flaminius* lost his Life, and had his whole Army routed, before they could see who attacked them, by reason of a Mist rising from the Lake. About fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and six thousand escaped to a Village, where they were obliged to yield themselves Prisoners. *Servilius* the other Consul, upon Notice of *Hannibal's* March into *Etruria*, sent four thousand Men to support his Colleague: But they coming too late, were environed by the Enemy, and forced to submit. *Hannibal* dealt courteously with the Prisoners, dismissing them without Ransom, to gain the Affection of the Country, tho' he shewed more Severity to those who fell into his Hands (b) afterwards. The Romans being under great Consternation by reason of their present Circumstances, thought fit to elect *Fabius Maximus* their Dictator, with absolute Authority, who chose *Minutius Rufus* his Master of Horse. The Dictator was a Man of Caution and Boldness (c), who by keeping his Army on higher Grounds straitened *Hannibal* in his Quarters, cut off his Provisions, gave him continual Alarms; sometimes cut off his Reer, but never came to a general Engagement. Hence *Virgil* (d), says, *That he restored the Roman Affairs by Delays*.

When the Dictator's six Months were expired *Æmilius Paulus*, and *Terentius Varro* were chosen Consuls; the former being a prudent experienced Person, the latter a hot, rash, and inconsiderate Man. These gathered together an Army of 80000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, who met with the *Carthaginians* at a Village in *Apulia* called *Cannæ*; where *Varro* resolved to engage against the Advice *Æmilius*. *Hannibal's* Army, tho' inferior to the Romans in Numbers, were superior in Horse, which gave them great Advantage in a plain Field, which their Captain with great military Skill chose, so as the Romans had the Wind, the Sun, and the Dust all in their Face. Besides, he placed the best of his Men in the right and left Wing, and formed the Center like an Half Moon; which, when attacked by the Romans, gave Way; and his Wings almost surrounded his Adversaries, assaulting them both in Front and Flank (e). *Livy* also tells us, *That the Consul Æmilius being sore wounded, was obliged to dismount (f), and quite his Horse; the Roman Knights taking this for a Signal, all dismounted; which Hannibal observing, said, I would rather he had delivered them to me bound Hand and Foot; meaning he was as sure of them as if they were so*. In fine, the Consul *Æmilius* was killed, and the Romans got so great an Overthrow, that *Livy* says, there were forty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse killed. *Plutarch* (g) tells us, that fifty thousand were slain in the Battle; and *Polybius* (h) makes the Number of the Slain seventy thousand. By the by we may notice, that we have no continued Series of the Roman History after this from *Polybius*, his fourth and fifth Books being taken up for most Part with the Affairs of the Greeks; and nothing remains of him after the fifth, but scattered Fragments. In this terrible Battle, the Romans lost two Quæstors, twenty one Tribunes, eight of the Senatorian Order, and so many Equites or Gentlemen, that 'tis said three Bushels of Rings, pulled off their dead Bodies, were sent to *Carthage*. *Terentius Varro* saved himself by flying to *Venusia*. *Polybius* (i) says, *Hannibal* lost only four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Africans, and two hundred Horsemen.

No Wonder such Losses as the Romans had in four Battles, at *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, brought their State to the Brink of Ruin. They could do little more now than defend their Walls, and encourage their Citizens almost sinking with Sorrow. But divine Providence had reserved this State for greater Matters, and therefore it was recovered out of this Conon. *Maherbal* told *Hannibal*, if he would push this Victory, he might in five Days feast at the Capitol. The General said, this required more Time. 'Tis likely he thought he wanted Money, of which he was still ill provided, and other Necessaries for besieging Rome: *Alas*, said the other, *the Gods have not given all Things to one Man, thou knowest O Hannibal to overcome, but not (k) to improve the Victory!* But instead of going streight to Rome, *Hannibal* went to *Capua*, where he wintered, and the Luxury and Pleasure of that Place debauched his whole Army, so as (l) *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to his *Carthaginians*.

In the Mean Time the Romans began to gather Courage. *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcellus* were chosen Consuls in the Year of Rome 539. The Romans called the first their Shield, and the

(a) Plutarchus in Hannibale. (b) Appian. in Annibalicis, p. 552. (c) Plutarch. in Fabio. (d) Æneid. 6. v. 846. Cunctando restituit rem. (e) Plutarch. in Fabio. See also Sir Walt. Raulcigh's Hist. of the World, and Copperplate, p. 386. (f) Livius, lib. 22. cap. 49. (g) In Fabio. (h) Polybius, lib. 3. p. 371. (i) Ibid. (k) Liv. lib. 22. cap. 51. (l) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 6.

the latter their Sword ; and *Hannibal* himself (a) said, *he feared Fabius as his Governor, and Marcellus as his Enemy*, because the one kept him from hurting others, and the other did Hurt to him. *Hannibal's* Fortune began to change. *Marcellus* gave him a Repulse nigh *Nola*, where the *Carthaginians* lost five thousand Men, and the *Romans* only five hundred according to *Plutarch* (b). In *Spain* the *Roman Scipio's* had great Success, overthrowing *Hanno* and *Asdrubal*, whereby their Design of assisting *Hannibal* in *Italy* was disappointed (c). In *Sardinia*, *T. Manlius* defeated a *Carthaginian* Army (d), taking a great many Prisoners, among whom were *Asdrubal*, *Hanno* and *Mago*, Men of Renown. In *Sicily* by the Death of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, and the Murder of *Hieronymus* his Grandchild, Affairs took another Turn. The prevailing Faction declared for the *Carthaginians* ; whereupon *Marcellus* was sent thither with an Army, who took the City of the *Leontines*, and besieged *Syracuse* by Sea and Land : But was not able to storm it by Reason of the Machines of that noble Mathematician *Archimedes*, who dismounted the battering Engines of the *Romans*, cast prodigious Stones and Beams upon their Ships, overturned them and hoisted them up in the Air. By which Means he became formidable, *Marcellus* calling him (e) *Briareus*. However, after three Years Siege, *Marcellus*, when the City was observing a Festival to *Diana*, surprised it at an ill guarded Tower ; but this noble *Roman* was grieved at the Destruction his Army made in so great a City, and particularly vexed that *Archimedes*, who was so intent upon his Mathematical Projects, that he heard nothing of the Noise of taking the City, was killed by a Soldier, without allowing him Time to finish his Mathematical Demonstration. From the Ruins of this City, *Marcellus* carried to *Rome* the most beautiful Pictures, Tables and Statues that had been ever seen there before. When Consul a fourth Time in the Year of *Rome* 543, he vindicated himself from several Reproaches, drove *Hannibal* out of *Apulia* : When Proconsul, he fought several Times with him. At last *Marcellus* being made Consul a fifth Time, in the Year of *Rome* 549, and sixtieth Year of his Age, seeking an Occasion to fight with *Hannibal*, he was slain in an Ambuscade which his Adversary had laid for him, and honourably buried by his own Men. He was the only *Roman* that to that Time had defeated this *Carthaginian*, and was the Man in the World whom he most feared. *Polybius* speaking of *Marcellus's* Death (f), censures him for too rash personal Adventures, unbecoming a General ; which *Hannibal* always took Care to shun.

The narrow Limits I have prescribed to my self, do not allow me to recount all the particular Events of this War ; but shall only notice some of the most remarkable that had Influence on the happy finishing thereof. As, that when *Asdrubal* was sent by the *Carthaginians* into *Italy* to assist his Brother *Hannibal*, *Livius Salinator*, and *Claudius Nero* being Consuls, in the Year of *Rome* 546, they having joined their Forces, led *Asdrubal* into a dangerous Place near the River *Metaurum*, where they cut him off with all his Elephants, and his whole Army, to the Number of fifty six thousand Men (g) ; which they signified to *Hannibal* next Day, by setting up his Brother's Head on a Pole near his Camp.

The *Romans* were now in a more prosperous Condition, having reduced *Spain* and *Sicily* to their Obedience ; only *Hannibal*, being yet in the Bowels of *Italy*, was a great Curb to them. To remedy this Evil, *Scipio*, called afterwards *Africanus*, being chosen Consul in the Year of *Rome* 548, being then only twenty nine Years of Age, offered to go to *Africa*, where he hoped so to manage Matters, that the *Carthaginians* would be forced to recall *Hannibal* out of *Italy* for the Defence of their own Country. *Fabius Maximus* opposed this Motion with some Heat ; yet it was gone into. *Scipio* was a Man of excellent Qualities, and universally beloved. He had followed the Camp since he was seventeen Years of Age. After the Battle of *Cannæ*, observing the young *Romans* consulting to forsake *Italy*, he drew his Sword, and made them all swear never to abandon their Country (h). His Father and Uncle were slain, commanding the Armies in *Spain* : Himself was chosen *Ædilis* when very young, and at twenty four Years of Age was made Vice-consul to carry on the War in *Spain*, with a Force too small for such an Undertaking (i). Nevertheless he had great Success : For he took *New Carthage*, won the Battle of *Besula* and several others ; prevailed with *Syphax* King of the *Massylians* in *Afric* (who afterward proved treacherous) to join in League with the *Romans* ; protected the Innocent ; was courteous even to his Enemies, liberal to his Soldiers, so as they all loved him, and never disputed his Commands : Whence the *Romans* could not have chosen a fitter Person to command in so important an Expedition. *Scipio* having got his Commission, in forty five Days got an Army and Fleet ready to go into *Afric* ; with which he sailed first into *Sicily*, where he increased his Army, and set in Order the Affairs of that Country ; then embarking, he sailed for *Afric*, where he defeated *Hanno*, killing him and three thousand of his Men. Thereafter he cut to Pieces an Army of forty thousand *Carthaginians*, taking abundance of

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(a) *Plutarch*. in *Fabio*, & in *Marcello*. (b) *Idem*, in *Marcello*. (c) *Livius*, lib. 23. cap. 26. (d) *Livius* lib. 23. cap. 40, 41. (e) *Plutarch*. in *Marcello*. *Polybius*, lib. 8. p. 715, — 721. (f) *Polybius*, lib. 10. p. 840. (g) *Plutarch*. in *Hannibale*. *Polybius*, lib. 11. p. 866, — 870. *Appianus*, p. 591. (h) *Plutarch*. in *Scipione Africano*. (i) *Appianus* in *Hispanicis*, p. 441, — 464.

of Prisoners. These redoubled Losses made the *Carthaginians* recall *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; which he left, after he had staid sixteen Years in it, cursing his Friends who had not sent him Supplies of Men and Money when he was so successful (a), and himself for not pushing his Victories. When *Hannibal* landed in *Africa*, he had an Interview with *Scipio* about the Terms of Peace: But they coming to no Agreement, next Day the Armies came to a general Engagement at *Zama*, to shew whether *Rome* or *Carthage* should give Laws to the World. In this Battle the *Carthaginians* were entirely routed, twenty thousand being killed, as many taken Prisoners, and *Hannibal* himself put to flight. *Carthage* submitted to such Terms as the Conqueror imposed (b), namely, *That the Carthaginians should enjoy their Territories in Africa, and the Romans should hold Spain, with the Isles in the Mediterranean: That all Rebels and Deserters should be delivered to the Romans: That the Carthaginians should give up all their beak'd Ships, with their tam'd Elephants, and tame no more: That they should make no War, in Africa or elsewhere, without Leave from the Romans: To whom they should also pay ten thousand Talents of Silver in fifty Years Time, and give an hundred Hostages for Performance of the whole.* This being ratified by the Consent of the Senate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and performed so far as could be at present, five hundred *Carthaginian* Ships being burnt in their Harbour, *Scipio* returned in Triumph to *Rome*, and was called *Africanus*. Thus was the second *Punic* War ended, seventeen Years after it was begun, 553 after the building of *Rome*, 3750 from the Creation of the World, and 200 before the Birth of Christ.

This War being finished, Arts and Learning, Riches and Luxury increased at *Rome*, and with these a boundless Ambition to increase their Dominions all the World over. The *Macedonian* War was already begun. The *Romans* alledged they had been provoked to it by the Conduct of the *Macedonian*: For *Philip* King of *Macedon*, the tenth after *Alexander* the Great, hearing of the Battle of *Cannæ*, and of the many Victories of the *Carthaginians*, dispatched Ambassadors for his own Interest to make a League with *Hannibal*. These Ambassadors falling into the Hands of the *Romans*, when examined, told a Falshood, even, *That they were sent to offer the Help of their King to the Senate and People of Rome*: Whereupon they were honourably dismissed. But in their Way home, they went to *Hannibal's* Camp, and there concluded a League with him; the Import whereof was, *That King Philip should come to Italy, with all his Forces, to assist the Carthaginians in the Roman War, until it were finished, and the Conquest should be left to the State of Carthage; and that afterwards Hannibal should march into Greece, and assist Philip against all his Enemies, leaving to him the Possession of the Country.* Sovereign Providence, that ruleth the World, disappointed these Projects: For the Ambassadors were intercepted and seized at Sea by the *Romans*; the League was found about them, and themselves sent Prisoners to *Rome*. However, a new Embassy concluded that Affair much upon the same Terms (c). The *Roman* Senate judged this Conjunction very dangerous, and that it was easier with a small Force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their Strength to resist him and *Hannibal*, if they should unite their Troops in the Heart of *Italy*: And therefore they sent *M. Valerius* the Prætor by Sea, to raise Commotions in *Greece*, and detain *Philip* at home; which he did with so good Success, that he obliged the *Macedonian* to sue for Peace; which the *Romans*, considering their present Circumstances, easily granted.

§ 11. THE second *Punic* War being ended, the *Romans* observing that nothing but the *Macedonian* Kingdom hindered them from extending their Dominions into *Asia*, resolved that this Obstacle must be removed out of the Way. And to this End they soon found Occasions of War against King *Philip*. They remembered the League he had before concluded with *Hannibal*: The *Athenians* complained that he tyrannized over them, and had violated their Temples, Altars and Sepulchres (d). The Senate then decreed to relieve the *Athenians* and make War against *Philip*. *P. Sulpicius* the Consul was sent against him (e); who being assisted by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the Ships of the *Rhodians*, had good Success. Next Year *T. Quintus Flaminius* being Consul, in the Year of *Rome* 555, he had a Conference with *Philip* about Peace; but that taking no Effect (f), the Consul being endowed with a Martial Spirit, capable of great Actions (g), tho' he was but then thirty Years of Age, resolved to push the War: And having got a brave Army of twenty six thousand Men, whereof the *Ætolians* made six thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, he passed the Mountains that lead into *Macedonia*, and followed *Philip* into *Thessaly*, where he gave him a great Overthrow at *Cyncephalæ*, killing eight thousand and taking five thousand Prisoners. This brought *Philip* to seek for Peace; which was granted him on these Terms, *That he should retain the Kingdom of Macedon, but should quit all that he held in Greece, should pay a thousand Talents to the Romans, and retain only ten Ships by Sea.* *Flaminius* being continued for another Year in his Com-

(a) Appianus in *Punicis*: (b) Livius, lib. 30. Plutarch. in *Scip. Africano*. Polybius, lib. 15. p. 982, 983, & lib. 16. p. 1019. (c) Justin, lib. 29, cap. 4. Liv. lib. 23. cap. 38, 39. Lib. 24. cap. 40. See also the Form of an Oath, by which *Hannibal* General of the *Carthaginians*, and *Xenophanes* Ambassador from *Philip* King of *Macedon*, concluded a League, in Polyb. lib. 7. p. m. 699, — 703. (d) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 7. (e) Livius, lib. 31. cap. 14. (f) Plutarch. in *Flaminius*. (g) Polyb. lib. 10. p. 1033, — 1062.

Command with a Pro-consular Power, to make the *Romans* and himself more popular, and to secure the *Grecian* Cities in the *Roman* Interest, he proclaimed Liberty to all of them, whether in *Europe* or in *Asia*; to be free of Taxes, Subsidies, Impositions and Garrisons; to live after their old Laws and in (a) full Liberty. This being intimated at the *Isthmian* and afterwards at the *Nemæan* Games, *Plutarch* tells us (b), that there were such Acclamations of Joy, as Crows did fall down from the Air by the Sound of Men's Voices. No doubt the favour seemed to be very great; tho' we shall find that it was afterwards bestowed only as the *Romans* pleased. *Polybius* (c) speaks fully of the joyful Acclamations, but not of the falling down of the Crows. These Things being done, *Flaminius* returned to *Rome*, where he had the Honour of a Triumph.

The next War of any Moment that the *Romans* had, was with *Antiochus* the Great. But I have given the History of this already (d), to which I now refer the Reader. By their Victory over *Antiochus* the *Romans* got a great Footing in *Asia*; yea extended their Dominions there as far as the River *Halys* on the one Side, and Mount *Taurus* on the other.

The *Romans* had now little Employment abroad, besides chastising the *Ætolians* in *Greece*. They were a People dwelling on the North-west Side of the Bay of *Corinth*; who having assisted *Flaminius* in the War against *Philip* of *Macedon* (as has been already observed) (e), boasted too much that their Forces were the chief Cause of the Victory (f); and not being pleased with the Reward the *Romans* gave them, endeavoured to bring *Antiochus* the Great into *Europe*, and to form a dangerous League against the *Roman* State, but were sufficiently chastised by *Manlius Vulso* Consul, in the Year of *Rome* 564. The same *Manlius* did also undertake an Expedition against the *Gallo-Grecians* or *Galatians* in *Asia*, with good Success; Only the *Asian* Luxury and Idleness was brought to *Rome* by his Army (g). The same Year 258,328, free Citizens were entred into the *Census*.

Scipio the *African* about this Time was accused before the Tribunes of the People, for defrauding the Publick Treasury of the Spoils taken in the Wars wherein he commanded, and of Correspondence with *Antiochus* the Great. He publicly answered his Accusers, saying *This very Day I overcame Hannibal, and therefore it is proper I go to the Capitol, and give Thanks for the Victory, and producing his Books of Accounts, tore them in Pieces before them all.* *Tiberius Gracchus* one of the Tribunes defended his Cause, and the Accusation came to nothing. However after this, he retired from publick Business, and lived quietly at *Linternum* (h), a Sea Town in *Campania*. *Scipio Asiaticus* his Brother was also accused (i), but came off without Punishment. *Porcius Cato* the Censor had a chief Hand in those Accusations (k). He was a Man very frugal, both of the publick Moneys and of his own, but neither spared Senators nor others in his Pleadings. When the *Roman* State was free of Danger abroad, then the Fire of Contention was oft like to destroy her at home.

For about the Space of twelve Years, the *Romans* were employed in Wars with their Neighbours, the *Ligurians* and *Istrians*, the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*; and also with the *Celtiberians* (l) in *Spain*, all whom they forced into a Submission.

§. 12. THEN the second *Macedonian* War came to be a Matter of Concern to the *Roman* State. *Philip*, of whom we have before heard, was yet alive; tho' he was allowed the Name of a King, yet he found he was only a Slave to the *Romans*, who made still one uneasy Demand upon him after another; and therefore as privately as he could he prepared for War, by laying up Arms, Provisions and Monies in the best Cities, which he had in the Heart of his Country. But in the latter End of his Life, he turned tyrannical in his Government. The *Greek* Cities made many Complaints of his Oppression to the *Roman* Senate (m). He put *Demetrius* his second Son, of most promising Parts, to Death, upon the false Accusation of *Perseus* his eldest Son. When his Eyes were opened to see his Error in this Matter, he was deeply afflicted, and resolved to revenge it on *Perseus*; but was prevented by Death (n). *Perseus* his Successor inherited his Father's Malice against the *Romans*, but had not Shoulders to bear the Weight of the War they declared against him; tho' in the Beginning thereof he wanted neither Men nor Money, and had considerable Success: For he overthrew *Publius Licinius*, and after him *Hostilius*, both Consuls. The *Romans* then began to look for a Consul that was fit to manage such a War; and for this End chose *Paulus Æmilius*. He was the Son of *Lucius Paulus* the Consul, who was killed at *Cannæ*, and had before this served in several great Offices at *Rome*. When Prætor he defeated the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*; and, when Consul, he overcame the *Ligurians* (o). He was sent into *Macedon*, when sixty Years old, in the Year of *Rome* 586, with an Army of one hundred thousand Men. *Perseus* his Adversary had also a very great Army of very good Soldiers, and Abundance of Riches to pay them; but had neither Heart to bestow Money upon his Men, nor Courage to fight. When he came to the Battle at *Pydna*, he fled out of it, shifting from Place to Place, till he was taken at *Samo-Thracia* by *Cneius*

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(a) Livius, lib. 33. cap. 32. (b) Plutarchus in *Flaminius*. (c) Polyb. Legat. 9. p. 1105. (d) See above p. 339. (e) Above p. 412. (f) Plutarch. in *Flaminius*. (g) Liv. lib. 35, & lib. 38. Polyb. lib. 11. p. 871, & Legatione 6. p. 1098, & Legat. 28. p. 1156, & Legatione 31 — 35. (h) Plutarch. in *Scipione Africano*. (i) Liv. lib. 38. (k) Plutarch. in *Marco Catone*. (l) Liv. lib. 39. (m) Polybius Legat. 40. & 46. (n) Livius, lib. 40. (o) Plutarch. in *Paul. Æmil.*

us *Octavius*. On the other Side *Æmilius* did every thing proper for a Commander in Chief, and gained a notable Victory ; wherein 'tis said there were five and twenty thousand of *Perseus's* Men slain. After the Victory, the whole Kingdom of *Macedon* submitted to the Romans. *Æmilius* made a Progress through *Greece*, where he redressed Disorders, and gave Gifts ; only at *Epirus*, that State having joined with *Perseus*, he committed a horrid Outrage on them : For 'tis said by *Plutarch* (a), That he made one hundred and fifty thousand Persons Slaves, and spoiled and sacked threescore and ten Cities ; out of which he gave his Army eleven silver Drachms a piece. However the Soldiers having got little or no Plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treasure, which was very great, denied their General a Triumph : But he obtained it, and that a splendid one too, such as *Rome* scarce ever saw before. *Perseus* himself and his Sons were led before the Triumphal Chariot, and *Æmilius*, who himself died poor (b), is said to have brought so much Silver and Gold into the publick Treasury, that the common People were not obliged to contribute for any Thing (c), till the Wars of *Augustus* and *Mark Anthony*. *Rome* flourished so much, soon after this, that 337,452 free Citizens were entered into the *Census* (d). Here ends the forty fifth Book of *Titus Livius* ; which is the last of that excellent Author transmitted to us, the rest being lost. And thus the Kingdom of *Macedon* ended ; and the Glory thereof, that sometimes had filled all the Parts of the then known World, was carried to *Rome*, 156 Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great, in the Year of the World 3785, before the Birth of Christ 165. The third *Macedonian War* was rather like the Insurrection of an Impostor called *Andriscus*. It was quelled by *Metellus* the Consul (e) ; and for so doing he obtained a Triumph.

§ 13. THESE Commotions being finished, the Romans found a Pretence to begin the third *Carthaginian War*, because that City was in Arms against *Masinissa*, a Roman Ally. *Marcus Cato* being sent with some other Ambassadors, to enquire into the State of the Controversy, he found *Carthage*, after fifty Years Peace, rich and flourishing, full of lusty Men, and their Stores well provided for Wars (f) : And therefore, upon his Return, he urged that *Carthage* must be ruined : In which Affair he was so warm, as he concluded all his Speeches with *delenda est Carthago* ; and was often answered by *Scipio Nasica*, who alledged, That upon the Removal of so powerful a Rival, Security would cause the Ruin and Dissolution of the Roman Commonwealth. But *Cato* prevailed ; and the Senate ordered a War to be proclaimed against the *Carthaginians*, and sent the Consuls to prosecute the same ; even tho' *Carthage* offered any Terms to please the Romans, as the Curious may find their Case very pathetically represented by *Appian* (g). Nevertheless the Consuls told them, They must not dispute on Terms, but must entirely abandon their City ; which they had special Orders to level with the Ground, and might build in any other Place of their own Territories, providing it were ten Miles from the Sea. This the *Carthaginians* declined to do, and would rather suffer any Extremity than leave their antient Habitation to utter Ruin. They chose *Asdrubal* for their General, and were so keen in their own Defence, that, as *Florus* tells us (h), They pulled down their wooden Houses for the Use of their Fleet ; and where Brass and Iron was wanting, made Use of Gold and Silver ; and even the Women gave the Hair of their Heads to serve for Tow and Flax.

The Consuls found such vigorous Resistance, as gave them enough ado, and were like to be great Losers, had not *Scipio* called afterwards *Africanus Junior* drawn *Pharnaces*, Master of the *Carthaginian* Horse unto his Side. *Masinissa* who had occasioned the War, died when ninety Years old, leaving his Son to *Scipio's* Protection ; and *Cato*, who had prompted the Roman Senate to it, died in the eighty fifth Year of his Age, both in the second Year of the War, before they had seen what they had begun finished. Next Year, being from the Building of *Rome* 606, *Scipio* the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, was created Consul. *Polybius*, who seems to have been present in the War, and of whose History concerning it we have some Fragments (i), doth frequently highly commend *Scipio* (k). He restored the Discipline of the Army, and soon took that Part of *Carthage* called *Megara*, driving the Inhabitants into the Citadel called *Byrsa*. Then securing the *Isthmus*, which led into the City, he cut off all Provisions from the Country, and blocked up the Haven : But the Besieged with incredible Industry, cut out a new Passage into the Sea ; whereby at certain Times they received Necessaries by the Help of the Army without the Walls. *Scipio* then in the Beginning of the Winter set upon their Forces in the Field, and defeated them, killing 70000 (l) and taking 10000 Prisoners, cutting off all their Communication with the Sea, so as the Besieged could have no Relief, and were in a despairing Condition. In the next Spring he took the *Forum*, where was a miserable Spectacle of slaughtered People. Still the Citadel held out : But an Offer being made that all who would come out to the Romans, should have their Lives, fifty thousand yielded, and among these *Asdrubal* himself. The Remainder finding their Condition desperate, fled to the Temple of

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(a) *Plutarch*. in *Paulo Æmilio*, p. m. 260. (b) *Polyb.* de virtutibus & vitiis p. 1454. (c) *Plutarch*. in *Æmilio*, prope finem. (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Florus*, lib. 2. cap. 14. *Epit. Livii*, lib. 49, 50. (f) *Plutarchus* in *M. Catone*, prope finem. (g) *Appian*. in *Punicis* 62, — 94. (h) *Florus*. lib. 2. cap. 15. (i) *Polyb.* lib. 10. p. 802, — 830. (k) *Polyb.* in lib. 10, 11. 14. & de virtutibus p. 1455, — 1465. (l) *Polyb.* lib. 10. p. 802, — 830.

Æsculapius (a), which was so large, as 50000 People concealed themselves there seven Days (b), and at last they set Fire to it, and burnt themselves with it, even *Asdrubal's* Wife threw her self with two Children into the Flames. Then was this magnificent City of *Carthage* that had been renowned in the World for seven hundred Years, and Rival to *Rome* one hundred Years, altogether laid in Ashes. It was twenty four Miles in Compass, and so large, that the Burning continued seventeen Days together. And all this was done for no other Cause, as *Orosius* (c) long ago observed, but to destroy the Memory of a Place that had been so long a Competitor to *Rome*. The News were received by the *Roman* Senate with great Joy, *Carthage* was ordered to be utterly destroyed, and Curses denounced against them who should ever rebuild it. The Cities who had joined with it had the same Fate; and their Lands were given to the Friends of the *Roman* People. Thus this War ended in the fourth Year after it began, 608 Years after the Building of *Rome*. If we had any *Carthaginian* Author extant, perhaps we might have other valuable Particulars concerning their Affairs: But these are all lost.

§ 14. *CARTHAGE* was not the only City that was thus ruined by the *Romans*: In the same Year *Corinth* had the same Fate. The *Achæans*, having affronted the *Roman* Ambassadors sent to dissolve their Confederacy, and having joined against the *Lacedæmonians*, who were Allies to *Rome*; for these Reasons the *Roman* Senate decreed War against the *Achæans*; which *Metellus*, then in *Macedonia*, undertook to manage. He overthrew *Critolaus*, took *Thebes* and *Megara*; and *L. Mummius* the Consul succeeded him in his Province. This *Mummius* overcame *Diæus* the *Achæan* General (d), and then entered *Corinth*, where the Ambassadors had been affronted; and there, by Order of the Senate, first plundered that rich City, which had been like a Shop for all kind of Tradesmen, and the Resort of Merchants from both *Europe* and *Asia*, and ordered by Sound of Trumpet, that the whole City should be burnt to the Ground, and utterly destroyed; which was accordingly done. *Mummius* brought many fine Things from the Ruin of this Place to *Rome*, and had a splendid Triumph, with the Surname of *Achaicus*, because he had reduced those Parts with all *Greece* and *Epirus* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, called afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

Numantia had the like Fate. It was now seventy four Years since the *Romans* entered *Spain* in a hostile Manner, where they had many Wars to deprive that People of their Liberty. About this Time *Viriatus* was up in Arms. From a Shepherd he became a Robber, and from a Robber he became a General over a numerous Party such as himself, which created the *Romans* a great deal of Trouble for several Years, he having defeated several of their best Officers. But the most difficult and dangerous Part of the War was at *Numantia* (e), a Town of no great Bulk; for it contained only about eight thousand fighting Men: But these were of so great Valour, that they defeated *Q. Pompeius* the Consul, and also his Successor *Mancianus*, forcing him to make a dishonourable Treaty with them; which the *Romans* found a Pretence to break, and to deliver up *Mancianus* naked and bound at their Gates; whom the *Numantines* would not receive. *Orosius* (f) justly observes, *That this was unfair Dealing in the Romans, to break a League which their Consul by the Circumstances he was then in had been obliged to conclude, and to deliver up himself to an infamous Punishment.* After this *Brutus* defeated many Thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallecians*. But *Lepidus* the Proconsul was not so successful: For setting upon the *Vaccæi*, an harmless and quiet People in the hithermost Part of *Spain*, he was entirely defeated by them. These Misfortunes terrified the *Roman* Soldiers, and obliged the Senate and People to create *Scipio Africanus junior*, who had ruined *Carthage*, Consul a second Time, in the Year of *Rome* 619, looking upon him as the Hope and Bulwark of their Country. *Scipio* restored military Discipline; but coming to engage, he found the Courage of the *Numantines* so extraordinary, that he resolved only to lay a close Siege to their City. At last the Besieged were so straitned, that they offered to yield upon any reasonable Terms, or to fight if they might be allowed a Battle, notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers. But neither of these being granted, they drank heartily strong Liquors, and attacked the Besiegers with such Fury, that the *Romans* had fled, if any other than *Scipio* had commanded them. The Besieged finding there was no Way to escape being made Prisoners, and led as a Trophy before their Conqueror's Chariot, fired the City over their own Heads, scarce a Man, or not fifty, says *Appian* (g), remaining to be led in Triumph. This Madness of the *Numantines*, *Florus* (h) in my Opinion very foolishly commends and approves; But I rather incline to cry out with *Orosius* (i), *Why do you, Romans, falsely claim to your selves the great Names of Justice, Faith, Fortitude and Mercy, when your Actions declare the contrary?* The Barbarities they committed on *Carthage*, *Corinth* and *Numantia*, where they

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were

(a) *Orosius* lib. 4. cap. 22, 23. *Appian.* in *Punicis*, p. 129. *Epit. Livii*, lib. 49, 50, 51. (b) Vide *Bochartum* in *Chanaan* lib. 1. cap. 24. p. m. 513. (c) *Orosius* loco citato. (d) *Livii* *Epitome*, lib. 52. *Florus*, lib. 2. cap. 16. *Orosius*, lib. 5. cap. 3. Above, p. 366. (e) *Appian.* in *Hispanicis*, p. 505, — 515. (f) *Adversus Paganos*, lib. 5. cap. 4. p. m. 370. (g) In *Hispanicis*, p. 532. *Florus*, lib. 2. cap. 17, 18. *Paterculus*, lib. 2. cap. 4. *Livii* *Epitome*, lib. 52, 54. (h) Lib. 2. cap. 18. *Maße fortissimam, &c, meo judicio, in ipsis malis beatissimam civitatem!* (i) Lib. 5. cap. 5. ab initio.

were pleased with no less than the entire Destruction of those once flourishing Cities and their Inhabitants, deserves such a Censure. However, *Scipio* razed *Numantia* to the Ground, in the Year of *Rome* 620, after a Siege of fifteen Months. The Ruins of the Place are still to be seen in *Old Castile* (a), not far from the Borders of *Arragon*, about a League from *Soria*.

§ 15. THE *Roman* Republic had by this Time extended her Conquests over many Parts of the World: In *Europe*, the whole of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Illyria* to the *Danube*, *Thracia*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*; in *Africa*, the whole Coast of *Libya*; and in *Asia* all the Provinces of *Asia* the Lesser submitted to her Dominion. The Luxury, as well as the Spoils of the East, were carried to *Rome*; the Manners of the Citizens changed with their Fortune (b): The Profits of the great Officers of the Commonwealth increased with her Bounds, and this made more briguing and soliciting for those Posts; yea Seditions, Jealousies and Contentions arose about them; even sometimes to the shedding of Blood. A remarkable Instance whereof we have while *Tiberius Gracchus* was Tribune of the People. His Father *Sempronius Gracchus* had been Consul, and had enjoyed the Honour of two Triumphs. His Mother *Cornelia* was the Daughter of *Scipio Africanus* the elder, who overcame *Hannibal*, and was herself eminent for Chastity and Learning. *Tiberius* himself was a Man of rare Parts and admirable Eloquence (c), but so fond of popular Applause, that he forsook the Nobility, and took Part with the common People, reviving the *Agrarian* Laws, whereby any Citizen was forbid to possess above five hundred *Jugera*, that is, about three hundred and thirty Acres of Land (d); and adding to the *Lex Licinia*, That if any had more than the Law allowed, it should be divided among the Poor; and *Triumvirs*, or three Judges, were appointed to see this executed. These things so exasperated the Senators, that they rose against *Tiberius*, and killed him in the Capitol, with about three hundred of the Commons with him: And this was the first Civil Insurrection among the *Romans* that ended with the Effusion of Blood (e). These Confusions were not finished by the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*: His Brother *Caius* being chosen Tribune of the People, two Years successively pursued the same Measures, preferring new Laws; which tho' they gratified the Commons, yet the Senators reckoned themselves injured by them: And therefore *Opimius* the Consul raised a Tumult against *Caius*; who finding his own Party too weak, fled; and made his own Servant to kill him; who thereafter killed himself, falling down dead upon his Master's Body: Yea the Severity of the Consul was so great, that no less than three thousand of *Gracchus's* Faction were put to Death, being the Year of *Rome* 632. About the same time there happened a dreadful Pestilence, that destroyed near two hundred thousand People on the *Mediterranean* Coast of *Africa* (f), the Plague arising from an immense Multitude of Locusts, that destroyed the Country, and then were killed. 390,396 Citizens were entered into the *Roman Census*.

§ 16. FOR some Time the *Romans* had no considerable Action abroad, till the War occasioned by *Jugurtha* arose. To understand what he was, we may observe, that *Massinissa*, whom the *Romans* had made King of *Numidia*, because he had been their firm Friend in their Wars against the *Carthaginians*, had a Successor called *Micipsa*; and two other Sons, *Manastabal* and *Gulassa*, by one of his Concubines. The former of these was the Father of *Jugurtha*. He had his Education in the Court of his Uncle *Micipsa*; where upon several Occasions he gave signal Proofs of his Wit and Valour, as also when he served under *Scipio Africanus* the younger, at the Siege of *Numantia* (g). That War being ended, he was sent home: And *Micipsa* dying, left his Sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, under the Guardianship of this *Jugurtha*; who, after he had caused the younger of them to be put to Death, pursued the elder, till he fled to *Rome*, and there sought for Help. *Jugurtha* being sensible how much Avarice and Injustice had crept into the City, sent his Ambassadors well instructed with rich Presents; which did so operate upon the Senate, that they decreed to give him the half of the Kingdom, and sent Commissioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. But he being still restless, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, routed and besieged him in *Cirta* for the Space of several Months; and upon the Surrender of that City, having got him into his Hands, contrary to his Faith and Promise put him to a violent Death. Whereupon a War was determined against him, and the Conduct thereof committed to *L. Calpurnius Bestia* Consul, in the Year of *Rome* 642. He invaded *Numidia* with great Vigour; but was stopped in his Career by the golden Weapons sent by *Jugurtha*. *Scaurus* the Quæstor being corrupted by the same Means, a Treaty of Peace was set on foot. These things making great Noise in the City, the People got *Cassius Longinus* the Prætor sent to *Africa*, with Orders to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome* upon the publick Faith of the State: Which he did. But the Usurper so cunningly managed his Affairs, that when he left the City, he declared (h), That *Rome* was to be sold, and any body that would go to the Price might have her. Nevertheless *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* being Consul in the Year of *Rome* 644, *Jugurtha* was defeated. *Caius Marius* was then Lieutenant to the *Roman* Army. He was a Person

(a) Historical Dictionary on the Word *Numantia*. (b) *Paterculus*, lib. 2. cap. 1. (c) *Ibid.* cap. 2. (d) Above, p. 402. (e) *Plutarch* in *Gracchis*. Vel. *Paterculus*, lib. 2. cap. 3. *Appian.* de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 606, — 623. (f) *Orosius*, lib. 5. cap. 11. *Livii Epitome*, lib. 60. (g) *Sallustii Bellum Jugurthinum* (h) *Livii Epitome*, lib. 64.

Person of mean Birth and of a rough Temper (a); but of great Frugality, Cunning and Experience in War, in which he was trained under *Scipio Africanus* the younger, at the Siege of *Numantia*. Being very desirous to gain the Consulship, he blamed *Metellus* for prolonging the War, saying, 'He might with the half of his Army have taken *Jugurtha* Prisoner'; and having got Leave to go to *Rome*, he there obtained the Consulship, in the Year of the City 646, and had the Management of this Affair committed to him. This being done, he overcame *Jugurtha* in Battle, and prevailed with *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*, his Father-in-law, to deliver him bound Hands and Feet to *Sylla*; who gave him to *Marius*, when Consul the second Time (b); in the Year of *Rome* 649, by whom he was brought to the City, and there led as an Ornament to the Consul's Triumph, with great Riches and Spoils got in the War (c). When the Triumph was over, *Jugurtha* was cast into a nasty Prison, almost naked, where he ended his Life in the Space of six Days. *Pliny* (d) tells us, that *Marius*, in his second Consulship, first made the Eagle to be the Ensign of the *Roman* Legions.

§ 17. THE *Jugurthine* War was scarce ended, when a more dangerous one, called the *Cimbric* and *Teutonic*, arose. A great Band of People from the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now called *Denmark*, and from the Northern Parts of *Germany*, broke in upon the *Roman* Empire. *Plutarch* (e) calls their Number three hundred thousand fighting Men well armed, and with them a great Number of Women and Children. They had already defeated some *Roman* Legions (f). *C. Marius* being thought a proper Man to conduct the War against them, he was to this end chosen Consul a third Time; and next Year, being that of *Rome* 651, he was made Consul a fourth Time. He led his Army over the *Alps*, and fortified his Camp near the River *Rhofne*, observing strict Discipline. He cleared the Mouth of the River, for bringing in Vessels with Provisions, and there waited for the Approach of the Enemy, and a proper Time to fight them; which he found near the City *Aix*. The *Romans* being afflicted with Thirst, found that the *Teutons* and *Ambruns* lay between them and the River; Necessity then compelling them to engage, they fought with the Enemies two Days successively, wherein they destroyed above a hundred thousand of them. The General raised a Pyramid in memory of this Victory, the Remains whereof are still to be seen on the Road to *Aix* (g). *Marius* being chosen Consul a fifth Time, and joining with *Catulus*, was challenged by the Enemy to Battle. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous Army, *July* 27 (h), and gave them a dreadful Overthrow, their Wives all the while making a wonderful Resistance from the Waggon and Carriages. But when they saw all things in a desperate Condition, they in a great Fury first killed their Children, and then themselves. About six score thousand are said to have been slain in the Battle, and as many taken Prisoners, which ended the War; and *Marius* obtained a sixth Consulship in the Year of *Rome* 653. He was not so steady, calm and prudent in his Government in the Time of Peace, as successful in the Camp; and hence several Disorders were committed in this Year of his Magistracy. *Apuleius Saturninus*, one of his Friends, standing for one of the Tribunes of the People, and being chosen, murdered *Nonius* his Competitor. Being in Power, he preferred a Law for the Division of those Lands which *Marius* had conquered in *Gaul*, and compelled the Senate to swear to it: Which Oath *Metellus Numidicus* (who had been Consul, and very successful in the *Jugurthine* War) refusing, he set him a Day to answer before the People; but, to prevent further Confusion, *Metellus* retired to *Rhodes* (i), and there spent his Time in reading Books, and in hearing the great Teachers of that Age; and *Marius*, the Author of all this Disorder, caused him to be declared a Rebel to the State. The same *Saturninus* obtaining the Tribuneship a second Time, and finding *Memmius* a Candidate for the Consulship, he also got him murdered, to make Way for *Glaucias* one of his own Party. These base Practices raised Commotions in the City, and the Senate resolved to make *Saturninus* to answer for them. Whereupon *Marius*, a changeable Man, withdrew his Friendship, and even set upon him in the publick Assembly, and forced him with his Followers into the Capitol; where, for want of Water, they were obliged to yield. And tho' *Saturninus* and *Glaucias* depended upon *Marius*, and would not discover that they were only Actors in his Designs; yet, by his Connivance, they were cut to Pieces by the *Equites* in the Forum; and *Metellus* recalled with the general Applause of the People.

§ 18. BUT that which in end ruined *Marius*, and caused innumerable Murders and Mischiefs in the *Roman* State, was the Emulation between him and *L. Cornelius Sylla*. This *Sylla* was a Patrician of noble Birth, who made himself more eminent by his Actions, a Man of Letters, having writ twenty two Books of Commentaries on the History of his own Life and Actions, mentioned by *Plutarch* (k), but now lost; a beautiful and comely Person, but much given to his Lusts and Pleasures, and did not stick at cruel Actions when they served to advance his Purposes. He had served as Quæstor under *Marius* in the *Jugurthine* War, and had the Com-

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(a) *Plutarch*. in *Mario*. (b) *Ibid*. (c) *Ibid*. (d) *Nat. hist.* lib. 8. cap. 4. (e) *Plutarch*. in *Mario*. *Florus*, lib. 1. cap. 3. (f) *Livii Epitome*, lib. 67. (g) *Great Historical Dictionary*, on the Word *Marius*. (h) *Plutarch*, in *Mario*. (i) *Livii Epitome*, lib. 69. (k) In *Sylla*.

mand of a thousand Men in his third Consulship ; but upon some Disgust or other, he never served under *Marius* any more.

At this Time *Mithridates Eupator* King of *Pontus* appeared upon the Stage (a), as a dangerous Enemy to the *Roman* State ; for he was a Prince of great Knowledge and Learning, mighty in Riches and Power, of boundless Ambition, and a Former of vast Designs. He procured *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* to join with him, and had taken from the *Romans* and their Allies *Asia* the Lesser, with *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Pergamus* (b) ; had made several Inroads into *Greece*, and, which was very provoking, had taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, and killed the latter by pouring melted Gold down his Throat, upbraiding the *Romans* with Avarice and Ambition. Upon all these Accounts, the *Roman* Senate proclaimed War against him, which continued many Years. *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius* being chosen Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 665, the former, being then fifty Years old, was sent against *Mithridates*. But *C. Marius*, being stirred up either by the Desire of Profit or Honour, persuaded *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, to prefer a Law, transferring the Management of the War from *Sylla* to himself. This was carried on with great Strength of Parties, Tumults and Bloodshed (c). *Sylla* hearing of these Commotions, hastened to the City with six Legions, whom he easily persuaded to stand by him, having been very liberal to them. With these, after some Bloodshed, he entered the City ; where he caused some Houses to be set on fire, but did no other Hurt to the Citizens in general ; only he and his Collegue reversed the Laws of *Sulpitius*, regulated the Senate, and got *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, with ten other leading Men, to be declared Enemies to their Country, making it lawful for any Person to kill them, and to put their Goods to open Sale. *Marius* with his Accomplices were forced to betake themselves to Flight. He hid himself in the Fens of *Minturnum*, and got so deep into a Marish, that only his Eyes and Nose were seen above the Water (d) ; where being discovered, and put in Prison, a *Gaul* who was sent to kill him, became so astonished at the Nobleness of his Presence, that he could not execute his Orders. Whereupon *Marius*, being conveyed out of that Place, escaped to *Afric*, and there passed through a thousand Hardships in his old Age, particularly described by *Plutarch* (e). *Sulpitius* the Tribune was taken and killed : And *Sylla* returned to prosecute the War against *Mithridates*.

About this Time there were abundance of Confusions at *Rome*, and over all *Italy*. The Commonwealth was bought and sold. The Farmers of the Revenues were both Judges and Parties. *Livius Drusus* a Tribune, gave the People of *Italy* Hopes of making them free *Roman* Citizens. By their Assistance he renewed the *Agrarian* Laws, and ordered that a proportional Number of Knights or *Equites* should be added to the Senate. But he not being able to perform his Promises to the Allies of the *Romans* in *Italy*, they conspired to assert their Privileges another Way : And *Drusus* being hated by the Senate, was killed (f) in his own House. Upon his Death arose the *Social* or *Italian* War. The several States of *Italy*, that were subject to and allied with the *Romans*, taking it in ill Part that they were denied the Freedom of the City, after it had been so oft promised to them ; especially since they maintained the Commonwealth by their Valour, sending almost in every War, double the Number of Troops to what *Rome* itself did afford : Therefore the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marfians*, *Pelignians*, *Samnites*, and others entered into a Confederacy to assert their Privilege by Arms. Their Design being discovered, they broke out into open Rebellion. The War continued three Years, and was very dangerous and destructive. *Florus* says (g), it brought on greater Calamities than either the Wars of *Hannibal* or *Pyrrhus* : But this I dare not affirm. However at last the Senate thought fit to give the Freedom of the City to such of the *Italians* as had not revolted, which established those who were something wavering in their Minds, abated the Courage of others who were already engaged, and in a little Time induced the *Romans* to give all the rest the same Privilege. Thus the *Social* War ended, after, as *Paterculus* (h) says, it had consumed three hundred thousand of the Youth of *Italy*, and had been managed by the greatest Men in *Rome*, as *Cn. Pompeius*, the Father of *Pompey* the Great, *C. Marius*, *L. Sylla*, and *Q. Metellus Pius*.

§ 19. THE Calamities of *Rome*, by the cruel Emulation of *Marius* and *Sylla*, were but yet beginning. *Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cn. Octavius* being Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 666, *Cinna* recalled *Marius* with the rest of the Exiles ; which was so violently opposed by his Collegue, that *Cinna* was by Force driven out of the City, and *Merula* put in his Place. *Marius* having escaped many Hardships and Dangers in *Afric*, and being informed of this Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, got together about a thousand Vagabonds, with whom he landed at *Telamon* in *Etruria*, where he proclaimed Liberty to all Slaves and Bondmen that would come to him (i), and then sent to *Cinna*, signifying that he would obey him as Consul. This Offer being accepted,

(a) See above, p. 376. (b) *Plutarch*. in *Sylla*. (c) *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 648, — 655. (d) *V. Paterculus*, lib. 2. cap. 19. (e) In *Mario*. (f) *Livii epitome*, lib. 71. *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 229. & seqq. (g) *Florus*, lib. 3. cap. 18. (h) lib. 2. cap. 15. (i) *Plutarch*. in *Mario*. *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 655, 664.

cepted, they took *Ostia*, putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, shut up *Rome*, and seized the Hill *Janiculum*, thro' *Octavius's* Neglect. In these Circumstances, the Senate invited them into the City, only desiring that they would shed no Blood; to which *Marius* gave no encouraging Answer, but only stern Looks and glooming Brows. Upon their Entrance to *Rome*, these banished Princes soon verified the Proverb (a), by filling the City with Blood. *Octavius* the Consul refusing to resign his Charge, had his Head cut off, and set up on the *Rostra*. *Marius* having got the Law for his Banishment abrogated, shewed his Resentment by horrid Cruelties: For he had a Company of Ruffians called *Bardilæans* waiting upon him, who at the least Nod of his Head, or twinkling of his Eye, killed as many Men as he pleased. They slew *Ancharius* a Senator who had been Prætor, only because he did not salute their Master, and continued killing all those he did not salute (b); and he himself spared none whom he in the least suspected. *M. Antony* the Orator, after he had defended himself by a fine Speech, was killed. The dead Bodies were torn and abused, none daring to bury them. All the Friends of *Sylla* were slaughtered without Mercy, his House demolished, his Goods set to Sale, and himself declared an Enemy to *Rome*. *Marius*, tho' now past the seventieth Year of his Age, had the Ambition to procure himself to be elected Consul the seventh Time, with *Cinna* for his Colleague, in the Year of *Rome* 667. But upon hearing of *Sylla's* coming with an Army from the East, to be revenged on him for the Mischief he had done, he took Sickness, and died soon after his Election, being as much abhorred for his fraudulent Conduct and abominable Cruelty in Peace, as he was esteemed for his Success in War: For the Commonwealth, which he preserved in the Field of Battle (c), he destroyed at home, first by Fraud, and then by barbarous Executions as a cruel Enemy.

Sylla at this Time was in the East, carrying on the War against *Mitbridates*; who not long before his Arrival, had commanded in one Day eighty thousand, or, as some Authors say, an hundred and fifty thousand (d) *Romans* and *Italians*, then dwelling in *Asia*, to be murdered in cold Blood. Upon the Arrival of *Sylla*, the most Part of the Cities of *Greece* submitted to him; only *Athens* being compelled by the Tyrant *Aristion* to join with *Mitbridates*, made a vigorous Resistance (e): And therefore he besieged it with all his Might, cutting down even the Trees of the *Lycæum* and Academy, to serve for his Engines of Battery, and compelling the Priests in all the Temples of *Greece* to send him their sacred Money, which no *Roman* before this had ever meddled with. But *Sylla* gave so great Donatives to his Soldiers as required Mountains of Money; which, tho' it brought in a bad Custom into the *Roman* Armies afterwards, yet in the mean Time it made his Men very steady to his Interests, and never to dispute his Commands. *Athens* held out for seven Months, even to the last Extremity, being reduced to the greatest of Straits by Famine. In fine, *Sylla* having made a great Breach in the Walls, entred the City at Midnight; where he cut off the Bulk of the Inhabitants by the Sword, gave the Spoil to his Army, levelled the Harbour of *Piræus*, and burnt the greater Part of the Buildings, among which was the Arsenal and Armory. This being done, he marched against the Armies of *Mitbridates*, which were very great: For 'tis said that he had sent into *Greece*, under the Command of *Archelaus*, an hundred and twenty thousand Men (f), and under the Command of *Taxiles*, another of his Generals, an hundred and ten thousand, and after that eighty thousand, under the Command of *Dorylaus*; Numbers enough to have carried all before him, if Numbers would have done it. Yet *Sylla* with a *Roman* Army only of fifteen hundred Horse and fifteen thousand Foot, overcame them all in three several Battles; the first of which was fought at *Cheronæa*, and the other two at *Orchomene*, wherein he is said to have slain an hundred and sixty thousand Men. In the last of these Conflicts, twenty thousand were pusht into a Marsh, and there killed, imploring *Sylla's* Pity, who shewed none; as many were destroyed in a River, many by other Means, and the whole forced to fly out of *Greece*. The next Year *Mitbridates* was as much distressed in *Asia*: For *Fimbria*, who there commanded another *Roman* Army (g), having vanquished the best Remainder of his Forces, pursued those that fled as far as *Pergamus*, where *Mitbridates* himself then resided; and having driven him from thence to *Patana* a Maritime City of *Ætolia*, followed him thither, and laying Siege to the Place, blocked it up closely by Land; but not having Ships to shut it up by Sea, a Passage lay open: Whereon *Fimbria* sent to *Lucullus*, who was then in the neighbouring Seas with a *Roman* Fleet, to enclose him; and had he done so, *Mitbridates* must have been taken. But *Fimbria* being of *Marius's* Faction, *Lucullus* would have nothing to do with him, and so *Mitbridates* escaped, to the great Prejudice of the *Roman* Interest, as we shall afterwards hear. The like often happens when Ministers and Officers of the Government are divided into different Factions. But tho' *Mitbridates* thus made his Escape,

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(a) ——— *Regnabit sanguine multo, Quisquis ab exilio venit in imperium.* In English, *When banish'd Princes do return to reign, With impious Blood they will their Kingdom stain.* (b) Plutarch. in *Mario*. (c) Livii. epitome, lib. 80. (d) Plutarch. in *Sylla*. Appianus in *Mithridaticis*, p. m. 317, — 319. (e) Pausanias in *Atticis*, p. m. 47, 48. (f) Plutarch. in *Sylla*. Appianus in *Mithridaticis*, p. 334, — 347. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 5. Epitome Livii, lib. 81, 82, 83. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 2. (g) Plutarch. in *Lucullo*.

cape, this conduced to putting an End to the War : For being terrified with the Danger he had so narrowly got clear of, and with the many Losses he had suffered, he sent Orders to *Archelaus* then in *Greece*, on any Terms to make Peace with *Sylla*. Whereupon *Sylla* and *Archelaus* meeting in the Isle *Delos*, agreed (a), That *Mithridates* should depart from *Asia* the Lesser, and from *Paphlagonia* ; That he should restore *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes* ; That he should give back all Places to the Romans which he had taken from them since the War began ; That he should pay twenty thousand Talents to the Romans for the Charges of the War, and yield to them seventy of his Ships : And upon these Terms Peace should be granted, and all Acts of Hostility being forgotten, *Mithridates* should be received into the Number of the Friends and Allies of the Roman State.

Sylla and *Mithridates* having afterwards had a Meeting at *Troas* in *Asia*, there ratified these Articles, upon which Peace was published and declared. *Sylla* would not have consented to so easy Terms, had not the Divisions of the Romans at home obliged him to return, which many of the Roman Senators who had fled to his Camp from the Faction of *Marius* earnestly entreated him to do. In his Way to Rome he was initiated in the heathen Mysteries at *Athens*, where he seized the Library of *Apellico* the *Teian*, in which were the most Part of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*'s Works (b) ; and carrying it to Rome, added it to his own Library. One *Tyrannion*, a famous Grammarian of these Times, residing at Rome, obtained Leave of *Sylla*'s Library Keeper to write them out. This Copy he communicated to *Andronicus Rhodius*, who made the Works of *Aristotle* publick ; and to him the learned World (c) is obliged for the valuable Writings of that Philosopher.

The Roman Senate dreaded the Effects of *Sylla*'s Return, and therefore offered their Endeavours for his Satisfaction : But he returned for Answer, That he would never be reconciled to such wicked Persons as *Cinna* and *Carbo*. Having landed at *Brundisium* with a Fleet of 1600 Ships, and 60000 Men ; and being joined by *Metellus Pius*, and *Pompey* afterwards called the Great, he defeated the Consul *Norbanus*, killing 6000 of his Men, and making himself to flee to *Capua* for Refuge. Next Year he defeated the younger *Marius* killing 20000 of his Men, taking 8000 Prisoners, and making himself flee to *Prænestæ* (d), where he became his own Executioner. *Carbo* fled to *Africk*, and *Pompey* pursued him. At length *Sylla* having defeated his Enemies in the Field, entred Rome by the Gate *Collina*, fighting his Way against *Carinus* and *Marcus*. The Romans then found, that tho' they had changed the Tyrant, the Tyranny was greater than before : For while *Sylla* held a Council in the Temple of *Bellona* 6000 Men were killed by his Order in the Place where they used to run their Horses, and many thousands were butchered in a most inhumane Manner. Men were slain in the Embraces of their Wives, and Children in the Arms of their Parents. When one asked him, *When shall these Miseries end ? Who are they that shall die ?* *Sylla* immediately posted up the Names of eighty Persons whom he would have put to Death. Next Day he set up two hundred and twenty, and the third Day the double of that Number : Besides he published Tables of Proscription against particular Persons, which were the first of that Kind that were ever known at Rome. Of these out-lawed Persons, some were killed in their Houses, some in the Streets, others when begging Mercy at his Feet. Their Goods were confiscated, and their Names declared infamous. Nor was this Wickedness and Inhumanity only done at Rome, but was also extended to several Towns in *Italy*, 12000 Men being shut up in *Prænestæ*, and all put to the Sword. Neither the Temples of the Gods, nor any Sanctuary could afford Protection. This was inhumane Cruely ! yea scarce ever the like was heard of among Heathens to their own Country. After all, *Sylla* had a noble Triumph for his Victories over *Mithridates* : And then he ordered the Senate to create an *Inter-rex* (both the Consuls being destroyed) and they chose *Valerius Flaccus* for this Trust. Then he desired a Dictator to be made, till the publick Grievances were redressed (e). This Office was conferred on himself, without any Limitation of Time, after it had been interrupted 120 Years : For the Senate durst not refuse any of his Commands. When he had exercised this Office three Years, he resigned the same, and retired to *Cumæ*, where he died of a nasty lousy Disease. If he deserves to be praised for his Victories, he ought to be as much hated for his Cruelties. His Death happened in the Year from the Building of Rome 678, from the Creation of the World 3875, and before the Birth of Christ 75 Years.

Upon *Sylla*'s Departure for *Italy*, *Murena*, whom he left in the Government of *Asia* (f) renewed the War against *Mithridates*, without a sufficient Cause : However he carried it on three Years. At the End whereof, *Sylla* being then Dictator, and disliking the Proceedings of *Murena*, recalled him, and resettled with *Mithridates* the same Articles of Peace which he had before made with him (g). Thus ended the second *Mithridatick* War, and *Murena*, on his Return, triumphed (h) for his Exploits in it.

§ 20. THE

(a) Plutarchus in *Sylla*. Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, p. 348. (b) Plutarch. in *Sylla*. Suidas in voce *Τυραννίων* (c) See *Prideaux's Connect.* Vol. 2. p. 392. (d) Plutarch. in *Sylla*. Appian de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 670.—693. (e) *Livii Epit.* lib. 89. (f) Cicero in *Oratione pro lege Manilia*. (g) Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Plutarch. in *Sylla*, *Livii Epit.* lib. 86. (h) Cicero pro *Murena*.

§ 20. THE War with *Sertorius* in *Spain*, was a Legacy of the Proscriptions enacted by *Sylla* (a). *Sertorius* himself had been trained up in the Camp from his Youth, having served in several Stations in the *Cimbric*, *Teutonic*, and several other Wars in which the *Romans* were engaged. He joined the Party of *Marius* and *Cinna*, tho' he always abhorred the Murders of *Roman* Citizens which they committed. Upon *Sylla's* Return and entering the City, he made his Escape into *Spain*, where he gained the Affections of the People, and gathered a small Force (b) thinking this would be a Refuge to those of his Party that should be banished out of their Country. Besides his great Skill in warlike Affairs, he was very chaste and temperate, and accounted by his own People very religious, having always a white Hind about him; which he pretended to be *Diana*, advising him in all his Undertakings. Being chosen Commander in Chief by the *Lusitanians*, he, with about 7200 Men, according to *Plutarch* (c), defeated the best Captains that *Rome* could send against him, who had the Conduct of six Score thousand Foot, besides Archers and Slingers: For he overcame *Cotta*, and *Aufidius* Governor of *Hispania Betica*, and *Lucius Domitius*, Pro-consul in the other Province of *Spain*. His Army afterwards encreasing, he defeated *Toranius*, one of *Metellus's* Lieutenants, and distressed *Metellus* himself. At last after he had several Times valiantly resisted *Pompey* called the Great, he was treacherously murdered at Supper, in a Conspiracy carried on by *Perpenna*, one of his own Party. *Perpenna* did not long enjoy any Benefit by this Treachery; for he was overcome and taken Prisoner by *Pompey*: And tho' he delivered up the Letters sent by many noble *Romans*, inviting *Sertorius* to come into *Italy* with his Army, *Pompey* first burnt the Letters, and then put *Perpenna* to Death. For this Victory *Pompey* triumphed; when he was not twenty six Years of Age complete.

§ 21. HAVING now given a compendious Account of the Affairs of *Rome*, from the building of that City to the Time of *Pompey*, I proceed to where I left off in the former Chapter of this Work, with the History of the *Jews* under the *Roman* Empire; where I shall not forget the Affairs of the *Romans*, and of some other Nations before the Birth of Christ, and particularly in *Egypt*, till that Kingdom was made a Province of the *Roman* Empire by the Emperor *Augustus*.

Near the End of the former Chapter (d), we left *Ptolemy Latbyrus* reigning in *Egypt*, and shall now go on with him. He having for three Years laid Siege to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, at length took the Place. They had rebelled against him (e); and being beaten out of the Field, they were shut up within their Walls; and there forced to bear the Siege, till they were now again reduced. *Latbyrus* on taking the Place handled it severely for this Rebellion; so as from being the wealthiest City of *Egypt*, he reduced it to so low a Condition, that it never after made any Figure. And not long after this he died, having reigned from the Death of his Father thirty six Years, of which he reigned eleven with his Mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and seven alone in *Egypt*, after his Mother's Death. He was succeeded by *Cleopatra* his Daughter, and only legitimate Child: Her proper Name was *Berenice*; so *Pausanias* calls her (f). For 'tis to be observed, that as all the Males of this Family had the common Name of *Ptolemy*, so all the Females of it had that of *Cleopatra*, and besides, had other proper Names to distinguish them from each other, which may remove several Difficulties in the *Egyptian* History. *Alexander*, the Son of that *Alexander* King of *Egypt* who murdered his Mother, being sent into *Egypt* by *Sylla* (g), to succeed in the Kingdom after the Death of *Latbyrus* his Uncle, as next Heir to him of the Male Line, claimed the Crown. But the *Alexandrians* having put *Cleopatra* on the Throne six Months before his Arrival, to avoid displeasing *Sylla*, who at this Time, as perpetual Dictator, absolutely governed the *Roman* State, agreed that she should be given to him to Wife, and that they should both reign jointly together. But *Alexander* either not liking the Lady, or not being pleased with a Partner in the Government, at the end of nineteen Days after the Marriage put her to Death, and then reigned alone fifteen Years. This *Alexander* had been sent by *Cleopatra* his Grandmother to *Cos*, there to be educated, and *Mithridates* took him, with all his Treasure which his Grandmother sent with him. But he having made his Escape from *Mithridates*, fled to *Sylla*, who received him into his Protection, carrying him with him to *Rome*; and from thence sent him to take Possession of *Egypt*, expecting Advantage by so doing.

In *Judea* *Alexander Jannæus*, tho' he was still afflicted with the Quartan Ague (b), yet hoping by stirring and Exercise to wear it off, marched with his Army over *Jordan*, and besieged *Ragaba*, a Castle in the Country of the *Gerasens* (i); but by labouring herein, having instead of alleviating his Disease, exasperated it to a greater Height, he died of it in the Camp. At his Death he left two Sons behind him, *Hyrchanus* and *Aristobulus*; but bequeathed the Government of the Kingdom to *Alexandra* his Wife during her Life, and afterwards to which of these

(a) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 22. (b) Plutarchi. in Sertorio. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 364. & de Bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 696.—702. (c) In Sertorio. (d) Above, p. 380. (e) Pausanias in Attriciis, p. m. 21. (f) Idem in Atticis, p. 22. in Edit. Lipsiz 1696, quâ utor. (g) Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 690. (h) See above p. 385. (i) Josephi Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22. 24. De Bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 4.

these two Sons she should think fit to dispose it. *Alexandra* being with him at the Siege, on her finding him in a dying Condition was exceedingly troubled. She knew how much he had exasperated the *Pharisees*, then a powerful Sect among the *Jews*: And therefore saw nothing she had to expect at her Husband's Death, but that, to wreck their Revenge on him, they would fall upon her and his Children, and destroy the whole Family: And on this Subject she made great Lamentations as she sat by his Bed-side. To ease her Mind, he gave her the following Directions, which he assured her would yield Tranquillity to her and her Family. His advice was, *That she should conceal his Death till the Castle should be taken, and then lead back the Army to Jerusalem in Triumph for this Success, carrying thither his dead Corps; and as soon as she should arrive there, she should call together the chief of the Pharisees, and acquainting them of her Husband's Death, should lay the Corps before them, and tell them, that she resigned it wholly to their Pleasure, either to be cast forth with Ignominy, in revenge of what they had suffered by him, or otherwise to be disposed of as they should think fit: And that then she should promise that she would follow their Advice in all Matters of the Government, and do nothing but what should be agreeable to their Sentiments and Directions. Follow this Advice*, (said he) *and you shall not only gain me an honourable Funeral, but also both for you and your Children a safe Settlement in the Government.* And so it happened: For on taking the Castle, she returned to *Jerusalem*, and did as her Husband had directed. Her Promises sweetened the *Pharisees* to such a Degree, that laying aside all that Hatred to the dead King, which they had to the utmost contracted, they turned it into Veneration for his Memory, commending him for his great Exploits, in enlarging the Dominions, and encreasing the Power, Honour and Interest of the Nation; whereby they so far reconciled the People to him, that he was buried with a more sumptuous and honourable Funeral than any of his Predecessors; and *Alexandra* was safely settled in the supreme Government of the *Jewish* Nation. Matters being thus composed, *Alexandra* made her eldest Son *Hyrcanus* High-priest, he being then about thirty three Years old (a); and, according to her Promise, did put the Administration of her Affairs into the Hands of the *Pharisees*. The first Thing they did was to revoke the Decree of *John Hyrcanus*; whereby in the latter End of his Government he had caused their traditionary Constitutions to be abolished. By this Revocation their Constitutions being restored to Credit, they grew to so great a Bulk, that the written Word was made of none Effect by them. Next they released all out of Prison who had been committed for being concerned with them in the late Civil Wars; and called home from Banishment all such as for the same Cause had been obliged to flee the Country, restoring to them their former Possessions; and thus encreased the Numbers and Strength of their own Party. They also proceeded to demand Justice against all those by whose Advice *Alexander* had crucified the eight hundred Rebels above-mentioned (b), beginning with *Diogenes*, a noted Confident of the late King; and having cut him off, they went on with others on the same Accusation; whereby they destroyed all of the adverse Party they most disliked. *Alexandra* was forced much against her Will to allow this, because she could not otherwise preserve Peace at Home, tho' she had two powerful Armies on Foot on the Borders of the Kingdom, which made her a Terror to her Neighbours.

Tigranes, having built a large new City in *Armenia*, which he called *Tigranocerta*, that is, *The City of Tigranes* (c), by the Instigation of *Mithridates*, invaded *Cappadocia*, and carried thence 300,000 Inhabitants, to people this Town, and other Parts of his Dominions: And he did the same in other Places where he made Conquests: For he is said to have demolished twelve *Grecian* Cities for peopling of *Tigranocerta*, besides what he did elsewhere. For he transported thither great Numbers from *Affyria*, *Adiabene*, *Gordiana* and other Countries, for making this a great and populous Place. Next Year *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia* dying, left the *Roman* People his Heirs; by virtue whereof that Country became a *Roman* Province (d). *Mithridates* laid hold on this Occasion for reviving the War, and spent the most Part of this Year in preparing for it. *Cyrene* at the same Time was reduced into the like Form of a *Roman* Province, *Ptolemy Apion* the last King of that Country, having on his Death given it by his Will to the *Romans* (e): Who, instead of accepting it, declared all the Cities free, and left them to be governed by their own Laws; which was done twenty Years before this (f): But this Method causing Seditions and Tyrannies; to which the *Jews* are said to have contributed very much (g), the *Romans*, to secure the Peace of the Country, resumed the Grant, and made it a Province of their Republick.

Mithridates seized *Paphlagonia*: And *Bithynia* and the Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, being much exhausted by *Roman* Publicans and Usurers, to be delivered from these Oppressions revolted to him (h). This occasioned the third *Mithridatick* War, which continued near twelve Years.

There being some Confusions in *Egypt*, on the Dislike which the People had of *Alexander*; *Selene*

Ant. C.
78.
Alexandra 1.

Ant. C.
76.
Alexandra 3.

Ant. C.
75.
Alexandra 4.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 20. cap. 8. (b) Above, p. 259. (c) Appianus in Mithridaticis, p. 363. Plutarchus in Lucullo. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 532. & lib. 12. p. 539. (d) Epit. Livii, lib. 93. (e) Ibid. lib. 70. (f) Above, p. 382. (g) Joseph, Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. (h) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 367. Plutarch. in Lucullo.

Selene the Sister of *Latbyrus* put in her Claim for that Crown, and sent her two Sons *Antiochus Asiaticus*, and *Selencus* (a), whom she had by *Antiochus Eusebes*, to *Rome*, to solicit the Senate for putting her in Possession. But after two Years spent in this Matter, they were forced to return without Success; and had the Misfortune to be robbed in their Way homeward, by *Verres*, Prætor of *Sicily*, as they passed through that Island. The *Roman* Senators held them so long in Hand with Hopes only to get more Money from *Alexander* King of *Egypt*, for confirming him in that Kingdom: And when they had squeezed out of him all that could be had, they declared for him, sending home the two poor young Princes and their Mother with a Disappointment.

In *Judea* the *Pharisees* went on still to oppress those that had sided with the late King against them. The Friends of the late King seeing no End of these Persecutions, gathered into a Body, to address the Queen, with *Aristobulus* her younger Son at their Head, against such Proceedings, setting forth how hard it was, that under her Administration they should be persecuted to Death for their Fidelity to the late King her Husband (b); and praying, That a Stop might be put to such Processes; or if this could not be done, they might have Leave to depart the Land, and seek their Safety elsewhere; or else that they might be dispersed through the Garrisons of the Kingdom, that by this means at least they might be out of their Enemies Reach. The Queen commiserated their Case; but she had resigned herself so far into the Hands of the *Pharisees*, that she durst do nothing but what they approved; and therefore she granted the last Demand of the Petitioners, by placing them in the several Garrisons of the Kingdom: Which answered a double End; for when they were thus settled in those Fortresses with their Swords in their Hands, their Enemies could no more approach to do them Hurt; and they were there as a certain Reserve for the Service of the Queen whenever Occasion should require.

This Year was born *Herod*, called *The Great*, afterwards King of *Judea*, (for he was twenty five Years old when he was first made Governor of *Galilee* (c), in the forty seventh Year before Christ.) His Father's Name was *Antipas* or *Antipater*, a noble *Idumæan*. His Mother was called *Cyprus*, of an illustrious Family among the *Arabians* (d). By Country therefore he was an *Idumæan*, but by Religion a *Jew*, as all the other *Idumæans* were from the Time that *Hyrcaus* brought them to embrace the *Jewish* Religion (e).

The *Roman* Consuls for this Year, being from the building of *Rome* 679, were *Lucius Lucullus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta*; who were appointed to go into *Asia* with two Armies, (the first having *Asia* the Lesser, *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*; and the other *Bitynia* and the *Propontis* assigned them for their Province) and there to prosecute the War against *Mithridates* (f). *Cotta* being a Person of no Skill or Experience in military Affairs, on his Arrival in his Province was soon vanquished by *Mithridates*, at *Chalcedon*, with the Slaughter of a great Number of his Men; and at the same time he lost the best Part of his Fleet which he had there for defending the Coast. But *Lucullus* was a Man of another Character: For besides that he was well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Roman* Learning, (*Sylla* having dedicated to him (g) twenty two Books of the History of his own Life and Actions) he had been educated in the Wars, and had done great Services against *Mithridates* in *Asia* in the first War, of which *Sylla* had the principal Command. He being made Consul, desired the Conduct of this War in *Asia* to be committed to him, being before acquainted with it; and was jealous lest *Pompey*, who was beloved of the People, but then employed in *Spain*, fighting against *Sertorius*, should come and wrest it out of his Hand. *Mithridates*, elevated with his Success against *Cotta*, laid Siege to *Cyzicus*, a City on the *Propontis*, which strenuously adhered to the *Roman* Interest. Could he have made himself Master of this Place, it would have opened him a clear Passage from *Bitynia* into the Lesser *Asia*. With this View he invested it with three hundred thousand Men in ten Camps by Land, and with four hundred Ships of War by Sea. But he no sooner sat down before it with his Army, than *Lucullus* sat down by him with another; and without coming to a Battle, by obstructing Supplies of Provisions, so necessary to a numerous Army, by falling on his Foragers, cutting off Detachments, and taking all other Advantages, a Famine was raised in *Mithridates*'s Camps; and he was at length forced to raise the Siege with Disgrace, after he had lost the greatest Part of his Army in it.

Mithridates fled to *Nicomedia*, and from thence by Sea into *Pontus*, leaving some Part of his Fleet, with ten thousand of his choice Men behind him in the *Hellepont* (h). *Lucullus* falling on these with the *Roman* Fleet, cut most of them off, in two naval Victories, the first at *Tenedos*, and the next at *Lemnos*; in the last of which he took *M. Marius*, a *Roman* Senator, sent by *Sertorius* out of *Spain* to assist *Mithridates*. Having by these Victories cleared those Coasts of his Enemies, he turned to the Continent, where he reduced *Paphlagonia* and *Bitynia*, and marched to *Pontus*, to carry the War near *Mithridates*'s Doors; where he found his Enemy sore broken by Tempests in his Return through the *Euxin* Sea, and only gathering new Forces.

O o o o o 2

(a) Cicero in *Verrem*, lib. 4. cap. 27, 28. (b) Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 13. cap. 24. (c) Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 17. (d) Ibid. cap. 24. (e) See above, p. 375. (f) Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, p. 368, — 372. Plutarch. in *Lucullo*. Epitome *Livii*, lib. 93. (g) Plutarch. in *Sylla* & in *Lucullo*. (h) Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, p. 374, — 378.

Forces. *Lucullus* therefore took several Cities, most of them by Surrender; which bred Discontents among his Soldiers, because they missed the rich Prey that they expected: Only *Amisus*, *Eupatoria* and *Themisocyra* were taken by Siege. *Mitridates* having gathered new Forces, ventured to give Battle to *Lucullus*. In the first two Conflicts the former had the better, but in the third he was utterly broken, and forced to flee to *Armenia* with two thousand Horse, to pray for the Protection and Assistance of *Tigranes* his Son-in-law. But he staid there a Year and eight Months ere *Tigranes* took any Notice of him. Mean time all Places in *Pontus* yielded to *Lucullus*; except *Amisus*, which held out till the Beginning of the next Spring; when most of that rich City was burnt to Ashes, contrary to the Will of the Conqueror.

Ant. C.
71.
Alexan-
dra 8.

In *Judea*, Queen *Alexandra* finding that *Ptolemy* the Son of *Menæus*, Prince of *Chalcis* at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, was vexatious to his Neighbours, especially to those of *Damascus*; she sent *Aristobulus* her younger Son to suppress him (a), and under this Pretence to seize *Damascus*. But *Aristobulus*, under this Cover, being more intent to make an Interest for the Crown against the Time his Mother should die, than to execute his Commission, made use of this Opportunity chiefly to secure the Army for himself; and therefore having seized *Damascus*, returned without doing any other memorable Action.

Ant. C.
70.
Alexan-
dra 9.

Selene the Daughter of *Ptolemy Physcon* King of *Egypt*, who had been the Wife of *Ptolemy Lathyrus* her Brother, and being taken from him was married to *Antiochus Grypus*, and after his Death to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, by whom she had two Sons; finding that her Pretences to *Egypt* could not succeed, endeavoured to enlarge her Power in *Syria*; where she prevailed with several Cities to revolt to her (b), and attempted to do the same to others. *Tigranes* having received an Account of these Defections, came thither with a very great Army to suppress them; and having shut up *Selene* in *Ptolemais*, and on his taking of it made her Prisoner, carried her with him as far as *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia*, where he put her to Death. While *Tigranes* lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, Queen *Alexandra*, fearing his Power, sent Ambassadors to him with large Presents, to court his Friendship; whom he received with all seeming Kindness, accepting the Gifts, and granting the Friendship that was desired, not so much out of Favour to the Queen, as to comply with the Exigency of his own Affairs; for the Progress of the Romans made his Presence necessary in *Armenia*.

Tigranes on his Return to *Antioch*, was there met by *Appius Clodius*, sent in Embassy from *Lucullus* to demand *Mitridates* to be delivered to him, with Orders in Case of Refusal (c), to declare War. *Tigranes* never having been used with any Body to contradict him, was offended with the Freedom of Speech that *Clodius* used, and much more with *Lucullus's* Letter, directed only, To King *Tigranes*, without the Title of King of Kings, which he vainly used: For he having conquered several Kings, had four of them always attending him as Lackeys when he rode abroad; and when he sat on his Throne, or gave Audience to Ambassadors, he had the like Number of them serving him; or standing with folded Hands in Token of Subjection. In Resentment then of this Affront, as he judged it, he directed his Answer, To *Lucullus*, without giving him the additional Title of Imperator, or any other usually given to Roman Generals. Upon his Refusal to deliver up *Mitridates*, *Clodius* declared War against him, and returned to the Commander in Chief to acquaint him of it. *Lucullus* was by this Time returned out of *Pontus* into the Province of *Asia*; where he found great Abuses committed by the Roman Farmers of the twenty thousand Talents, to be paid out of that Country, by the Peace made between *Mitridates* and *Sylla*. They exacted Usury upon Usury, and reduced the People even to such Straits, as they were obliged to sell their own Children (d). He restrained those excessive Usuries, and reduced the Debts to such a Method, as the same might be paid in four Years; for which he was highly esteemed and praised by that People. But the Usurers at Rome made such Outcries and formed such Plots against him, as were the Occasion of his being afterwards recalled from his Command.

War being declared against *Tigranes*, *Lucullus* hastned to *Pontus*, where he took *Sinope*, making it and *Amisus* free Cities; and having left six thousand Men to keep *Pontus* in Order, with twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, he marched forward against *Tigranes*, all the Way to the River *Euphrates*; where having passed that River, he proceeded to the *Tigris*, and thence to *Tigranocerta*, to visit his Adversary in his Metropolis, to which he was returned from *Syria*, after concerting Measures with *Mitridates*. *Tigranes* was not a little surprised to find *Lucullus* so near him, and offended to that Degree, as he put to Death the first Messenger who told him the News (e).

§ 22. IN *Judea* Queen *Alexandra* fell sick and died; being seventy three Years old (f). Few Exceptions could be made against her Government, but that she found it necessary to her Affairs to go in too much with the Pharisees. *Aristobulus* her youngest Son, seeing her past Recovery, privately left *Jerusalem* in the Night Time, with one Servant, and repaired to the Castles

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. (b) Ibid. (c) Plutarch. in Lucullo. (d) Ibid. (e) Appian. in Mithridaticis, p. 381. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

Castles in which his Father's Friends had been placed in Garrison, two and twenty of these Fortresses putting themselves in his Hands in a few Days ; whereby he was in a Manner Master of the whole Strength of the Kingdom. At the same Time the Army and People were ready to declare for him, being weary of the oppressive Administration of the *Pharisees*. Besides, they had no Hopes of *Hyrcanus* his elder Brother, who was bred in a thorough Devotion to that Sect ; and being a dull indolent Man, was of no Capacity to redress their Grievances. The *Pharisees* observing how *Aristobulus* prevailed, got *Hyrcanus* at their Head to address the dying Queen for her Direction and Assistance. She only told them, *That now she was in no Condition to meddle in their Affairs, but left all to their own Conduct* : And having named *Hyrcanus* her Heir, she died. The *Pharisees* set *Hyrcanus* on the Throne, and got ready an Army to march against *Aristobulus* ; but when they came to a decisive Action, most of *Hyrcanus's* Forces went over to his Brother, and he with his Friends were forced to retire to *Jerusalem*, and there shut themselves up within the Castle *Baris*. But being obliged to yield, it was agreed, *That Aristobulus should have the Crown and the High Priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should live as a private Person upon his own Fortunes* ; which he submitted to (a), being a Man that loved his own Ease more than any Thing else. Thus he quitted the Government, after he had held it only three Months ; and the Tyranny of the *Pharisees*, which they had exercised for nine Years, since the Death of *Alexander Jannæus*, ceased.

Tigranes sending *Mithrobarzanes*, and a Part of his Forces, with Orders to take *Lucullus* Prisoner, instead thereof *Mithrobarzanes* was slain and most of his Forces with him. Hereupon *Tigranes* left his Royal City of *Tigranocerta*, and retired to Mount *Taurus* with his Army. *Lucullus* having cut off severals of his Troops, and invested his City, where was a Multitude of People and great Riches, carried from the Countries which he had conquered. For Relief of this Place, *Tigranes* having assembled a great Army of above two hundred thousand Men, resolved to give the Romans Battle ; which *Lucullus* did not decline, notwithstanding the vast Disproportion of Numbers ; but leaving *Muræna* with six thousand Men to continue the Siege, he marched himself with about ten thousand Foot and two thousand Horse (b) into the Field. When they came to Action, tho' *Tigranes's* Men shined in their Armour, yet when they found the Romans falling upon them with their Swords in good earnest, they turned Tail and fled in Disorder, without almost ever striking a Stroke. *Plutarch* tells us, *That 'tis thought there were slain in this Overthrow above a hundred thousand Foot, and very few of the Horse were saved, and that of the Romans there were only about one hundred hurt, and five slain ; That Antiochus the Philosopher said, the Sun never saw such an Overthrow, and that Titus Livius declareth, that the Romans were never in any Battle with so small a Number of fighting Men against so many Enemies ; For the Conquerors were not the twentieth Part to the conquered.* The Diadem of *Tigranes* was brought to *Lucullus*, himself hardly escaping. *Mithridates* met him in his Flight, and comforted him the best Way he could. In the mean time *Lucullus* took *Tigranocerta*, with all the Royal Treasures laid up there (c), among which were eight thousand Talents of coined Money. Out of the Spoils he gave eight hundred Drachms to each Soldier, and dismissed the Greeks, who had been brought by *Tigranes* out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, to plant this new City, allowing them to return home to their own Habitations ; whereby he gained great Esteem ; and he made the War maintain it self. Only *Lucullus* was complained of for not pursuing *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* close at the Heels, but giving them Time to recruit and raise a new Army. This Omission displeased the Romans ; and the Riches the Soldiers got, with the Luxury and Idleness that they learned at *Tigranocerta*, raised in them a Spirit of Mutiny ; which was attended with bad Consequences, as we shall afterwards hear.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* having got together an Army of seventy thousand choice Men, and having exercised them in the Roman Way of fighting, about the middle of the next Summer took the Field ; but encamping in strong Places, *Lucullus* could not draw them to a Battle. At length he fell upon this Stratagem, to sit down before *Artaxata*, the old Metropolis of *Armenia*, where *Tigranes* had left his Wives and Children, with his best Effects and Treasures. The King could not bear so great a Loss ; and, to prevent the taking so important a Place, both Armies came to a Battle, wherein the Romans again obtained a very signal Victory. *Mithridates* could not bear the Cry of the Roman Legions, but turned and fled, which disordered the whole Army. *Plutarch* (d) writes, *That the Chase continued the whole Night, till the Romans, weary of slaying, fell a taking Prisoners, and packing up the Spoils ; and that Titus Livius (whose Books on that Subject are now lost, tho' extant in Plutarch's Time) saith, that though there was a greater Number slain in the first Battle, yet there were greater Persons killed and taken Prisoners in this.* *Lucullus* inclined to have returned to the Siege of *Artaxata*, the taking whereof might have ended the War ; but his Army would not follow him into such cold Regions in the Winter Season, and therefore he yielded to Necessity,

P p p p p

Ant. C.
62.
Aristobu-
lus, II. 2.

Ant. C.
68.
Aristobu-
lus II. 2.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 1. (b) Plutarch. in Lucullo. (c) Appian. in Mithridaticis. p. 384. Dion Cassius, lib. 35. p. 1. Here begins what remains of this Author, the former Part being lost. (d) In Lucullo.

Ant. C.
57.

ty, passed Mount *Taurus*, and put his Army into Winter-quarters at *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*. There the Spirit of Mutiny began to appear in his Army, which hindered him to do any further Service. *Publius Clodius*, the Brother of *Lucullus's* Wife, was the prime Incendiary (a); and the Orators at *Rome*, who managed a separate Interest, blew the Coal. In the mean time *Mithridates* with about eight thousand Men had returned to *Pontus*, and there vanquished *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus's* Lieutenants; and *Triarius* having rashly engaged in Battle with *Mithridates*, was overcome, with the Loss of seven thousand of his Men (b), among whom were one hundred and fifty Centurions, and twenty four Military Tribunes; which was the greatest Blow that the Romans had received for some Years. *Lucullus* found the dead Bodies lying in the Field of Battle, and neglected to bury them. After this his Army treated him with all Insolence and Contempt: For tho' he went almost from Man to Man, beseeching them to go out against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, who by this Time had recovered a great Part of their Dominions; yet they would not stir. Thus the Case stood, till *Pompey* was sent by the Roman People with fresh Troops to take the Management of the War. If *Lucullus's* Army had not turned mutinous; and if he had not been opposed by a Party at *Rome* (c), who studied to advance *Pompey* to wear the Lawrels which *Lucullus* had won, he was in a fair Way, not only to have ended the War against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, but also to have extended the Roman Dominions to *Parthia* (d) and the remotest Places of *Asia*, which none of his Successors ever did: For having overthrown *Tigranes*, the *Parthian* Princes, who were subject to this King, could not probably have stood before him. However, *Lucullus* with a small Part of his Troops returned, and had the Honour of a rich Triumph, adorned with the Spoils, Treasures, Cups of Gold and Silver taken from the Kings of the East. After his Triumph he soon retired from publick Affairs, and spent the Remainder of his Life in making sumptuous Buildings, fine Gardens, magnificent Feasts, and in a very expensive Way of living. He was a Lover of Philosophy, and carried with him a great Number of Books, which he had gathered out of the Spoils during the War, and with them he erected a great Library, which was free for the Use of learned Men who resorted to it, where they found a kind and generous Entertainment. He died in his advanced Years, not without Suspicion of Poison, which crazed his Judgment, and hastned his End (e): And he had a sumptuous Burial. His quiet Retirement, and Contentment after his Victories, notwithstanding some Disappointments, was (in my humble Opinion) more commendable, than the cruel Resentments of *Marius* and *Sylla* against those who had opposed them: And it had been happy for *Pompey* his Successor, if he could have followed the like Method after he had won enough of Riches and Honour.

§ 23. *POMPEY* succeeded *Lucullus* in the Command of the War against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: But before I narrate what Part he acted therein, it may be proper, for a fuller View of the Roman Affairs at that Time, to look back to the Life and Actions of this great Man. *Cneius Pompeius* was born at the same time with *Cicero*, in the Year of *Rome* 648. His Father, who had the same Name, had been Consul, and served his Country very faithfully in the Wars. He himself was much beloved by the Romans from his Youth, for his Temperance, Eloquence, Good-breeding (f), and especially for his Skill and Success in War. He joined *Sylla*, in opposition to *Marius*, and was sent with the Command of an Army against those of that Party who had fled into *Sicily* and *Africa*; where he overcame *Domitius*, and settled the Affairs of the Romans in those Parts, when he was scarce twenty four Years of Age. For which Services, upon his Return *Sylla* saluted him by the Name of *Magnus*, or, the Great, which Title was always afterwards given him; and he triumphed before he had been admitted to the Senate. His second Triumph was for finishing the War against *Sertorius* in *Spain*, which we have already (g) noticed. While he was in that Country, *Spartacus* the Gladiator, with seventy four of his Companions, having broken out of his Fencing-school at *Capua*, wandering thro' the Country, and increasing in their Numbers, commenced a dangerous War in *Italy* (h): For they had gathered together an Army of seventy thousand Men, mostly of vagabond Pretenders to Liberty, and had overthrown several Roman Captains, and two of the Consuls; till at last they were conquered by *Licinius Crassus* the Proconsul in *Apulia*, who killed twelve thousand three hundred of those Fugitives. Five thousand of them fell into *Pompey's* Hands, that had fled from the Battle: These he destroyed in his Return to *Rome*, and wrote to the Senate (i), That *Crassus* had overcome the Gladiators, but he had plucked up that War by the Roots.

Pompey and *Crassus* being made Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 683, they never agreed in one Thing; and tho' *Crassus* had more Authority with the Senate, *Pompey* had more Credit with the People (k); which he carefully promoted: For in a *Lustrum* performed at this Time, wherein four hundred and fifty thousand Citizens were entred into the *Census* (l), he complied with

(a) Appian. p. 385, — 388. Dion Cassius, p. 6, 7. edit. 1592. apud Stephanum. (b) Plutarch. in Lucullo, p. m. 531. Epitome Livii, lib. 98. (c) Cicero in oratione pro lege Manilia. (d) Plutarch. in Lucullo. (e) Ibid. (f) Idem in Pompeio. (g) Above, p. 421. (h) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 20. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. p. 702. (i) Plutarch. in Pompeio. (k) Ibid. (l) Livii Epitome, lib. 98.

with the Custom of leading his own Horse into the *Forum*; and submitting himself to the Censors (a), desired to be discharged from the Wars. The same Year the Pirates in *Cilicia*, who had been first employed by *Mithridates* to rob by Sea, not being suppressed in the Beginning, became very troublesome; for they not only plundered and destroyed Merchants Ships, but also several Islands belonging to the *Romans*. Having gathered together about a thousand Ships, they had robbed many Pagan Temples, had defeated several *Roman* Prætors (b), and had landed in *Italy* and taken many Prisoners. These Losses and Affronts enraged the *Romans*; and to remedy them, *Gabinus* the Tribune of the People preferred a Law, *That an Admiral should be chosen with full Power against those Pirates for three Years, and that he should have abundance of Forces, and many Lieutenants*. This Office fell upon *Pompey*. The Senate were indeed jealous of such an Enlargement of his Power; but the People being as zealous for him, allowed him, by their Decree, five hundred Ships, one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, with Money out of the Treasury to defray the Charge, four and twenty Senators, who had each of them been Generals of Armies, to be his Lieutenants, and two Quæstors or Treasurers. *Pompey* having got his Commission, distributed his Lieutenants with their Ships and Forces through several Creeks and Bays of the *Mediterranean* Sea, that the Pirates might be chased by one Squadron of his Fleet, and apprehended by another; he himself directing the whole with such Success, that in forty Days he cleared the Coasts of *Italy*, *Libya*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica* and *Sicily* of those Rovers, taking four hundred Ships, one hundred and twenty Forts, and killing ten thousand Men. Other twenty thousand that were taken were sent to remote Places, where they could do no Hurt. *Metellus* was more severe to those Pirates he seized at *Crete*; for he put them all to Death, and subdued the Island: For which he had the Sirname of *Creticus* (c).

The War with these Pirates being finished in four Months, *Manilius* the Tribune proposed a Law, *That Pompey should be named Successor to Lucullus, and that all the Armies which the Romans had in any Place, together with the Government of all Asia, and the Management of the War against Mithridates and Tigranes, should be committed to him alone*. *Catulus*, with some other Senators, reasoned against this Law, as tending to make one Man a Monarch over the *Roman* Empire: But the Orators, and particularly *Cicero*, in an Oration still extant (d), speaking boldly on *Pompey's* Side, and the People being for him, when the Law came to a Scrutiny, it passed with little Opposition. *C. Julius Cæsar*, lately Quæstor, is said to have favoured it, chiefly with Design that the People might be more easily persuaded one Day or other to commit the like extraordinary Power to himself.

Pompey having levied his Army, and made what Preparations he judged necessary, Ant. C. marched into *Asia*, and met with *Lucullus* in *Galatia*; where, after Compliments, they 66. came to some hot Words (e), but soon parted. *Lucullus* marched on to *Rome* with 1600 Aristob. II. 4. Men to accompany his Triumph, the rest of his Army for most Part joining with *Pompey*; who made a League with *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, and finding that *Mithridates* declined the Conditions of Peace which he offered, went on with the War. *Mithridates* judged it for his Interest to decline fighting; and to weary out the *Romans* by delays, and by cutting off their Provisions. But while he was doing this, he was surprised by *Pompey* in a Night March, had ten thousand of his Men cut in Pieces, and his Camp taken (f); and he himself was obliged to flee Northward beyond the Springs of *Euphrates*, to seek Safety, for *Tigranes* his Son-in-law refused to protect him. *Tigranes* was then at War with his Son of that same Name. He had put two Sons, whom he had by *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Mithridates*, to Death; and this third, not thinking himself safe under so cruel a Father, fled to *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, whose Daughter he had married, who sent him back into *Armenia* with an Army; whereby he laid Siege to *Artaxata*. But old *Tigranes* defeated his Son, and drove him out of the Country (g); whereupon young *Tigranes* resolved to go to *Mithridates* his Grandfather: But hearing of his Overthrow, he fled to the *Roman* Camp, and there delivered himself to *Pompey*, who was glad of such a Man to guide his Army in the right Road to *Artaxata* in *Armenia*. On the Approach of *Pompey*, old *Tigranes* thinking himself unprovided to resist such an Enemy, with an abject Mind surrendered himself to the *Romans*, lighting from his Horse, yielding his Sword, throwing his Crown at *Pompey's* Feet, and falling down before him. *Pompey* rose from his Seat, lifted him up, gave him back his Diadem, caused him sit by him, and invited both the Father and Son to sup with him, and promised next Day to hear their Cause. But the Son refusing to come, and neglecting to shew his Father any Respect, much offended *Pompey* (h). However he decreed that the Father should abandon *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, and all upon this Side the River *Euphrates*, which had been subdued by *Lucullus*; that he should pay the *Romans* six thousand Talents for making War upon them; but that he should still reign in his

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paternal

(a) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. (b) Ibid. Florus, lib. 3. cap. 6. Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, p. 389, — 395. Dion Cassius, lib. 36. p. 9. — 20. (c) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 7. (d) Cicero pro lege Manilia Operum, p. m. 396, — 406. (e) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. (f) Livii Epit. lib. 100. (g) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. Appian. in *Mithridat*. pag. 398, — 402. (h) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. Dion Cassius, lib. 36. p. 29.

paternal Kingdom of *Armenia* the Greater : And that his Son should govern *Gordena* and *Sophena* (bordering on *Armenia*) during his Father's Life, and, at his Decease, should succeed him in all his Dominions, reserving to the Father the Treasure which he had deposited in *Sophena*, that he might be the better able to pay the *Romans*. *Tigranes* the Son being displeased with these Conditions, made an Attempt to escape, and raise new Disturbances : Which *Pompey* understanding, clapped him up in Prison, reserving him to be led in Triumph at *Rome*. But the Father being well pleased with what was yielded to him, not only paid the six thousand Talents, but also added a Donative to the *Roman* Army ; to every Soldier half a *Mina*, to every Centurion ten *Mina*'s, and to each military Tribune a Talent. Whereupon he was declared a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. *Pompey* having thus composed Matters in *Armenia*, marched Northward after *Mithridates*. On his coming to the River *Cyris*, he was opposed by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, powerful Nations that ly between the *Caspian* and *Euxin* Seas. Having overcome them, and forced the *Albanians* to sue for Peace, he wintered (a) among them.

Ans. C. Early next Year he marched against the *Iberians*, a warlike Nation, which had never yet yielded to the *Medes*, *Persians*, nor *Macedonians* (b). However *Pompey* forced them to sue for Peace. The *Iberians* and *Colchians* renewing the War, *Pompey* overthrew them in Battle with a great Slaughter, where *Cosis*, the Brother of *Orodes* their King, who commanded the Army, was killed. By this Victory he obliged *Orodes* to purchase a Grant of the last Year's Peace, by large Gifts and Presents, and to send his Sons to him as Hostages for the keeping thereof. *Mithridates* having wintered at *Dioscurias*, a Place situate between the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* Sea, next Spring set out for the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, which is now the Country of the *Crim Tartars*. *Machares* his Son who reigned there, having made Peace with the *Romans*, while *Lucullus* lay at the Siege of *Sinope*, was so afraid of falling into his Father's Hands that he killed himself.

Pompey having finished the War in the North, and finding it impracticable to pursue *Mithridates* any further that Way, led back his Army into the South-east Parts of *Asia*. In his Way thither, having subdued *Darius* King of *Media*, and *Antiochus* King of *Comagena* (c), he came into *Syria* ; and having by *Scaurus* reduced *Cœlesyria* and *Damascus*, and by *Gabinus*, all the rest of these Parts, as far as the *Tigris*, he made the *Romans* Masters of all the *Syrian* Empire. *Antiochus Asiaticus* the Son of *Antiochus Eusebes*, the remaining Heir of the *Seleucian* Family, had by Permission of *Lucullus*, for four Years reigned in some Part of that Country : But *Pompey* refused to yield him any Share of it (d), and reduced the whole of it into the Form of a *Roman* Province. Thus while *Tigranes*, who had made a long War against the *Romans*, was permitted to reign in *Armenia*, poor *Antiochus* who had never done them any Hurt, was stripped of all his Possessions. The Reasons given for this Conduct, are, That the *Romans* who had conquered these Countries from *Tigranes*, were not to lose the Fruits of their Victory ; and so weak a Prince as *Antiochus* was not able to protect them from the IncurSIONS of the *Jews* and *Arabs*. Here completely ended the Empire of the (e) *Seleucidae* in *Asia*, after it had continued there 258 Years.

In the mean Time there happened some Revolutions in *Egypt* : For the *Alexandrians* being weary of *Alexander* their King (f) rose in Mutiny against him, drove him out of the Kingdom, and called in *Ptolemy Auletes*, the Bastard Son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus* to wear their Crown. He much valued himself for his Skill in playing on the Pipe (g), and therefore was called *Auletes*, or the Piper, and *Dionysius* Νέος, or, the new *Bacchus*, because he did imitate the Effeminacy of the *Bacchanals* dancing in a Female Dress. *Alexander* on his Expulsion fled to *Pompey*, offering him great Gifts, and promising him more (h), if he would assist in order to restore him to the Throne : But *Pompey* refused to meddle in that Matter, as being without the Bounds of his Commission : Whereupon *Alexander* retired to *Tyre*, to wait a more favourable Opportunity, and soon after died in that City (i).

§ 24. IN *Judea* *Antipater* the Father of *Herod*, by his aspiring Temper, occasioned a remarkable Revolution. He had the Favour of *Hyrcanus* the elder Brother of *Aristobulus* King of *Judea* : But *Hyrcanus* being deposed (k), *Antipater* saw no Way to advance his own Fortune, but by restoring him again to the Crown. In order to this End, he treated with *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petraea* to assist *Hyrcanus* with an Army, and engaged a great Number of the *Jews* to favour the Design. But *Hyrcanus* being an indolent Man, who had no Ambition for a Sceptre, he had great Difficulty to perswade him to stir (l). At length he made him believe that his Brother designed to take away his Life, and he must chuse either to reign or die. With this Argument *Hyrcanus* was roused up to flee to *Aretas*, who according to his Agreement with *Antipater*.

(a) Livii Epit. lib. 101. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 402. Dion Cassius, lib. 36, 37. (b) Plutarchus in Pompeio. (c) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 404. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 4. (d) Justin, lib. 40. cap. 2. (e) See above. p. 385. (f) Trogus in Prologo 39. Sueton. in Julio Cesare, cap. 11. (g) Strabo lib. 17. p. 796. (h) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 414. (i) Cicero in Oratione 2. contra Rullum, cap. 16. (k) See above, p. 425. (l) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2, 3, 4. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Antipater, brought him back into *Judea* with an Army of fifty thousand Men; who joining with the *Jews* of *Hyrchanus* Party, gave Battle to *Aristobulus*; and gaining an absolute Victory over him, pursued him to *Jerusalem*; which they entered without Opposition, driving him and all his People to flee to the Mountain of the Temple, where they besieged him, the Priests only standing by him, but the Generality of the People declaring for *Hyrchanus*. During the Siege happened the Passover: *Aristobulus* wanting Beasts for the Sacrifices at that Occasion, agreed with the Besiegers to furnish them for a Piece of Money: But when the Price contracted was let down over the Wall, the Besiegers refused to deliver the Sacrifices; whereby they not only falsified their Promise, but also robbed God of that Part of Worship which was then to be performed. And to this they added another Piece of Wickedness, by killing *Onias* a Man of great Reputation for a holy Life, because he prayed that God might hear the Prayers of neither Party against the other. *Scaurus*, one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants being at this Time come into *Damascus* with a Roman Army, *Aristobulus*, by the Promise of four hundred Talents engaged him on his Side. *Hyrchanus* offered him the like Sum; but *Scaurus* looking on *Aristobulus* as more able to pay, and; for other Reasons, liking him better, chose to embrace his Cause; and *Gabinus*, by a Present of three hundred Talents was prevailed on to do the same; And therefore they both sent to *Aretas* to withdraw, threatening to declare him an Enemy to the Romans, in case he refused. *Aretas* therefore raised the Siege, and marched off to his own Country: Whereupon *Aristobulus* coming out of the Temple, got together all the Forces he could; and having overtaken *Aretas* at a Place called *Papyrion*, overthrew him in Battle with a great Slaughter; in which perished many of the *Jews* of *Hyrchanus's* Party, and among them *Cephalio* the Brother of *Antipater*.

When *Pompey* himself came to *Damascus*; there resorted to him Ambassadors from all the neighbouring Countries. *Plutarch* tells us (a), That no fewer than twelve Kings were there attending him. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Judea* then reigning by the Expulsion of their immediate Predecessors, thought it their Interest to get the Roman Power on their Side to maintain their Pretensions. For this Reason the Ambassadors of *Egypt* presented *Pompey* with a Crown to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Gold; and those from *Judea* gave him a Vine of Gold, to the Value of five hundred Talents; which was afterwards deposited in the Temple of *Jupiter*, in the Capitol at *Rome*, and there inscribed as the Gift of *Alexander* King of the *Jews* (b). It seems they would not own *Aristobulus* as King, and therefore did inscribe his Father's Name upon his Gift. At the Audience concerning the Jewish Affairs, *Antipater* managed the Cause of *Hyrchanus*, and *Nicodemus* that of *Aristobulus*. But the latter did Hurt to the Cause of his Master, by complaining of the four hundred Talents which *Scaurus*, and the three hundred Talents which *Gabinus* had extorted from him: For this made these two great Men Enemies to *Aristobulus*, so as to influence *Pompey* against him. But in the mean Time he dismissed both Parties with good Words, ordering the two Brothers to appear in Person before him, and promising to do them Justice.

§ 25. MANY strong Places in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* still holding out for *Mithridates*, *Pompey* found it necessary to march into those Parts and reduce them; which being accomplished, he took up his Winter Quarters at *Aspis* in *Pontus*. Among the Places he reduced one called *Kawn*, or *Newcastle*, was the strongest (c). There *Mithridates* had laid up a great Part of his Treasure and best Effects, which fell into the Hands of the Conquerors. There were found the private Memoirs of this Prince (d); which made a Discovery of his secret Designs and Transactions. There also were found several Love-Letters, Treatises about the Interpretation of Dreams, and his medicinal Commentaries. While *Pompey* lay at *Aspis*, he settled the Affairs of the adjacent Countries: And finding he could not pursue *Mithridates* further, he having got into the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, on the other Side of the *Euxin* Sea, he ordered Ships in their several Stations on that Sea, to hinder all Provisions and Necessaries to be carried to him. Thus the poor old Prince had Famine to debate with, the worst of Enemies. *Pompey* having ended his Affairs in these Parts, so far as he could, returned into *Syria*, where he made *Antioch* and *Seleucia* on the *Orontes* free Cities (e), and continued his March to *Damascus*. On his Way he examined the Complaints of many petty Princes, who had set up on the Declension of the *Syrian* Empire. Many of them had exercised Tyranny on their Subjects, and Depredations on their Neighbours. *Pompey*, after Enquiry into their Affairs, confirmed some of them in their Possessions, under Condition of becoming Tributary to the Romans; others he deprived; and some he condemned to Death for Mal-administration. But *Ptolemy* the Son of *Menæus* (f) the Prince of *Chalcis*, the wickedest of them all, escaped; for having made himself rich by Oppression, he presented *Pompey* with a thousand Talents; whereby he redeemed his Life and Principality, and continued in both many Years thereafter.

Mithridates had before this made Proposals of Peace, even that if he might be allowed to keep

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(a) Plutarchus in *Pompeio*. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5. (c) Strabo, lib. 12. p. 556. (d) Plutarchus in *Pompeio*. (e) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 751. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5.

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keep his paternal Kingdom, as had been granted to *Tigranes*, he would pay Tribute to the Romans, and quit all his other Dominions. To which *Pompey* answered, *He must then come to him in Person as Tigranes had done.* But *Mithridates* fearing above all Things to be carried Prisoner to Rome, would by no Means comply with this Offer: Which obliged *Pompey* to march back again into *Pontus*, where he fixed his Residence at *Amisus* (a), and there practised the same thing he had before blamed in *Lucullus*, by dividing the Dominions of *Mithridates* into Provinces, and distributing Rewards, as if the War had been ended: For he gave the Lesser *Armenia* to *Dejotarus*, one of the Princes of the *Galatians*, the same Man for whom *Cicero* made an eloquent Oration (b) before *Julius Cæsar*, which is still extant. He made *Archelaus* High-priest of the Moon, the great Goddess of the *Commanians* in *Pontus* (c); and to others he gave great Gifts.

In the mean Time *Mithridates* died. Concerning this great Man we may observe, That finding no Hopes of making Peace with the Romans on any tolerable Terms, he resolved to make a desperate Expedition, thro' the Way of *Pannonia* and the *Trentine Alps* into *Italy* itself, and there assault them as *Hannibal* had before done at their own Doors. But this Undertaking containing a March of above two thousand Miles, so frightened his Army, that for avoiding it they conspired against him, and made *Pharnaces* his Son their King. Whereupon the old Man finding himself deserted of all, and his Son not allowing him to escape, he retired to his Apartment; and having distributed Poison to his Wives, Concubines and Daughters then with him, he took a Dose of it himself: But that not operating, he had Recourse to his Sword. The Wound, through his own Weakness, not being sufficient to cause his Death, he called in a *Gallic* Soldier named *Bitæus* (d), or some Soldiers debauched by his Son rushed in (e), who dispatched him, after he had lived seventy two Years, and reigned sixty. As to his Character, he was a very extraordinary Person, being acquainted with all the Learning of these Times. Tho' he had 22 several Nations under his Dominion, 'tis said (f) he could speak to every one of them in their own proper Language; and did foresee all the Plots formed against him, except this by his Son, wherein he perished. Tho' he failed in the War he undertook against the Romans, his Spirit never sunk with his Fortunes, but he always found out some Expedient or other to repair his Losses. But his Vices were as great as his Vertues; for his Cruelty appeared in murdering his Mother, his Brother, with a great Number of his Sons, Friends and Followers on slight Occasions. His Ambition was displayed in invading other Men's Rights to augment his Dominions, and never sticking at Treachery, Murder, or Perfidy to reach his End. And his Lust discovered itself in the vast Number of Wives and Concubines he gleaned up every where; whom he lodged in fortified Castles, and when reduced to any Distress, never failed to poison or cut off (g); as he also did his Sisters and Daughters, that none of them might fall into his Enemies Hands; only *Hyppicratia* attended him in all his Wars in Man's Apparel. *Pompey* carried five of his Sons, and two of his Daughters with him to Rome, and there caused them to be led before him in Triumph. Thus was the *Mithridatick* War finished, which continued from *Mithridates* seizing *Cappadocia*, to the Time of his Death, twenty seven Years.

Pompey marched directly to *Damascus*, designing from thence to march against *Arëtas* the Arabian, who had made Incursions into *Syria*. While he staid at *Damascus*, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, with several of the Jews, appeared before him to plead their Cause. The Jews desired, That they might not be governed by a King, but by a High-priest of their own Nation, and might worship God according to their ancient Customs; and alledged, That the contending Brothers, though they were of the sacerdotal Race, yet had changed the Form of Government, to subject the People to Slavery. *Hyrcanus* urged, That he was unjustly deprived of his Birthright by *Aristobulus* his younger Brother, who left him only a small Portion of Land for his Subsistence (h); and that his said Brother practised Piracy by Sea, and Depredations by Land upon his Neighbours: All which he got confirmed by the Testimony of about a thousand Jews, whom *Antipater* had brought to that purpose. To this *Aristobulus* answered, That *Hyrcanus* was put from the Government merely for his Incapacity to manage it; and that he was forced to interpose, for preserving the Conduct of the Government from falling into other Hands; and did bear no other Title in the State than what *Alexander* his Father had before him. For verifying this, he adduced the Testimony of several young Men in splendid Apparel, who brought little Credit to his Cause. *Pompey*, tho' he did not approve the Violence of *Aristobulus*, yet, lest he should obstruct him in the Arabian War, dismissed both Parties with fair Words, promising, that as soon as he had reduced *Arëtas*, he would return in Person to *Judea*, and there compose all Points in difference. *Aristobulus* perceiving that *Pompey's* Inclinations

(a) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. (b) *Cicero* pro Rege *Dejotaro*, *Operum*, p. m. 647. & seqq. (c) *Appian*. in *Mithridat*. p. 415. *Strabo*, lib. 12. p. 558. (d) *Appian*. in *Mithridat*. p. 410, 411. *Livii* *Epit.* lib. 102. (e) *Dion* *Cassius*, lib. 37. p. 39. (f) *Aurelius* *Victor*. in *Mithridat*. *Valerius* *Maximus*, lib. 8. cap. 7. *Plinii* *nat. Hist.* lib. 7. cap. 25. & lib. 25. cap. 2. *Quintil.* lib. 11. cap. 2. (g) *Plutarch*. in *Pomp.* & in *Lucullo*. *Appian*. *passim* & *speciatim*, p. 412. 413. (h) *Joseph.* *Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 5. *De bello Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 5.

tions were against him, went off without taking Leave, and returning to *Judea*, armed the Country for his own Defence ; which provoked the *Roman* General against him.

Tho' *Aretas* had contemned the *Roman* Arms when at a distance, yet when he found them so near him with their victorious Troops, he sent Ambassadors to make his Submission (a). However, *Pompey* marched to *Petra*, the Metropolis of his Kingdom ; and having taken the Place, and *Aretas* in it, he put him under Custody ; but afterwards released him, on his complying with the Terms which the Conqueror required, and then returned to *Damascus*.

There he was informed of the warlike Preparations which *Aristobulus* was making in *Judea*, and marched into that Country to oppose him. On his Arrival, he found *Aristobulus* in his Castle of *Alexandria* (b) ; which was a strong Fortrefs situated in the Entrance of the Land on a high Mountain, and being built by *Alexander Jannæus*, the Father of *Aristobulus*, did bear his Name. Upon *Pompey's* Desire, *Aristobulus* came to the *Roman* Camp, and conversed with him. He and those who were about him thinking themselves unprovided for a War with the *Romans*, judged it expedient to make this Compliance two or three Times, still expecting that he might gain the *Roman* General to decide the Controversy in his favour ; but for fear of the worst, he was at the same time arming all his Castles, and making all the Preparations for War he could. Of which *Pompey* being informed, in the last Conference he had with him he forced him to deliver up all those strong Holds to the *Romans*, and to sign Orders for this purpose to all that commanded in them. *Aristobulus* resented this Force put upon him, and therefore, as soon as he had escaped out of *Pompey's* Hands, he fled to *Jerusalem*, and there prepared for War. On his Flight, *Pompey* marched after him, and pitched his Camp at *Jericho* ; where he had the News of *Mithridates's* Death (c) sent him by Letters from *Pontus*. His Army being newly encamped, had no Tribunal made of Turfs for their General to ascend in order to speak to them, as their Custom was : But they heaped up their Pack-saddles one upon another, which *Pompey* mounting, told them, *That Mithridates having laid violent Hands upon himself, was dead ; and that Pharnaces his Son having seized the Kingdom, submitted that and himself to the Roman State : And therefore the War was ended.* For which welcome News the whole Army spent that Day rejoicing.

§ 26. FROM *Jericho* *Pompey* marched his Army to *Jerusalem*. On his Approach, *Aristobulus* repenting of what he had done, went out to *Pompey*, and endeavoured to reconcile Matters, promising a thorough Submission, and also a Sum of Money (d), if so the War might be prevented. But when the *Romans* came to *Jerusalem*, they found the Gates shut, and no Money to be had ; but were told from the Walls, that those within would not stand to the Agreement. *Pompey* not bearing thus to be mocked, clapt *Aristobulus* (whom he had retained with him) in Chains, and marched with his whole Army to *Jerusalem*. The Party who were for *Aristobulus* resolved to defend the Place, especially by reason of their Indignation at *Pompey's* making their King a Prisoner. But those who favoured *Hyrcaus* were for receiving *Pompey* into the City ; and they being the greater Number, the other Party retired to the Mountain of the Temple ; where, having broke down the Bridges over the deep Ditches that surrounded it, they purposed to maintain themselves. *Pompey* being received into the City, set himself to besiege the Temple, into which most of the Priests had retired. *Hyrcaus* and his Friends took care to supply the *Roman* Army with all Necessaries. Being thus provided, and the Besieged having refused Terms of Peace that were offered, the *Romans* began their Approaches at the North-side of the Temple, where it was weakest. *Pompey* having got from *Tyre* battering Rams and other Engines proper for a Siege, applied himself to carry it on with great Vigour. However the Place held out for three Months, and might have done so much longer, had it not been for the superstitious Rigour with which the *Jews* observed their Sabbath, which is noticed by *Dion Cassius* (e) a Heathen. Formerly they would not so much as defend their Lives on that Day (f) ; but the Mischief of this being found in the *Maccabæan* Wars (g), they resolved, that the necessary Defence of a Man's Life on the Sabbath was not prohibited by the fourth Command. But this being understood of an immediate Assault, not of hindring any Preparation in order thereto, they would not in the present Danger stir a Hand for hindring the Besiegers Works, or destroying their Engines on the Sabbath (h), as they did on other Days. This being observed, *Pompey* ordered that no Assault should be made on that Day, but that then Care should be taken to repair their Works and Engines, in such Manner as they might do the greater Execution on the following Days of the Week : Which enabled the Besiegers to fill up Ditches, and play their Engines so effectually, as to beat down a strong Tower, and with it the adjoining Part of the Wall, so as *Cornelius Faustus* the Son of *Sylla*, who had his Station there, mounting the Breach, the rest of the Army followed, and took the Place, making a dreadful Slaughter of those within ; so as it is reckoned there fell at that time twelve thousand Men, none acting more cruelly than the *Jews* of the contrary Faction. Some of

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(a) Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. *Dion. Cassius*, lib. 37. p. 40. (b) *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 6. (c) *Id. ibid.* Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. (d) *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 7. *De bello Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 5. (e) *Dion. Cassius*, lib. 37. p. 41. (f) 1 *Maccab.* ii. 32, — 38. (g) *Ibid.* v. 41. (h) *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 8. *De bello Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 5.

of the Priests had their Blood mingled with their Sacrifices; who, to shun present Death, would not desert the Service of their God. *Absalom*, the Uncle and also the Father-in-law of *Aristobulus*, was taken Prisoner; but whether he suffered Death among the Incendiaries of the War, we know not, only after this we hear no more of him.

Thus, after a Siege of three Months, was the Temple of *Jerusalem* taken by the *Romans*, in the End of the second Year of the 179 *Olympiad*, *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Caius Antonius* being Consuls, in the Year of *Rome* 690, before the Birth of Christ 63 Years, and of the Government of *Hyrcanus II.* the first Year, in the Time when the *Jews* were observing a solemn Fast (a) for the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, which happened about our Mid-summer. The *Romans* having in this Manner taken the Temple, *Pompey* with several of his Officers went into it, not only viewing the Outer Works, but also the Holy of Holies, where none were permitted by the Law to enter, but only the High Priest once a Year, which was a Profanation of that Place, not only complained of by *Josephus* (b), but also by several Heathen Authors, as in their Words at the Foot of the Page (c). Tho' *Pompey* found in the Treasures of the House of the Lord two thousand Talents in Money, besides the Utensils and other Things of great Value there laid up, yet he touched nothing of all this (d), but left it entire for the Sacred Uses for which it was devoted; and next Day ordered the Temple to be cleansed, and divine Service to be there performed as formerly. But this did not expiate his Profanation of God's holy Temple. This Victory over the *Jews* was the last that ever he won. However, I shall not determine that all the Calamities which afterwards happened to *Pompey* the Great, were the Effects of Divine Vengeance, for the Impiety he committed in the Temple at *Jerusalem*: God's Judgments are a great Deep. The War being concluded, he demolished the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and restored *Hyrcanus* to the Office of the High Priest, making him Prince of the Country under Tribute to the *Romans*, but not allowing him to wear a Diadem, nor to extend his Borders beyond the old Limits of *Judea*, depriving him of those Cities that had been taken from the *Cælesyrians* and *Phœnicians*, of which *Gadara* was one. Thus the Sceptre began to depart from *Judah*, to make Way for the coming of the Messiah. *Pompey* having ordered to rebuild *Gadara* in favour of *Demetrius*, his freed Man and great Favourite; and having taken this City from the *Jews*, together with *Hippon*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Marissa*, *Azotus*, *Tamnia* and *Arethusa*, he restored them to their former Possessors; and ordered *Gaza*, *Joppa* and *Dora*, otherwise called *Straton's Tower*, to be made Sea Ports, (e), adding all these to the Province of *Syria*, over which he made *Scaurus* President, leaving him with two Legions to keep the Country in Order. *Josephus* adds (f), that in a short Space of Time, there were ten thousand Talents exacted of the *Jews*; all which Evils they drew upon themselves, by the unhappy Differences of *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*.

§ 27. *POMPEY* having thus ordered his Affairs, returned towards *Rome*, carrying with him *Aristobulus*, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two Sons, and two of his Daughters Captives, to be led before him in his Triumph. But *Alexander*, while on his Journey, made his Escape, and returned into *Judea*; where he raised new Troubles, as we shall afterwards hear. *Pompey* on his Return from *Syria*, came to *Amisus* in *Pontus*, where the Body of *Mithridates* was sent to him by *Pharnaces* his Son, with many Gifts to procure Favour of the Conqueror. The Gifts *Pompey* received (g); but as to the dead Body he ordered it to be carried to *Sinope*, and there decently buried in the Sepulchre of his Forefathers. At the same Time he took the remaining Fortresses and Castles which held out there for *Mithridates*. In some of them he found vast Riches, especially at *Telaura*, where was a Wardrobe and Storehouse, in which were two thousand Cups made of the Onyx Stone set in Gold, with a vast Quantity of Plate, Household Goods, Furniture for Men and Horses, so great, that the Quæstor of the Army employed thirty Days in taking up an Inventory of them. *Pompey*, having granted to *Pharnaces* the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, and declared him a Friend and Allie to the *Roman* People, marched into *Asia* properly so called; where he gave a liberal Donative to every Soldier of fifteen hundred Drachms, and proportionably to all the Officers; so as on that Occasion he expended sixteen thousand Talents, and yet reserved twenty thousand Talents, which is reckoned to amount to three Million seven hundred and forty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be carried into the publick Treasury on the Day of his Triumph, which he affected to have very magnificent.

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.* *Strabo, lib. 16. p. 762, 763.* *Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 41.* (b) *Joseph. locis citatis.* (c) *Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5.* *Hierosolymam defendere tentaverunt Judæi, verum hanc quoque intravit, & vidit illud grande impiæ gentis Arcanum patens, sub aureo vitem cælo.* *Livii epitome, lib. 102.* *Fanum eorum Hierosolymæ inviolatum ante id tempus cepit, Pompeius Judæos subegit.* *Eutropius lib. 6. p. m. 65.* *Pompeius ad Judæam transgressus, Hierosolymam caput gentis tertio mense cepit duodecem, millibus Judæorum occisis, cæteris in fidem acceptis.* *Appianus in Mithridaticis, p. 404.* *Καθ' αὐτὴν ἡμερὰν τὴν ἀγιοτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν.* *Aristobulus King of the Jews revolting, Pompey took Jerusalem their most Holy City.* Besides, *Strabo Geographiæ, lib. 16. p. 762, 763.* and *Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 41.* speak more largely of this Affair. (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.* *De Bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.* *Cicero in Oratione pro Flacco, c. 67.* *At Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fanonihil attigit.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.* & *de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.* (f) *ibidem.* (g) *Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian in Mithridaticis, p. 413.* *Dion Cassius, lib. 37. p. 40.*

The same Year, of *Attia*, the Wife of *Octavius*, and Daughter of *Julia*, the Sister of *Julius Cæsar*, was born *Octavius Cæsar* (a), who was afterwards adopted by his Uncle *Julius*, and became Emperor of the Romans by the Name of *Augustus*. *Suetonius* tells us, quoting for it the Testimony of *Julius Marathus*, a freed Man of *Augustus's* (b), who wrote his Life, that a few Months before the Birth of this great Emperor, there was an Oracle given out, that Nature was at that Time producing a King who should govern the Roman Empire.

After *Pompey* left *Syria*, *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petrea*, began again to be troublesome to that Province; which obliged *Scaurus* to march out against him: But he having gone too far into the Desert, became straitned for Provisions till *Hyrcaus* from *Judea* supplied him with what he wanted; and *Antipater* by going in an Embassy to *Aretas*, induced him to buy his Peace of *Scaurus* (c) for three hundred Talents of Silver, to the Satisfaction of both Parties. After this *Scaurus* being recalled, *Marcus Philippus* (d) was made President of *Syria* in his Room.

Pompey in the Spring passed from *Ephesus* thro' the Isles of *Greece*. At *Rhodes* he heard the Orators declaim, and gave every one a Talent. He did the like at *Athens* to the Philosophers (e), and then proceeded to *Brundisium* in *Italy*, and so on to *Rome*; where he dismissed his Army, desiring them again to meet on the Day of his Triumph, fixed upon the Day of his Birth in the following Year, wherein he was forty five Years old. The Magnificence of his Triumph is described at large by *Plutarch* (f), *Pliny* (g), and others (h) of the Ancients, and out of them by *M. Du-Pin* (i). I shall only notice that this Triumph continued two Days: That in the Inscriptions on this Occasion, *Pompey* boasted that he had overcome *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Judea*, *Arabia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*: That in these Countries he had taken a thousand Castles, nine hundred Cities, eight hundred Ships of Pirates, replenished thirty nine desolate Towns with Inhabitants, and greatly encreased the Revenues of the Roman State. If we narrowly look into this Affair, we may observe that the Romans at this Time had not only large Dominions in *Europe* and *Africa*, but also had reduced *Asia* even to the Borders of *Egypt*, and to the River *Euphrates* under their Obedience; and the Government in many of these Countries was brought into Order by *Pompey*. But on the other Hand he was much obliged to those who had gone before him: For *Sylla* had destroyed the Military Force of *Mithridates*; *Lucullus* had in several Battles broken both *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; and I mind that *Dion Cassius*, who generally speaks well of *Pompey*, tells, that *Lucullus* told *Pompey* on his coming to *Asia* (k), That he had nothing to do there; for *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* were already overcome, and were preparing to send Ambassadors to the Roman State with their Submissions. Accordingly it happened: For this great Man had no considerable Battle with *Mithridates* but one, and that in the Night Time (l); and as to *Tigranes* he made a voluntary Submission without Stroke of Sword. The other Places were an easy Prey to this prosperous Conqueror. It was peculiar to his Triumph, that on his Entry to the Capitol, he did not as others upon the like Occasion put any of his Captives (who were very many) to Death, nor did he leave any of them in Prison except *Aristobulus* and the young *Tigranes*, but sent all the rest home upon the publick Expence. The other Events of *Pompey's* Life will come to be noticed in the Progress of this History.

§ 28. WHILE this great General was enlarging the Roman Dominions abroad, *Rome* itself was in great Danger of Ruin, by a dangerous Conspiracy carried on by *Sergius Catiline*, a Patrician by Descent, but of a very profligate Life; a Person daring in his Attempts, crafty in his Designs, greedy of other Men's Properties, prodigal of his own, which he had consumed upon his Lusts, and thereby run himself in Debt, out of which he saw no Way to extricate himself, but by some desperate Attempt. He had been accused of debauching a Vestal Virgin, and suspected of murdering (m) his own Son. He had twice received a Repulse while standing for the Consulship, and at the last of these had it carried from him by *M. Tullius Cicero*. Upon Mention of this great Man, I shall take a little Notice of the former Part of his Life. His Father was a Roman Knight, his Mother was named *Helvia*. From his Youth he was addicted to the Study of Learning and Eloquence, and followed the Way of the Academick Philosophers. Travelling into *Greece* for his further Improvement, he returned to *Rome* when *Sylla* had the absolute Command in the Commonwealth, and did plead the Cause of *Roscius* who had been much wronged by *Sylla's* Proscription: Tho' he gained his Client's Suit, yet being afraid of the Resentment of *Sylla*, who spared no Man, he retired again into *Greece*, and there prosecuted his Studies under *Antiochus* of *Ascalon* at *Athens*; and thence passed into *Asia*, where he frequented the Lessons of *Xenocles* the *Adrametian*, *Diorysius* the *Magnesian*, and (n) *Menippus* the *Carian*. At *Rhodes* he studied under *Apollonius Molon*, the most eloquent

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(a) Suetonius in *Augusto*, cap. 4, 5. (b) Ibid. cap. 94. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 45, p. 306. (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 9.* (d) *Appian in Syriacis*, p. 215. (e) *Plutarch. in Pompeio.* (f) Ibidem. (g) *Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 26. lib. 37. cap. 2.* (h) *Appian*, p. 417, — 419. (i) *Histoire profane*, Tom. 2. p. 195, — 199. (k) *Dion Cassius*, lib. 36. p. 25. (l) Above p. 417. (m) *Sallustii bellum Catilinarium.* (n) *Plutarch. in Cicero.*

Man of his Time ; who wanting *Latin*, desired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*, which he willingly performed, and so well as his Auditors gave him great Praise : But *Apollonius* said, *I do indeed wonder at thee ; only one Thing I am sorry for, that whereas Learning and Eloquence are the only valuable Things left to Greece, these by this young Man will be carried to Rome.* *Cicero* returning to *Rome* in the Time of a great Dearth, was made *Quæstor*, and had *Sicily* for his Province. Afterwards he declaimed with great Eloquence against *Verres* who had oppressed the *Sicilians*. He obtained the Office of *Ædilis* and also that of *Prætor* ; and in both these Stations did acquit himself to the Satisfaction of good Men. And therefore in this dangerous State of the Commonwealth, by Reason of *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and the *Roman* Legions being abroad in *Asia* under *Pompey*, *Cicero* now being forty four Years of Age (a), in the Year of *Rome* 690, he and *Caius Antonius* were chosen Consuls. *Catiline* being in great Rage against them, did in Conjunction with *Cethegus*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and others, conspire to kill the Consuls and Senate, to set Fire to *Rome* in many Places at once, to plunder the Treasury, and overturn the Commonwealth (b). Worse Things than *Hannibal* ever attempted, and yet contrived by *Romans* themselves, sealing their League with humane Blood. Tho' the Conspiracy was carried on with great Secrecy, yet *Cicero* had Notice of every Step of it, by *Fulvia*, Mifs to one of the Conspirators (c) ; who assembling the Senate, laid the Case before them, with such eloquent Speeches against *Catiline*, which are still extant, as made him fly from the City. Whereupon he was declared an Enemy to the *Roman* State. Many of the other Conspirators being apprehended, and convicted of the Crime by their own Letters and several Witnesses ; when the Senate came to deliberate upon their Punishment, *Julius Cæsar*, then a young Man of pregnant Parts, of whom we shall hear in its proper Place, made an eloquent Speech ; wherein he dissuaded putting the Conspirators to Death, but advised to confiscate their Goods, and confine their Persons to some Prisons. *Cato*, called afterwards *Uticensis*, answered, *That among the ancient Romans, Manlius Torquatus had caused his own Son to be put to Death, only for fighting the Enemy contrary to his Command ; and if that valiant Youth was so severely chastised for his over hasty Courage, shall the present Generation hesitate what to decree against the most bloody Parricides, and the greatest Monsters of Mankind ?* *Cicero* also made an Oration, which was his fourth upon that Occasion, wherein he inclined to *Cato's* Side. Whereupon the Senate determined to put the Prisoners to Death, and the Consul saw the Sentence executed before the House rose. As for *Catiline* himself, he was soon after this overtaken by *Caius Antonius*, *Cicero's* Colleague, nigh the *Alps*, as he was passing into *Gaul* to complete his Levies ; where engaging most obstinately, he was slain in Battle, and his Men desperately fought it out to the last, scarce any of them remaining to be taken. Thus was this most dangerous Conspiracy quashed, chiefly by the Vigilance of *Cicero* the Consul. Publick Thanks were given him for his great Care, and at the Desire of *Cato* he was first called *Pater Patriæ*, The Father of his Country ; which Title was afterwards born by the *Roman* Emperors.

§ 29. ABOUT this Time *Julius Cæsar* made a great Figure in the World, and therefore it is proper to take notice of his Rise. *Cæsar* was of an ancient Family. He married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna*, who had been four Times Consul (d). Of her was born *Julia*, the Wife of *Pompey* the Great. While he was very young, he served in the Wars under the greatest Captains that *Rome* then could boast of, and also applied himself to Learning, studying Eloquence under *Apollonius Molon* at *Rhodes* : And being both a good Scholar, and also having a natural Gift of speaking with a lively Grace before the People, he was counted the second Man in *Rome* for Eloquence in his Time ; but willingly gave place to the first, because he chused rather to be the first in Authority in the State and in the Camp, than at the Bar (e). When he was at *Rome*, by an open and plentiful Table, and every other Way he endeavoured to make himself popular ; which had this Effect, that by the Suffrage of the People he was soon made *Tribunus militum*, or Colonel of a thousand Foot, and in a little Time went thro' the Offices of *Quæstor*, *Ædile* and *Prætor* (f). Upon the Death of *Metellus* the *Pontifex Maximus*, he after a great Competition prevailed to be chosen in his room. His Speech for Lenity to *Catiline's* Associates made some suspect that the High-priest was chief in the Conspiracy. About the End of his *Prætorship* he obtained the Government of *Spain* : But having contracted extraordinary Debts by his too bountiful Way of living, was retarded in his Journey by the Prosecution of his Creditors. Whereupon he was obliged to apply himself to *Crassus*, a Man of vast Riches, and also of great Wit and Eloquence, who became Surety to him for 830 Talents (g). In this Government, *Cæsar* viewing the Statue of *Alexander* the Great at *Gades*, wept, to think that he had done nothing great or memorable in an Age when that Prince had conquered the World. But in that same Expedition he gave sufficient Marks of his Bravery and Desire of Glory ; for he not only administered Justice, but also subdued the

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(a) Vide Historiam Ciceronis præfixam ejus operibus, in editione Gronovii. (b) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 1. (c) Appian. de Bellis civilibus, lib. 2. operum, p. 710, — 715. Dion Cassius, lib. 37. cap. 48, — 53. (d) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 1. (e) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare. (f) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 7, 10, 14. (g) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare.

Lusitanians, now called the *Portuguese*, and others who had not been before touched by the *Romans*, penetrating all the Way to the Ocean : So as he returned from his Province very rich, and his Soldiers loaden with Spoil ; who for the Love they bore to him, gave him the Name of *Imperator*.

Cæsar, on his Return from *Spain*, reconciled *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and they three entred into a Confederacy for the Support of the Commonwealth. This was the first *Triumvirate*, being a Combination of the three greatest Men in *Rome*, either for military Valour, Authority or Riches ; and this laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars which afterwards broke out between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, which ended in the Destruction of the old *Roman* Government, changing it from a Republic to a Monarchy. As long as *Crassus* lived, he balanced the Matter between the other two ; but after his Death, neither of them being contented with a Part, each contended for the whole : The one of them would not bear an Equal, nor the other a Superior (a). Ant. C. 60. Hyrc. II. 4.

The Time for which *Marius Philippus* was appointed to govern *Syria* being expired, *Lentulus Marcellinus* was sent from *Rome* to succeed him (b). Both of them had a great deal of Trouble created them by the *Arabs*, who being a thievish sort of People, living mostly upon Rapine and Plunder, much infested that Province during the Time of their Government.

Julius Cæsar being Consul at *Rome*, obliged *Bibulus* his Collegue to quit him the Administration (c) ; which he managed with great Application for his own Interest : For he raised vast Sums of Money by admitting foreign States into Alliance with the *Romans*, and by granting to foreign Kings the Confirmation of their Crowns. Thus he extorted from *Ptolemy Auletes* near six thousand Talents. That King having only a contested Title to the Crown of *Egypt*, of which he was in possession, stood in need of a Declaration of the *Roman* Senate in his favour for strengthening him in that Kingdom. To procure this, he paid to *Cæsar* (d) the Sum mentioned, and engaged to give him four thousand more. By these and the like Means *Cæsar* heaped up that Treasure which enabled him for his after Undertakings. His next Step was, that he procured a Decree, *That when the Tear of his Consulship should be expired, he should have Illyrium, and both the Gauls, called the Cisalpin and Transalpin, for his Province, to govern for five Tears* (e). He had assigned him an Army of four Legions to carry with him into his Government ; and from his Entry on it begins his *Commentaries*, or his *History of the War with the Gauls*. Ant. C. 59. Hyrc. II. 5.

§ 30. *A. GABINIUS*, who had been one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants in the *Mithridatic War*, being made Consul for the ensuing Year, obtained by the Means of *Clodius*, then Tribune of the People, to have the Province of *Syria* assigned to him. This *Clodius* was of the noble Family of the *Claudii*, a Gentleman of great Parts, but excessively lewd. *Lucullus* having married one of his Sisters, *Clodius* attended him in the *Mithridatic War* ; where he lost his Favour by his Misdemeanours (f), especially for corrupting his own Sister, the General's Wife ; and therefore he could not obtain such a Post as he expected. At which being displeased, he became the main Author of that Mutiny in *Lucullus's* Army which made his last Campaign ineffectual. For this *Clodius* being obliged to get out of the General's Reach, he fled into *Cilicia* ; where *Marcus Rex*, Governor of that Province, made him his Admiral. But being vanquished on the Coast, and taken Prisoner by the Pirates, he sent to *Ptolemy King of Cyprus* for Money to pay his Ransom. *Ptolemy* being a niggardly Prince, sent him only two Talents ; which the Pirates despising, chose rather to release their Prisoner for nothing. Coming to *Rome*, he followed his old lewd Way of living ; for he is said to have corrupted two others of his Sisters, and also *Pompeia Cæsar's* Wife. For which she was divorced. *Cæsar* would not have his Wife so much as suspected of Adultery (g). *Clodius* at last was brought to a publick Trial ; where *Cicero* was one of his Witnesses (h) : But by bribing the Judges, the Criminal escaped Punishment. After this, procuring himself to be adopted a Plebeian, he was chosen Tribune of the People, and in that Office very much disturbed the *Roman* State : And that he might gain *Gabinus*, a Man as wicked as himself, he procured the Province of *Syria* to be assigned him by the Suffrages of the People. *Clodius* resolving Revenge on *Ptolemy King of Cyprus*, for not sending him Money to pay his Ransom, and also on *Cicero* for being Evidence against him in his Trial, effected both. For he caused a Decree to pass the People for seizing *Cyprus* (i), and deposing *Ptolemy* the King thereof, bastard Son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, and confiscating his Goods, without any just Cause. 'Tis true, this *Ptolemy* was a vicious Prince, and so niggardly, that he heaped up a great Treasure of Money, which was the chief Thing that made the *Romans* to seek his Ruin ; which even *V. Paternulus* (k) reckons a very unjust Act, *Ptolemy* being counted a Friend to the *Romans*, who had never done any thing to deserve this Ant. C. 58. Hyrc. II. 6.

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(a) Nec quemquam jam ferre potest Cæsarve priorem, Pompeiuvve parem, *Lucan.* lib. 1. v. 125. (b) *Appian.* in *Syriacis*. (c) Nam *Bibulo* fieri Consule nil memini, *Sueton.* in *Cæsare*, cap. 20. (d) *Ibid.* cap. 54. *Appian.* de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 717, 718. (e) *Plutarch.* in *Cæsare*. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 38. p. 70. (f) *Cicero* in oratione pro domo sua, & pro Sextio. *Plutarch.* in *Cicerone*. (g) *Dion Cassius*, lib. 37. p. 56. (h) *Plutarch.* in *Cæsare*, in *Cato-ne Uticensi*, *Cicerone* & *Lucullo*. (i) *Florus*, lib. 3. cap. 9. (k) *Lib.* 2. cap. 45.

at their Hands. However the Decree passed for seizing *Cyprus*, and all that this Prince there had; and *Cato*, called *Uticensis*, was sent to execute it. This *Cato* was a very steady, constant and useful Man in the Commonwealth: He had served in several Stations, as Tribune or Colonel of a thousand Foot, as Quæstor, and as Tribune of the People; but never came to be Consul: He attended the Senate very diligently, spoke frequently, and pretty long; but was always rather firm to his Opinion than to any Party, being severe in his Manners, and above all things professed to hate Bribery and Partiality. *Clodius* was keen to send him to *Cyprus*, tho' against his Inclination (a), that so just a Man might give some Reputation to this unjust Act; but especially that a Way might be made for *Clodius* with more Ease to execute his Revenge against *Cicero*. He designed to bring an Accusation against him before the People upon this Footing, *That while Consul he had put to Death several who were of Catiline's Conspiracy by the Order of the Senate only, without bringing them to a legal Trial*. But foreseeing that he would meet with great Opposition from *Cato*, he contrived to send him on this Expedition, and then obtained his Design. For tho' *Cicero* sued the People with a Meanness below himself (b), yet he was deserted by the great Men of the Triumvirate, and banished by the People. And I observe, that *Dion Cassius*, who seldom speaks well of *Cicero*; here (c) takes a Liberty to rip up the Faults he thought him guilty of; which I need not repeat, because that Orator gets a better Character from other Historians. *Clodius*, not content with *Cicero's* Banishment, burnt his Houses in the Country, and also his House at *Rome* in the Market-place, on which he built a Temple to Liberty; and caused his Goods to be sold by the Crier, but no Man was to bid for them. *Cicero* went to *Greece*; and there continued, till sixteen Months after this he was again recalled, and welcomed by the Acclamations of the People. His Houses were rebuilt, and his Goods restored: So changeable is the State of Things. And *Clodius* the Tribune was slain by *Milo*.

Cato coming to *Rhodes*, sent to *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus* to persuade him quietly to yield up his Riches, promising him hereon the High-priesthood of *Venus* at *Paphos* (d); but tho' he was unable to resist the Roman Power, he would not accept this Offer. He designed once to put his Riches and himself in a Ship; and by boring a Hole in the Vessel, to have sunk the whole to the Bottom of the Sea. But he could not bear so to part with his Gods: And therefore, returning to Land, he laid up his Treasure (e), but poisoned himself, leaving all that he had to his Enemies. All this *Cato* the next Year carried to *Rome*, amounting, according to *Plutarch*, to seven thousand Silver Talents. Such a Sum had scarce been brought to the Treasury by some of the greatest Triumphs. While *Cato* was at *Rhodes*, in his Way to *Cyprus*, there came thither to him *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt* (f) Brother to *Ptolemy* of *Cyprus*. The Reason of his Voyage was this; the *Alexandrians* hearing that the Romans intended to seize *Cyprus*, they pressed *Auletes* to demand the same to be restored to *Egypt*, as an ancient Appendant of that Kingdom; or, in case of Refusal, to declare War against them: Which *Ptolemy* declining, the *Alexandrians*, being oppressed with raising the Money he demanded to satisfy the great Men at *Rome*, drove him out of the Kingdom; and he went to solicit the Assistance of the Senate for his Restoration. *Cato* blamed him for quitting the Honour and Happiness he possessed in his own Kingdom, and exposing himself to the Disgrace of a banished Man; telling him plainly, *That tho' Egypt were to be sold, the Purchase-money would not satisfy the great Men at Rome for assisting him in his Restoration*. And therefore advised him to return to *Egypt*, and make up all Differences, offering himself to go and help him. But *Ptolemy* hearkned to worse Advice (g); for he went to *Rome*, and there, after he had expended vast Sums to make the great Men favour his Cause; when they found that there was no more to be extorted from him, they trumped up an Oracle out of the *Sibylline* Books, whereby the Romans were forbidden to give him any Help in this Case.

In the mean Time the *Alexandrians* not knowing what had become of *Auletes* (h), placed *Berenice* his Daughter on the Throne, and sent *Menelaus Lampon*, and *Callimander* in an Embassy to *Antiochus Asiaticus* in *Syria*, who by his Mother *Selene* was the next Heir of the Family, to invite him to come into *Egypt*, and there marry *Berenice*, and reign with her. But the Ambassadors when they came to *Syria*, found him just dead: And understanding that *Seleneus* his Brother was still living, the Embassy was sent to him with the same Proposals; which he readily accepted of. But he being a very sordid base spirited Man (of which he gave Proof, by robbing the Sepulchre of *Alexander*, of the golden Case in which his Body was deposited) *Berenice* grew soon weary of such a Husband (i), and put him to Death. In him ended the whole Race of *Seleneus*, none of it being any more left to survive the Loss of their Empire. *Berenice* afterwards married *Archelaus*, High-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*.

§ 31. ALEXAN-

(a) *Plutarch*. in *Catone Uticensi*. (b) *Id.* in *Cicerone*. *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 721, — 726: (c) *Lib.* 38. p. 70, 73, 76. (d) *Plutarch*. in *Catone* (e) *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 9. cap. 4. *Florus* & *Paterculus*, locc. cit. (f) See above p. 428. (g) *Plutarch*. in *Catone Uticensi*. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 39. p. m. 108, 109. (h) *Idem*, *ibid.* *Strabo* lib. 17. p. 796. *Porphyrus* in *Græcis Eusebian*. *Staligeri*, p. 227. (i) *Strabo* lib. 17. p. 796. & lib. 12. p. 558.

§ 31. *ALEXANDER* the eldest Son of *Aristobulus*, having made his Escape while he was carrying Prisoner to *Rome* by *Pompey*, returned into *Judea* (a); and having got together an Army of 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, and seized *Alexandriou*, *Machærus*, *Hyrkania*, and several other strong Castles, from these he ravaged the whole Country. *Hyrcauus* being too weak to take the Field against him, he would have fortified *Jerusalem*, and rebuilt the Walls thereof; but the *Romans* forbidding him, he was forced to call them to his Assistance. Whereupon *Gabinus* President of *Syria*, and *M. Antonius* General of the Horse under him, came into *Judea* with a great Army for composing these Commotions; and being joined by *Antipater*, *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*, with the *Jews* of *Hyrcauus*'s Party, they came to a Battle with *Alexander* near *Jerusalem*; wherein *Alexander* being overthrown with the Loss of three thousand Men slain, and as many taken Prisoners, he fled to *Alexandriou*, where *Gabinus* shut him up and besieged him. But that Castle being naturally strong, as situated on a Rock very high, and also well fortified by Art, could not soon be reduced by the Engines then in use among the *Romans*, when the Invention of great Guns and Mortar-pieces was not known. *Gabinus* therefore leaving a part of his Army to block it up, marched with the rest round the Country; and finding *Samaria*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Raphia*, *Anthedon*, *Jamnia*, *Scythopolis*, *Apollonia*, *Dora*, *Marissa*, and several other Cities lying in Ruins, as demolished in the Wars with the *Asmonæans*, he ordered them all to be repaired, and then returned to the Siege of *Alexandriou*; where repaired to him the Mother of *Alexander*, a wise and discreet Woman, who being solicitous for her Husband *Aristobulus* and her Children, who were Prisoners at *Rome*, she so favoured the *Romans*, and so far ingratiated her self with *Gabinus*, that she obtained every thing of him she desired. By her Means a Treaty of Peace being commenced, *Alexander* surrendered *Alexandriou*, and all his other Castles: Which being razed to the Ground, he was dismissed with Pardon and Impunity for all that was past. After this *Gabinus* going up to *Jerusalem*, restored *Hyrcauus* to the High-priesthood, but made a Change in the Form of Government (b): For he erected five Courts independent of each other. The first of them he placed at *Jerusalem*; the second at *Jericho*; the third at *Gadara*; the fourth at *Amathus*, and the fifth at *Sephoris*: And under these five Cities he divided the Land into five Provinces, ordering all to repair for Justice to those Courts every one in the Province where he dwelt, and there to have every Thing finally determined.

Towards the latter End of this Year, *Aristobulus* late King of *Judea*, who was led in Triumph by *Pompey*, and after that shut up in Prison at *Rome*, having, with his Son *Antigonus*, made his Escape thence (c) returned into *Judea*, and there raised new Troubles: For great Numbers resorted to him; and among them *Pitholaus*, who on some Disgust left *Hyrcauus*'s Side, and went over to *Aristobulus* with a thousand Men well armed. Thus *Aristobulus* having formed a little Army, he first rebuilt *Alexandriou*, and then marching with the rest of his Army, consisting of about eight thousand Men, towards *Machærus*, a strong Place beyond *Jordan*, lately demolished, designing to restore and garrison it, as he had done at *Alexandriou*. But *Gabinus* hearing of these Things, sent *Sisenna* his Son, with *Antonius* and *Servilius* his Lieutenants against him; who having overtaken him in his March, forced him to an Engagement, and vanquished him, with the Slaughter of five thousand of his Men. *Aristobulus*, with about a thousand of his broken Forces got to *Machærus*: But the *Romans* coming upon them, they were soon overpowered. The Place being taken, after two Days Resistance, and in it *Aristobulus* sore wounded, and *Antigonus* his Son, who were both sent back to their former Prison at *Rome*. But *Gabinus* having informed the Senate that he had promised to the Wife of *Aristobulus*, that upon her delivering the Castles, her Children should be released, it was accordingly done, *Antigonus* and the rest being allowed to depart into *Judea*, and *Aristobulus* only retained in Chains.

§ 32. *ORODES* and *Mithridates*, Sons of *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, having impiously killed their Father, could not agree among themselves who should possess his Throne (d). *Orodes* being the elder Brother, first filled it: But he was dispossessed by *Mithridates*, who having made himself odious to the *Parthians* by his Cruelty, *Surenas*, a Man of great Power in that Kingdom, replaced *Orodes* on the Throne. *Mithridates* fled, and implored the Help of *Gabinus*, Governor for the *Romans* in *Syria*; which he, from a Prospect of Gain, consented to (e): But when he had passed the River *Euphrates*, *Ptolemy Auletes*, the deprived King of *Egypt*, came to him, with Letters from *Pompey*, offering him ten thousand Talents to re-establish him again in his Kingdom. The Reward being great, and the Enterprize much less dangerous, induced him to undertake the Matter; and therefore, quitting his intended Expedition against the *Parthians*, he repassed the *Euphrates*, and marched thro' *Palestine* directly into *Egypt*. Whereupon *Mithridates* finding his Cause deserted, returned into *Babylonia*, and there seized *Seleucia*;
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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6. (b) Id. Ibid. cap. 10. De bello Jud. 1. cap. 6. (c) Ibid. cap. 11. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 130. (d) Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 130. Appian. in Syriacis. Plutarch. in Crass. fo. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11.

cia; where *Orodes* straitly besieging him, brought him to that Distress, that he voluntarily surrendered himself, in hopes of having his Life spared by his Brother (a). But *Orodes* looking upon him as his restless Enemy, caused him to be slain before his Face.

On *Gabinus*'s Arrival upon the Borders of *Egypt*, he sent *Antony* with a Body of Horse to seize the Passes, and open a Way for the rest of the Army. This was the famous *Marc Antony* (b), who afterwards as *Triumvir* governed one third Part of the *Roman* Empire for several Years. His Grandfather was the famous Orator whom *Marius* killed (c), because he was of *Sylla*'s Party. His Father was an honest liberal Man: His Mother was called *Julia*, of the same Family with *Julius Cæsar*. She after his Father's Death married *Cornelius Lentulus*, who was put to Death in *Cicero*'s Consulate, for being in *Catiline*'s Conspiracy: Which seems to have been the Origin of the cruel Hatred between *Antony* and *Cicero*. As to this *Antony*, he was of a comely Countenance: But in his Youth being led away into the Snare of lustful Pleasures by *Curio* and *Clodius*, he contracted a great Debt of two hundred and fifty Talents. Thereupon he left *Italy*, and went into *Greece*; where he employed his Time in the Study of Eloquence, and afterwards he followed the Wars. His first Appearance in them was under this *Gabinus*, and he had a great Hand in this Expedition into *Egypt*, from a Desire of Glory, and to have a Share in the tenthousand Talents. As he was the chief Adviser of the Expedition, so he was the most vigorous Actor in it: For he not only secured all the Passes, but also took *Pelusium*, which was on that Side the Key of *Egypt*, and the taking thereof became an Inlet to all the rest of the Kingdom. For this Success he was much obliged to *Hircanus* and *Antipater*, who not only assisted the *Romans* in their March with all Necessaries (d), but by Letters prevailed with the *Jews* in the Country of *Onion* near *Pelusium* to be helpful to them. *Archelaus* was at this Time King of *Egypt*, being called (e) thither after the Death of *Seleucus Cybiosactes*, to marry *Berenice* and reign with her. He having contracted a Friendship with *Gabinus*, while he served under *Pompey*, as one of his Lieutenants in the *Mithridatic* War, came out of *Pontus* into *Syria*, to visit him on his obtaining that Province (f) and was there useful to him; and no Doubt it was by the Approbation of *Gabinus* and *Antony* that he came upon this Invitation from *Syria* into *Egypt*. However all this could not secure him from the Invasion. *Gabinus* being acquainted of *Antony*'s Success, marched with his whole Army into the very Heart of *Egypt* in the Middle of Winter; for then the *Nile* being at the lowest, this Country was fittest for an Invasion. *Archelaus* omitted nothing that could be done for his Defence: But the *Egyptians* being an effeminate cowardly sort of People, he could make no Work of it with such Hands: But being overpowered by the well disciplined Troops of the *Romans*, was at length finally vanquished, and himself slain in Battle (g). *Antony* took Care to give him a decent Burial: And by this and several other Favours done to the *Egyptians*, sparing them on many Occasions, he gained to himself the Esteem of that Nation. *Archelaus* being slain *Egypt* was soon reduced, and *Ptolemy Auletes* settled on the Throne. *Gabinus* left some *Roman* Forces to be his Guard, who were in a little Time corrupted by the Effeminacy of the *Egyptians*. *Auletes* being restored, put *Berenice* his Daughter to Death, for wearing the Crown in the Time of his Exile (h); and cut off many rich Men of that Party, that by the Confiscation of their Goods he might raise the Money promised to *Gabinus*.

The Design of the *Egyptian* Expedition being finished, *Gabinus* found Occasion to return to *Syria*, where he had entrusted the Government in his Absence with *Sisenna* his Son; a Youth of neither Age nor Experience, having only a few Troops under his Command. Whereupon the Thieves and Freebooters ravaged the Country, and *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus* raised new Troubles in *Judea*; for having gathered together an Army, he ravaged the Land; and slew all the *Romans* he could find, driving the rest to take Refuge in Mount *Gerizim*, where he besieged them. There *Gabinus* found him; and observing the Number of his Enemies to be great, he sent *Antipater*, to endeavour by Promises of Oblivion and Impunity to reduce them, who prevailed with many of them to desist from their Revolt; and return to their Houses (i). *Alexander* having still about him an Army of thirty thousand Men appointed for War, resolved to encounter *Gabinus*; but after a fierce Battle near Mount *Tabor*, he was defeated with the Loss of ten thousand Men killed; and the rest put to Flight. After this *Gabinus* went up to *Jerusalem*; where having settled his Affairs, according to the Mind of *Antipater*, he led back his Army into *Syria*, and prepared to return to *Rome*.

§ 33. *POMPEY* and *Crassus* being this Year Consuls a second Time, on entering to their Office, they obtained a Decree of the *Roman* People, that *Spain* and *Africa* should be assigned to *Pompey* for five Years, and *Syria* with the neighbouring Countries to *Crassus* for the like Time (k), with full Authority to take with them such Forces as they should think fit, and make War where-

(a) Justin, lib. 42. cap. 4. (b) Plutarch. in M. Antonio. (c) Above, p. 419. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6. (e) Above, p. 436. (f) Strabo, lib. 12. p. 558. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 131. Plutarch. in Antonio. (h) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796. Livii Epir. lib. 105. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. (k) Dion. Cassius, lib. 39. p. 132. Livii Epir. lib. 105. Appian. in Parthicus, p. 218.

wherever they should see Cause. Hereon *Crassus* sent to receive the Government of *Syria* from *Gabinus*, who did not quite the Province till he was commanded to do it by the People and Senate of *Rome*. *Gabinus* had been a very corrupt Governor in his Province (a), doing every thing for Bribes, and selling every thing for Money. This Clamour came to *Rome*, which exasperated the Senate against him, and especially because he had undertaken the Expedition into *Egypt* contrary to the Law forbidding any Governor to go out of his Province, or to undertake any new War, without express Orders from the Senate and People of *Rome*; and therefore upon his Return Actions were commenced against him for Treason, Corruption, Bribery and other high Misdemeanors. He escaped as to the first (b), by bribing the Judges. *Pompey* and *Crassus* stood his Friends; but he was cast in the other Actions (c), and sent into Banishment, where he lived in Poverty, till *Cæsar* brought him back again in the Time of the Civil Wars (d), in which he died. Most of the Money, which he had raked together by Corruption and Oppression, was spent in bribing his Judges, that he might escape the Punishment he deserved. He having been Consul when *Cicero* was banished, this Orator being now returned home, aggravated his Crimes to the utmost, in his Speeches both to the Senate and People.

Pompey staid for most Part about *Rome*, notwithstanding the new Commission given him, but *Crassus* was very busy towards the End of his Consulship in lifting Soldiers, and making Preparations for his eastern Expedition, in which he perished. But before I bring him to his Death, 'tis proper to give some short Account of his Life. *Marcus Licinius Crassus* was the Son of a Censor, who had received the Honour of a Triumph (e). He married his Brother's Widow. His Father and Brother were killed by the cruel Orders of *Marius*; he himself being then a young Man, fled to *Spain*, where a Friend of his called *Vibius* kept him hid in a Cave eight Months. When he returned to *Rome*, and began to set up in the World, he was worth but three hundred Talents, which comes to 280000 Crowns, but was always set on making Gain, by buying Houses consumed with Fire, building and letting them, keeping many Slaves at Work, and every other Way. So that in end he became very rich; for when he took the Inventory of his Goods, before he left *Rome* to go against the *Parthians*, he found the Value of his Money and Effects amounted to 7100 Talents, that is 4260000 Crowns, thinking no Man rich who could not maintain an Army out of his own proper Effects. Adhering to the Interest of *Sylla*, he did him considerable Service in *Africa*, and shewed military Valour in defeating *Spartacus*, and the Army of Gladiators which he had raised; of which before (f). At *Rome* he affected to be popular, keeping an open Table: And having a good deal of Eloquence to defend any Cause, and to speak in Publick, he obtained most of the considerable Posts in the Commonwealth; but especially after he had joined in Friendship with *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. Being now Consul a second Time, and sixty Years of Age, he became wonderfully fond of his eastern Expedition, boasting among his Familiars, that he would do more than either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* had done before him; for he would conquer the *Bactrians* and *Indians*, and extend the *Roman* Conquests (g) to the eastern Ocean. But when his Design against the *Parthians* was noised abroad, *Attæius*, then one of the Tribunes of the People, desired to have his Commission reversed: But not being able to effectuate it, he turned his Endeavours into Curses and dreadful Execrations; which were soon verified. *Crassus* was no sooner gone into *Syria*, than he set himself upon every Method of heaping up Money. Being told of the Riches in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, he marched thither with a part of his Army to make Seizure thereof. *Eleazar* one of the Priests, then Treasurer of the Temple, had among other Things under his Custody a Bar of Gold (h) weighing three hundred *Minæ*. For securing whereof, he had enclosed it in a Beam of Timber, made hollow within, and placed the Beam over the Entrance to the Holy of Holies, causing the Veil to be hung thereon. Perceiving *Crassus's* Design to plunder the Temple, *Eleazar* offered to deliver this Bar of Gold to him, on Condition that he would spare all the rest; which *Crassus* by a solemn Oath promised to do. Whereupon the Beam, with the Wedge of Gold was delivered to him; which he no sooner received, then perfidiously forgetting his Oath, he not only seized the two thousand Talents which *Pompey* had left in the Temple untouched, but also robbed the Temple of every thing else, which he thought worth taking away, to the Value of eight thousand Talents more; which in all is above two Millions *Sterling* Money. *Josephus* confirms the Truth of this (i), by the Testimony of *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, whose History is now lost, and says, 'Tis no Wonder that the Jews had so great a sacred Treasure, since all their Nation scattered in Asia, Africa, and Europe sent their Gifts to the Temple.

Crassus with this Treasure, besides what he had before, thinking himself sufficiently furnished for the *Parthian* War, caused a Bridge of Boats to be made over the *Euphrates*, and forth-

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(a) Cicero in oratione de Provinciis Consularibus. (b) Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 4. Epist. 16. Operum, p. m. 895. & ad Quintum fratrem, lib. 3. Ep. 4. Operum, p. 1036. (c) Dion. Cassius, lib. 39. p. 133, 134. (d) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, cap. 43. (e) Plutarch. in Crasso. (f) Above, p. 426. (g) Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthicis. p. 219. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6. (i) Ibid.

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with marched over it, having no other Cause for the War, but an insatiable Thirst after the Riches of the Country (a). The *Parthians* not expecting such an Invasion, were at that Time not prepared to withstand it; whereupon he over-ran a great Part of *Mesopotamia*, and took many Cities without Opposition, and might have made greater Progress; but the Summer being spent, he returned and put his Army into Winter Quarters in *Syria*. Whereas he should rather have staid on the other Side of the *Euphrates*, in some of the Cities he had won, to exercise his Army, and to hinder the Preparations of his Enemies. But *Crassus* in the Winter neglected the Discipline of his Army, and rather acted the Part of a Gatherer of Taxes than of a good Officer, using all Methods of Exaction in order to enrich himself, committing Sacrilege on the Heathen Temples of his own Religion, as well as on that of the *Jews*, particularly at *Hierapolis*, where there was a great Treasure laid up in the Temple of the Goddess *Atargatis*, all of which he seized (b), spending a great deal of Time in seeing it told and weighed. In the Beginning of the Spring, he gathered together his Army for prosecuting the War against the *Parthians*, who had by this Time got ready a sufficient Army for their own Defence. But before they entred on Action, *Orodes* sent Ambassadors to *Crassus*, to see for what Reason he made War upon him: To which he gave no other Answer, *but that he would tell him when he came to Seleucia his Capital City*. Indeed it was hard to give a sufficient Reason: For neither had *Crassus* a particular Order from the *Roman* Senate to engage in it, nor any just Cause. *Vagises*, one of the Ambassadors shewed him the Palm of his Hand, saying briskly, *Hair would sooner grow there, than you shall come thither* (c). While the *Romans* were on their March, the Report of the great Army of the *Parthians*, filled the Camp with fear; and *Cassius* (the same who was afterwards an Actor in the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*, and the second Person in the Army) exhorted the General to consider the Matter, before he would proceed further. At the same Time *Artavasdes* King of *Armenia*, who had lately succeeded his Father *Tigranes*, came to *Crassus* with a Life-guard of six thousand Horse, and told him he had ten thousand Curiaffiers, and thirty thousand Foot more for his Service, and withall advised him not to take his Way into the *Parthian* Dominions thro' the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, but thro' *Armenia*, because the *Parthian* Horse, which was the Strength of their Army, could do him more Prejudice on the Plains than on a Hilly Country: Besides in these Plains, the *Romans* would meet with sandy Desarts; where they would be distressed for Want of Water and other Necessaries. But *Crassus* having left seven thousand Men in some Towns of *Mesopotamia*, would needs go that Way. As to *Artavasdes's* Auxiliaries, tho' *Crassus* accepted the Offer, yet they never came to him: For *Orodes* having a great Army on his Borders, he judged it better to cover his own Country, than to support the *Romans*, whom he saw were devoted to Destruction. Besides an *Arabian* Captain, whom *Plutarch* (d) calls *Ariamnes*, *Florus* names him (e) *Mezeres*, and *Appian* (f) designs him *Acbarus*, a cunning false Fellow, with flattering Speeches deceived *Crassus*, leading him and his whole Army of fifty thousand Men into a sandy Desart, and then acquainted the *Parthians*, that they might have the best Advantage in the World to destroy them. *Surenas* General of the *Parthians*, approached with his Army, and a bloody Battle was fought; wherein the *Parthian* Horsemen sometimes counterfeiting a Flight, drew out the *Romans*, who were unacquainted with their Way to the Pursuit, then returning, galled the Pursuers with Showers of Arrows, and soon defeated them. *Publius Crassus*, the General's Son, with great Numbers of the *Romans* were slain, the rest were forced to fly to *Carræ* (the ancient *Haran* of the Holy Scriptures:) Thence *Crassus* endeavouring to escape, committed himself to the Conduct of another Traitor, who led him into the midst of Bogs and Morasses, where he was overtaken by *Surenas* and killed (g). This Defeat was the greatest Blow that the *Romans* had ever sustained since the Battle of *Cannæ*: For here they had twenty thousand Men slain and ten thousand taken Prisoners (h). *Cassius* made his Escape with about five hundred Horse back into *Syria*, by a valiant and well conducted Retreat. The rest of the *Romans* who survived this Overthrow, fled several Ways into *Armenia*, *Cilicia* and *Syria*, and gathered together an Army under *Cassius* in *Syria*, whereby he became able to preserve that Province from falling into the Hands of the *Parthians*. *Artabazes* King of *Armenia*, called also *Artavasdes*, finding the *Romans* on the losing Side, compounded all Matters with *Orodes*, and gave one of his Sisters to *Pacorus* the Son of *Orodes* in Marriage. While they were at the Nuptial Feast, a Messenger presented *Orodes* with the Head and Hand of *Crassus*, which much increased their Joy; and 'tis said (i) that they poured melted Gold into the decollated Head by Way of Mockery, as if they would this Way satiate his Thirst after this Metal. However, *Surenas* did not long rejoice in his Victory: For *Orodes* envying him the Glory thereof, caused him to be put to Death, tho' he was the first Man for Wisdom, Wealth and Authority in all his Dominions.

§ 34. THE

(a) Dion Cassius lib. 40. p. 140. (b) Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian, in Parthicis, p. 223. (c) Appian. Ibid. p. 224. Dion Cassius, lib. 40. p. 140, 143. (d) In Crasso. (e) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 11. (f) p. 229. (g) — Misericordia funero Crassus Affyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Cartas. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 1. v. 105. Appianus, p. 258. (h) Plutarch. in Crasso. (i) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 11. Dion Cassius, lib. 40. p. 149.

§ 34. THE *Parthians* expecting after this Defeat, to find *Syria* void of Defence, made an Incurſion into that Country : But *Cassius*, on his Eſcape having got together an Army, gave them ſuch a warm Reception, that they were forced to repaſs the *Euphrates* (a) with a Diſappointment. After this *Cassius* went to *Tyre*, and having ſettled all Matters on that Side of the Province, he marched into the Country of *Judea*, and there beſieged *Tarichæa*, a City on the Southern Shore of the Lake of *Genefareth*, where *Pitholaus* had ſhut himſelf up with the Remainder of *Ariſtobulus*'s Faction, to which he had lately revolted (b). *Cassius* having taken the Place, carried the *Jews* whom he found therein, to the Number of three thouſand, into Slavery ; only he put to Death *Pitholaus*, by the Advice of *Antipater*. After this having forced *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* to Terms of Peace, he marched to the *Euphrates* to oppoſe the *Parthians*, who were preparing to make another Invaſion into *Syria*.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus had *Syria*, and *M. Tullius Cicero* had *Cilicia* aſſigned to them for their Provinces (c). *Bibulus* was the ſame who had been Conſul with *Julius Cæſar*. He went not ſoon to his Charge, but *Cassius* continued to govern *Syria* for him ; and it was well for the Roman Intereſt that he did ſo ; for he was a more able Man for ſuch a Truſt. *Cicero* went ſoon to his Province with an Army of twelve thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, according to *Plutarch* (d). He brought *Cappadocia* again to ſubmit to *Ariobarzanes*. In the Spring *Pacorus*, the Son of *Orodes*, came into *Syria* with a *Parthian* Army, conducted by *Oſaces* an experienced General, who ſhut up *Cassius* in *Antioch*. *Cicero* having Notice thereof by *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, marched with all his Forces to cover *Cappadocia* (e), and alſo to aſſiſt *Cassius* in Time of Need. At the ſame Time he ſent other Troops to Mount *Amanus*, who fell in with a Party of *Parthian* Horſe and cut them off. The News of theſe Things encouraged *Cassius* and his Men, and ſo frightened the *Parthians*, that they raiſed the Siege of *Antioch*, and ſat down before *Antigonia*, where they had no better Succeſs, being very unſkilful in beſieging Cities, and therefore marched off. *Cassius* in their Retreat drew them into an Ambuſh, and gave them a great Defeat (f); ſlaying great Numbers of their Men, and among others *Oſaces* their General : Whereupon the *Parthian* Army repaſſed the *Euphrates* and returned home. In the mean Time *Bibulus* being come into his Province, *Cassius* delivered to him the Government and returned to *Rome*. *Cicero* hearing of the Departure of the *Parthians*, fell upon the Inhabitants of Mount *Amanus*, who had never ſubmitted to the Governors of thoſe Provinces, and totally ſubdued them, taking their Caſtles (g) and deſtroying their ſtrong Holds. He alſo ſubdued another Sort of barbarous People called *Elenthero-Cilices*, or free *Cilicians*, to the great Satisfaction of their Neighbours, to whom they were a conſtant Plague. Upon this *Cicero* was ſaluted *Imperator* by the Army, and was applauded by all the People of the Province, whom he reduced to a more juſt and quiet Way of Living than had been done before. Then he prepared to return to *Rome*, by the Way viſiting *Rhodes* and *Athens*, where many learned Men were ſond to wait on him. When he came to the City, a Triumph was offered to him : But the Civil Wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* being then ready to break out, he waved this Honour, ſaying, *I would rather, on Condition that Parties were agreed, follow Cæſar's Triumphal Chariot, than ride in one my ſelf.*

This Year died *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt* (h), leaving behind him two Sons and two Daughters. By his Will he ordered the eldeſt of his Sons and the eldeſt of his Daughters to be married together, according to the deteſtable Cuſtom of their Family, and both jointly to govern the *Egyptian* Kingdom : And becauſe they were at this Time young, *Cleopatra* the eldeſt of them being then but ſeventeen, he committed them to the Tuition of the Roman State. This was that *Cleopatra* who was afterwards ſo famous for her Amours with *Mark Antony* the Roman Triumvir.

§ 35. WE left *Julius Cæſar* when he had got a Decree of the Senate in his favour, aſſigning him *Illyricum* and both the *Gauls* for his Province for five Years (i) : I ſhall now offer a ſhort Account of what he did by virtue of this Commiſſion before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. The Provinces allotted to him, beſides *Illyricum*, or that Country now called *Dalmatia*, contained all that Space of Land that is now called *France*, with a great Part of the Low Countries, and ſome of *Germany*, and the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which comprehended a good Part of *Italy* on the other Side of the *Alps*. *Dion Caſſius* (k), when entering on this Affair, owns, *That the whole of Gaul was then very quiet, but Cæſar did not deſign to let them live in Peace, and ſo one War roſe out of another, that he might have occaſion of Victory.* But to go on with our Hiſtory : *Cæſar* in his firſt Campaign, in the Year of *Rome* 696, paſſed the *Alps* with great Expedition, and arrived at *Geneva* in the Spring (l) ; where finding that the *Helvetians*, now called *Switzers*, were marching into *Gaul*, to the Number of three hundred thouſand People of all Sorts,

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(a) *Dion Caſſius*, lib. 40. p. 149. (b) *Joſeph. Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 12. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 6. (c) *Dion Caſſius*, lib. 40. p. 149. *Plutarch.* in *Cicerone*. (d) *Ibidem*. (e) *Cicero ad familiares*, lib. 15. *Epist.* 1. — 4. (f) *Livii epitome*, lib. 108. (g) *Plutarch.* in *Cicerone*. (h) *Ptolemy* *Aſtronomus* in *Canone*. *Cicero ad familiares*, lib. 8. *epist.* 4. *Cæſar de bello civili*, lib. 3. (i) Above, p. 435. (k) Lib. 38. p. 87. (l) *Cæſar de bello Gallico*, lib. 1. p. 10, — 13. edit. in uſum *Delphini*, Lond. 1719.

he pursued, attacked and entirely defeated them, scarce one hundred and ten thousand remaining alive of their whole Number, their Wives and Children desperately fighting among the Carriages till they were all cut to Pieces. He crowned this Victory with a more glorious Action, gathering all who had escaped, and sending them home in Safety to their own Countries. The same Year he fought with *Ariovistus*, a King of the *Germans*, who had invaded the *Sequanians*, dwelling in the Country now called *Franche Comte*, where they expelled the former Inhabitants, and committed horrid Cruelties. *Cæsar* attacked and routed them, closely pursuing them to the River *Rhine*, and killing about eighty thousand (a), *Ariovistus* himself narrowly escaping in a Boat. This being done, he put his Army into Winter-quarters. The next Year, *Cæsar* being informed of a Confederacy against the *Romans* by the *Belgæ*, he marched into *Flanders*, and there fought with them as they were plundering his Allies, and killed so many of them, that Marshes and Rivers were passable to the *Romans* by the prodigious Number of the dead Bodies of their Enemies (b). The same Year he defeated the *Nervians*, a warlike People in those Parts, tho' with considerable Loss and Danger to the *Roman* Army. Then he passed into *Italy*, and wintered in *Savoy*, that he might more easily over-rule the Election of Magistrates and other Things that were a doing at *Rome*; and the *Romans* complimented him so far as to order Sacrifices to the Gods, and solemn Festivals for fifteen Days together, upon account of his Victories (c).

In his third Campaign, in the Year of *Rome* 698, *Cæsar* sent out *Sergius Galba*, one of his Lieutenants, with the twelfth Legion and Part of the Cavalry, against the *Antuates*, *Veragri* and *Seduni*, Nations seated between the River *Rhofne* and the *Alps*, in order to clear a Passage, and secure Traffick in those Parts. *Galba* in a short Time defeated a great Party of them, who were so bold as to attack him in his Camp (d). *Cæsar* finding that the *Veneti*, and several others in that Part of *Gaul* called *Celtica*, had revolted, he turned his Forces against them. But they gave him a great deal of Trouble: For by reason of their naval Strength, they shifted from Place to Place. At last *Cæsar* having fitted out a Fleet, attacked the *Veneti* by Sea, and overthrew them. *Crassus*, one of his Lieutenants, (I take him to be the same *Publius Crassus* whom *Cæsar* sent to assist *Crassus* his Father in the East, and who was there killed (e), fighting against the *Parthians*) in the mean time subdued the greatest Part of *Aquitaine*. Towards the End of the Campaign, *Cæsar* marched against the *Morini* and *Menapii*, a People near *Calais*; but the Season being too far advanced, the Rain and foul Weather secured them in their Forests and Marshes, and the *Romans* went into Winter-quarters.

In the fourth Campaign *Cæsar* was employed against several Nations in *Germany*, who to the Number of about four hundred thousand came over the *Rhine* into *Gaul* (f). After a Treaty with them, finding that their Engagements by solemn Leagues were not to be trusted, he fell upon them, and cut most of them off. Then with incredible Industry he caused erect a wooden Bridge over the *Rhine*, over which he marched with his Army into *Germany*; and having settled his Affairs there, and terrified his Enemies, he returned by the same Way in eighteen Days, breaking down the Bridge behind him. After this *Cæsar* crossed the Seas into *Britain* (g), with some of his Legions, being the first of the *Romans* who ever ventured so far this Way. But he rather shewed the Country to the *Romans*, than subdued it: For after burning a few Towns, and defeating some Parties of the *Britains*, he returned to take up his Winter-quarters in *Gaul*. Thence he passed to *Rome*, where the Senate and People prorogued his Commission over *Illyricum* and both the *Gauls* for five Years longer, tho' *Dion Cassius* (h) says it was only three Years.

In his fifth Campaign, in the Year of *Rome* 700, being fifty one Years before the Birth of Christ, *Cæsar* resolved upon a second Expedition into *Britain*, and made necessary Preparations for it, the Natives having given him a fair Pretence by breaking their Articles with him. Imbarking at *Calais* with five Legions and two thousand Horse, he landed in this Isle without Opposition, and marched against *Cassivelaun* (i) General of the *British* Forces, whom he defeated after a bloody Battle; which so terrified his Enemies, that they durst not appear in a Body before him; whereupon *Cæsar* advancing still further, passed the *Thames*. *Cassivelaun* finding that several Towns had surrendered to the *Romans*, sent to *Cæsar* for a Treaty; who received his Submission, took Hostages, and imposed a certain Tribute upon *Britain*. Then observing the Season to be far advanced, and apprehending the Danger of Tumults in *Gaul*, he returned with his successful Army. *Ambiorix*, with a considerable Number of *Gauls*, had set upon *Cotta* and *Triarius*, two of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, and killed them; and was going forward to attack the Garrison commanded by *Q. Cicero* in *Hainault*. But *Cæsar* having notice thereof, marched with great Expedition, relieved *Cicero*, and put *Ambiorix* to flight.

Cæsar

(a) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare. Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 1. cap. 53, 54. Dion Cassius, lib. 38. p. 89, — 102. (b) Ibidem. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. ab initio. (c) Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 2. Dion Cassius, p. 105. (d) id. ibid. Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 3. (e) Above, p. 440. (f) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare. Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 4. (g) Cæs. ibid. c. 20, — 36. (h) Dion. Cassius, lib. 39. p. 118. (i) Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. p. 127.

Cæsar in his sixth Campaign, understanding that *Gaul* was disposed to a Revolt, strengthened his Army with three *Roman* Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he could procure; and in this and the two following Years reduced all the Revolters, defeated *Vercingetorix* and a great Army of his Enemies, taking their Leader Prisoner. Thus having subdued and settled his whole Province, he prepared to march into *Italy*. *Orosius* (a) here cries out, *How pale might Gaul be with the Loss of so much Blood for her dear Liberty!* 'Tis true, *Cæsar* hath a great Character for his Actions given him by Heathen Authors: For as *Plutarch* (b) tells us, *In less than ten Years War in Gaul, he took by Force above eight hundred Towns, conquered three hundred several Nations, fought with thirty hundred thousand Men, of whom ten hundred thousand were killed, as many taken Prisoners, and he was so entirely beloved of his Soldiers, that in his Service they were invincible.* He was but of a tender Constitution of Body; of a lean, white, soft-skinn'd Complexion, and subject to some Fits of an Epilepsy; yet endured incredible Fatigue. Most Nights he slept in his Chariot, would dote Letters as he rode by the Way, and frequently employed two Secretaries at once. But after all, what were these Wars, save only horrid Depredations and Robberies, committed on the *Gauls* and *Britons*, who were no way molesting the *Romans*? And may we not observe, that *Rome*, who by her great Men and victorious Armies shed the Blood of so many Nations, bereaving them of their Liberties, was soon oppressed herself, losing her own Liberties with much of her Blood?

§ 36. *THIS* leads me to the Civil Wars, which made so great a Revolution in the *Roman* Republic. *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæsar*, and Wife of *Pompey*, being dead, and also her Child, the Friendship between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* began to cool. *Crassus*, while he lived, had kept a Balance; but he being killed by the *Parthians*, as hath been already related, the *Triumvirate* was dissolved. At *Rome* Factions daily increased, and all Offices were purchased with Bribes and Money, or else with Swords and Blows. *Pompey*, since his Triumph for his Victories in *Asia*, had remained during the Space of twelve Years for most part at *Rome*: Notwithstanding he had obtained a large Commission to govern the Provinces of *Spain* and *Africa*, he liked better to manage Affairs in the City, where he affected to be perpetual Dictator. Besides, in the Time of his second Consulship, he got his own Province continued for four Years, with an Allowance of a thousand Talents out of the Treasury (c); and he preferred two Laws, which were agreed to, viz. *To enquire into the Miscarriages of Officers for twenty Years last past*; and, *To forbid all absent Persons to demand any publick Employment*. Both which were designed against *Cæsar*. And it was proposed to send a Successor to him in his Government (d): Which he refused to comply with, unless *Pompey* should also demit his Charge. *Cæsar* had now raised himself to an extraordinary Height, both as to Riches and Reputation: His unbounded Generosity and noble Actions had entirely engaged the Affection of his Soldiers almost to Adoration; a great many of the Senators also stood obliged to him for Money lent almost without Interest: Which occasioned the Observation, *That Cæsar had conquered Gaul with the Roman Steel, and the Romans with the Gallic Gold*. His Army was a Receptacle to Criminals and insolvent Debtors, which made him many Friends. *Cæsar* then finding that his Government was ready to be taken from him, and that the Consulship, which he had sued for, was denied him, he past the *Rubicon*, which separates the *Cisalpine Gaul* from the rest of *Italy*, and took *Ariminum* with his Army, resolving to march to the City: For now the Dye was cast; having passed out of his Province without Orders from the Senate, he must go forward (e). While he was on his March (f), *Pompey* with all his Party left *Rome*, and hastened to *Brundisium*; and on the 3d of *January*, in the forty ninth Year before the Birth of *Christ*, sailed towards *Epirus*; where he resolved to make a stand: For which *Cæsar* allowed him a whole Year's Time. *Pompey* being gone, *Cæsar* having reduced all *Italy* in sixty Days Time, came to *Rome*. There he comforted the People with Promises of doing all things for the Good of the Commonwealth (g). He released out of Prison *Aristobulus* King of *Judea*, and sent him with two Legions into his own Country, to promote his Interest there (h), and in the neighbouring Parts of *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*. But those of *Pompey's* Party found Means to give him Poison by the Way, whereof he died. His Body was preserved with Honey, and afterwards buried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers by Order of *Mark Antony*. And whereas *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus* had, in expectation of his Father's Return, raised Forces to join him when he should arrive, *Pompey* sent Orders to *Scipio* (i) (who was President of *Syria* after *Bibulus*) to put him to Death; who therefore caused him to be taken, and brought to *Antioch*, where in a formal Trial he was condemned; and beheaded.

Cæsar having now the Command at *Rome*, desired Money out of the publick Treasury in the Temple of *Saturn*; which *Metellus* the Tribune refused, saying it was forbidden by Law. To which the other replied, *In the Time of War, Laws must be silent*. But when the Tribune further molested him, *Cæsar* laid hold on his Sword, saying, *It is easier for me to kill thee*

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(a) Lib. 6. cap. 12. (b) In Jul. Cæsare. (c) Plutarch. in Pompeio. (d) Livii Epitome, lib. 109. (e) Plutarch. in Cæsare. (f) Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 739 & seqq. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 41. p. 180. (h) Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 13. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 7. (i) Cicero ad Atticum lib. 9. Epist. 1.

thee than to say it (a). Whereupon the Tribune shrunk away with Fear; and the General causing break open the Locks, took what Money he saw needful: And after that, had Access to the Treasury when ever he pleased. The Provinces of *Spain* being in *Pompey's* Hands, with several Troops there attached to his Interest, *Cæsar* not thinking it proper to leave such a Country behind him in the Power of his Enemy, who might have Influence to make *Gaul* revolt, marched through *France* thither. In his Way he invested *Marseilles*; but did not reduce it till his Return (b). Having subdued *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*, *Pompey's* Lieutenants in *Spain*, and settled the whole Country in his own Interest, he returned again to *Rome* about the Beginning of Winter. On his Arrival thither he was declared Dictator: But after eleven Days laying down that Office, he and *Servilius Isauricus* were declared Consuls (c) for the following Year. And immediately after that, he hastened to *Brundisium*, where he had prepared a Fleet, in which he had embarked seven of his Legions; and safely passing the *Adriatick*, landed them near the Promontory *Ceraunium*. He sent back *Calenus* one of his Lieutenants with the Fleet to bring over the rest; but several Months passed before *Mark Antony*, who had the Command of them, found Opportunity of a safe Passage, by reason of *Pompey's* Ships, which had beset all these Coasts (d) to intercept them. By this Time *Pompey* had got together a considerable Army out of *Greece*, *Asia*, and all the eastern Countries to support his Interest: But it being the Winter Season, both Parties lay still in their Quarters.

When the Spring approached, both Armies took the Field, and encamped near *Dyrrachium*, now called *Durazzo*. In several Skirmishes *Cæsar* had the better; but in one he sustained the Loss of two thousand Men (e), so as himself acknowledged he had then been undone, if his Adversary had improved the Advantage. Revolving in his Mind the bad State of his Affairs, he saw that he had committed a great Error, by encamping against *Pompey* near the Sea, where his Enemies had a strong Fleet to furnish their Army with all Necessaries, which he wanted; and therefore next Day he decamped, and marched towards *Thessaly*, where he had Plenty of all things. There he waited to give *Pompey* Battle, or to intercept *Scipio*; whose Daughter being now married to *Pompey*, and he being President of *Syria* (as hath been told) oppressed that Country (f), to raise Money in Order to equip a Fleet, and raise Forces, with which he was going to assist his Son in Law. But *Cæsar* did not meet with *Scipio* till the Decisive Action at *Pharsalia*. *Pompey* and *Scipio* having joined, they made up an Army of forty five thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse: But they were most of them raw unexperienced Men, got together out of the effeminate Nations of *Asia*, and some Roman Senators and other Gentlemen, who knew very little of War. *Cæsar* on the other Hand had an Army of twenty two thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, for most Part veteran Soldiers, who had been trained the Space of ten Years with War and Victory in *Gaul*. In *Pompey's* Army there were many young Roman Knights, who observing *Cæsar* retire to *Thessaly*, made an Outcry against their General as a Coward, who would not fight his Adversary when flying from him. *Pompey* therefore marched, and both Armies engaged in the famous Battle of *Pharsalia*. *Cæsar's* left Wing was commanded by *Mark Antony*, his right Wing by himself, and his Centre by *Domitius Calvinus*. *Pompey* placed himself on the right Wing, *Domitius Ænobarbus* commanded the left, and *Scipio* his Father in Law the Centre. When the Action began to be warm, the young Roman Knights could not abide the Darts of their Enemies falling on their Faces, but soon fled and disordered the whole Battle. *Pompey* himself went off to his Tent; where finding his Camp lost as well as his Army, he put off his Robes and fled in disguise. There were fifteen thousand on *Pompey's* Side slain, and twenty four thousand made Prisoners of War, according to *Cæsar's* Account in his *Commentaries* (g): But *Plutarch* (h) and *Appian* (i) tell only of six thousand slain. *Cæsar*, after the Victory, shewed Abundance of Discretion; for he put most of the Soldiers taken into his own Legions. He pardoned Men of Note, of whom *Brutus* was one, who afterwards killed his generous (k) Conqueror; and he burnt all the Letters and the like Papers taken from the Prisoners; by which, if he had pleased, he might have discovered (l) the whole Combination at *Rome* against himself.

Pompey fled very privately to the *Thessalian* Shore, where he took a little Boat; and rowing along the Coast, found a large Ship commanded by *Peticius* a Roman; who knowing *Pompey*, received him, and those who were with him into his Vessel. There he sent for *Cornelia* his Wife, and *Sextus* his younger Son, who coming to him, bewailed their hard Fortune. Hearing that *Cato* had gathered together a part of his broken Army, and put them aboard of his Fleet, which was still safe, he observed several Errors which he had committed in leaving his advantageous Camp within Sight of his Fleet, and following *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*. But now there was no Remedy. He resolved once to land in *Syria* (m), and seize that Province, hop-
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(a) Plutarch. in *Cæsar*. Appian. de bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. p. 745. (b) *Cæsar* de bello civili, lib. 1. & 2. (c) Plutarchus in *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* de bello civili, lib. 3. ab initio. Appianus, p. 751. (d) Plutarchus in *Cæsar* & in *Antony*. Dion Cassius 41. p. 196. (e) Plutarchus in *Pompeio*, & in *Cæsar*. Appian. p. 765. (f) *Cæsar* de bello civili, lib. 3. p. 305. (g) *Cæsar* de bello civili, p. m. 337. (h) Plutarch. in *Cæsar*, & in *Pompeio*. (i) Appian. p. 785. (k) Plutarch. in *Cæsar*. (l) Dion Cassius, lib. 41. in fine. (m) *Cæsar* de bello civili, lib. 3.

ing there for better Support, and particularly for the Friendship of *Orodes* King of *Parthia*. But he hearing of *Pompey's* Misfortune, clapped up his Ambassador; neither he nor the *Syrians* having any Inclination to engage in a lost Cause. *Pompey* therefore steered his Course towards *Egypt*; where having been a Friend to *Ptolemy Auletes*, Father to the King who now reigned (for by *Pompey's* Advice, *Gabinus* had restored that Prince to his Throne) he therefore expected Kindness from his Son. The King of *Egypt* was then at War against *Cleopatra* his own Wife and Sister, near *Pelusium*. When *Pompey* sent Messengers to desire his Protection, *Theodotus* of *Chio* advised that they should suffer *Pompey* to come ashore, but immediately kill him: For (said he) *this will make Cæsar your Friend, and prevent the other from doing you Hurt. Dead Men cannot bite.* This being resolved upon, *Achillas* with *Septimius* a Roman Officer, then in the Service of *Egypt*, and a few more were sent to see it executed; who so soon as *Pompey* came to the Shore, fell upon him, slew him with their Swords, and cut off his Head. His Wife, with the People in *Peticius's* Ship, beholding this sad Event, gave a fearful Cry: But seeing themselves in Danger, hoised Sail and went off. *Pompey's* dead Body being cast upon the Sand, had no other Funeral, than what *Philip* an enfranchised Bondman of his, now a poor old Roman, who came there by Accident, could give, by making a Funeral Pile of the broken Pieces of an old (a) Boat. Thus ended the Life of this great Man, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age. No Person had ever greater Prosperity, till he prophaned the Temple of God at *Jerusalem*; after that his Fortune declined, till he was brought to this pitiful End. *Achillas* and *Pothinus*, the Executioners of this Murder, were afterwards put to Death by *Cæsar*: And *Theodotus* the Rhetorician who advised it, escaping *Cæsar's* Hands, wandered up and down *Egypt*, till *Marcus Brutus* met him in *Asia*, and there, after putting him to many Torments killed him. Many of *Pompey's* Ships were taken, and all who were found in them were cruelly put to Death; among whom was *Lucius Lentulus* (b), who had been Consul the former Year, and who was the chief Author of the War, by obstinate rejecting all the Proposals made by *Cæsar* for Peace.

§ 37. *CÆSAR* pursuing *Pompey*, came to *Alexandria*. Just as the News arrived of his Death, he was presented with the Head and Ring of the Deceast. He received the Ring, but would not look on the Head; yea, pretending to be sorry for his Death, ordered it to be buried with honourable Solemnities. On his coming to *Alexandria*, *Cæsar* had no more with him (c) than eight hundred Horse, and three thousand two hundred Foot, having left the rest of his Army behind him in the Lesser *Asia*, and in *Greece*. These being scarce sufficient to defend him from the Mutinies of that turbulent City, he narrowly escaped perishing in them. Coming thither in the Beginning of *July*, at which Season the *Etesian* or Trade Winds blow in upon the Shore, he was under a Necessity to tarry that Season. In his vacant Time he employed himself in calling in a Debt owing him by *Ptolemy Auletes*, and in determining the Controversy between the present King and *Cleopatra* (d) his Sister. We have before observed, that *Auletes* in *Cæsar's* first Consulship gave him six thousand Talents (e), and engaged to pay him four thousand more, for being confirmed in his Kingdom, and enrolled among the Friends and Allies of the Roman State. *Cæsar* now having Occasion for the Money, exacted it with Rigour; which *Pothinus* prime Minister in *Egypt* made appear to be greater than it was, causing the King and his Court eat in earthen and wooden Dishes, pretending that all the Gold and Silver were given to pay the Debt owing to *Cæsar*, to irritate the People (f) against him: But that which most exasperated them, was, *Cæsar's* giving Orders to *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to dismiss their Armies, and bring their Cause to be judged before him, the Roman State being left Guardians to them (g) when Children. *Cleopatra*, when her Cause came to be heard, understanding that *Cæsar* was given to Amours, resolved to catch him that Way; for she prayed that she might be allowed to plead her own Cause. Which being granted, she caused her self to be trussed up with her Bedding on the Back of *Apollodorus* one of her Servants (h). The Servant came straight to *Cæsar's* Lodging, laid down and untied his Burden at his Feet, and up started the fair Lady. *Cæsar* being wonderfully pleased and smitten with her Beauty, enjoyed her that same Night, and had a Son by her, afterwards called *Cæsarion*. Next Morning he sent for *Ptolemy*, and desired him to receive his Sister upon her own Terms. *Ptolemy* finding that *Cæsar*, instead of being her Judge, was become her Advocate, and that she was at that very Time in his Lodging, ran to the Streets, and complained with Tears and Clamours that he was betrayed, so as to raise the whole City in an Uproar. *Cæsar* did every Thing he could to appease the People; and next Day he called a publick Assembly, where *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* being present, he caused their Father's Will to be read; wherein it was ordained, *That his eldest Son and eldest Daughter should be joined in Marriage, and should reign together under the Guardianship of the Roman People.* By virtue of this Guardianship, vested in him as Dictator, (which Office the Roman Senate conferred on him after his

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Victory

(a) Plutarch. in Pompeio, & in Bruto. (b) *Cæsar de bello civili*, lib. 3. (c) Ibid. (d) Ibid. & Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 213. (e) Above, p. 435. (f) Plutarch. in *Cæsare*. (g) Above, p. 441. (h) Plutarch. in *Cæsare*.

Victory (a) at *Pharfalia*) he decreed, *That Ptolemy the present King, and Cleopatra being the eldest Daughter should reign in Egypt, and that Ptolemy the younger Son and Arsinoe the other Daughter should reign in Cyprus.* This pleased the whole Assembly, except *Pothinus*, who being afraid of *Cleopatra's* Return to the Government, to prevent the Execution of the Decree, sowed new Discontents among the People, and wrote to *Achillas* to bring his Army from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, and drive *Cæsar* thence.

Achillas having twenty thousand Men with him (b), despised the small Number of *Cæsar's* Troops; but *Cæsar* so well disposed the small Force he had, in the Streets and Avenues of the City, that he sustained the Assault. This Design then failing, they carried the War into the Port, in order to seize the Fleet and shut up *Cæsar*, so as he might have no Succours nor Provisions sent to him by Sea. To prevent this, *Cæsar* ordered the Fleet to be set on Fire, and at the same Time seized the Tower of *Pharus*, and placed a Garrison in it. Some of the Ships communicated the Flames to the adjoining Houses, which spreading in that Quarter of the City called *Bruchium*, consumed the noble Library there laid up (c). *Cæsar* having a dangerous War thus begun, sent for Succours to all adjacent Parts (d). *Domitius Calvinus*, his Lieutenant in the proper *Asia*, sent him two Legions: One by Sea arrived in Time, but the other by Land came not to *Egypt*, because the War was over before they could reach it. *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* did him signal Services; for being sent by him into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, he brought him these Forces which extricated him out of all his Difficulties. In this he was signally assisted by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*; who not only joined him with three thousand Jews (e), but prevailed also with *Hyrcaus* and his Neighbours in *Arabia*, *Cælesyria* and *Phœnicia* to send their Aid. *Cæsar* in the mean Time fortified that Quarter of the City where he lay, and finding *Pothinus* by his Letters to *Achillas* stirred him up to carry on the War, he caused *Pothinus* to be put to Death (f). *Ganymede*, another Eunuch of the Palace, being in the same Interest, and fearing the same Punishment, escaped, carrying *Arsinoe* the King's Sister with him, and went to the Army, where he formed an Accusation against *Achillas*, got him put to Death, and succeeded him in the Chief Command of the Army, and prime Administration of Affairs (g). He was a crafty Person, finding out many subtle Devices for distressing *Cæsar*. By one of these he spoiled all the fresh Water in his Quarters, by letting in Salt Water from the Sea into the Wells: But *Cæsar* ordered new Wells to be digged, and by going deep enough, he found Springs of fresh Water sufficient to answer all his Occasions.

Cæsar hearing of the Arrival of his Fleet from *Rhodes* and other Places, with the Legion that *Calvinus* sent him upon the Coast of *Libya*, he went with his Fleet, to bring them to *Alexandria*. *Ganymede* getting Intelligence hereof, sent the *Egyptian* Fleet to intercept his Return. This produced a Fight at Sea, wherein *Cæsar* got the Victory, and brought his Legion safe to *Alexandria*. *Ganymede* having recruited his Fleet from several Ports of *Nile*, entered the Port of *Alexandria*. This produced another Fight, in which *Cæsar* had again the Victory: But in Pursuit thereof, landing in the Island *Pharus*, and attempting to take the Town, and the Mole leading to it, called *Heptastadium*, he was beat off with the Loss of above eight hundred of his Men, and was in Danger of being lost himself: For the Ship in which he was, being too much crowded was sinking; whereupon *Cæsar* threw himself into the Sea (h) and got off by swimming to the next Ship; and while he thus escaped, he carried some valuable Papers which he had then with him in one Hand, and swam with the other, and so saved himself and them.

After this, *Cæsar* was persuaded to send King *Ptolemy* to the *Egyptian* Army, on a Promise made him, that when they should have their King, they would make Peace; but instead of that they pressed on the War with greater Vigour, and by their Fleet endeavoured to intercept *Cæsar's* Provision by Sea. This produced another Sea Fight near *Canopus*, in which *Cæsar* had again the Victory. By this Time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* with *Antipater*, were near at Hand with their Land Army. They stormed and took the City *Pelusium*, where *Antipater* first mounted the Breach of the Walls (i), making Way to those who followed him to take the Place. Thence passing towards *Alexandria*, as they were to go through the Province of *Onion*, they found the Avenues seized by the Jews who inhabited that Part of *Egypt*, and obstructed their Proceeding further; but *Antipater* brought them over to *Cæsar's* Party. The People of *Memphis* joined the same Interest, and *Mithridates* was plentifully supplied with Necessaries from both. On his coming to the *Delta*, (where two Branches of the River *Nile* form an Island like the Greek Capital Letter *Delta*, whence the Place hath that Designation) *Ptolemy* sent an Army to oppose them. This produced a Battle, wherein the *Egyptians* were routed, *Mithridates* and *Antipater* driving them out of the Field with great Slaughter; and having

(a) Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 219. (b) *Cæsar de bello Civili*, lib. 3. (c) Plutarch. in *Cæsare*. See above p. 320. 321. (d) Hirtius, de bello Alexandrino, ab initio. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 14, 15. (f) *Cæsar de bello civili*, lib. 3. in fine. Dion Cassius, lib. 42, p. 226, 227. (g) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. (h) Plutarch. in *Cæsare*, Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Suetonius in *Jul. Cæsare*, cap. 64. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 792. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 15. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, cap. 14.

having taken their Camp, forced those that escaped to repass the Nile. Whereupon *Ptolemy* ^{Ant. C.} marched himself with his whole Army to oppress the Pursuers, and *Cæsar* did the same for ^{Hyrcauus} their Support, who brought the Matter to a decisive Action (a); in which *Cæsar* having ob- ^{II. 17.} tained an absolute Victory, *Ptolemy* endeavouring to escape in a Boat, sunk and was drowned in the Nile. Then *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the Conqueror. *Cæsar* settled the Kingdom under *Cleopatra* and the surviving *Ptolemy* her younger Brother, which was in Effect to put the whole into her Hands, this Brother being then only eleven Years old. *Cæsar*'s Amours with this Lady had plunged him into this War; and he made it turn as far as he could unto her Advantage. For, as *Dion Cassius* observes (b), he might have subjected all *Egypt* even then to the Roman Empire if he had pleased. But his Love to this Woman having made him stay there longer than his Affairs could well admit; (for he had ended his Business there in *January*, and yet lingered in the Country till the End of *April* thereafter, continuing there nine Months in all (c), viz. from *July* to the End of the following *April*;) he was willing that *Cleopatra* should reap the Benefit of his Purchase. Having taken *Arfinoe* Prisoner, he carried her to *Rome*, to be there led in Bonds at his Triumph: But when that Show was over he dismissed her. Only that she might not create new Troubles in *Egypt*, she was confined to the proper *Asia* (d), where *Antony* found her after the Battle of *Philippi*, and caused her to be put to Death in the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* at the Desire of her own Sister *Cleopatra*. Before *Cæsar* departed from *Alexandria*, in Acknowledgment of the Assistance he had from the Jews, he confirmed all their Privileges in that City, and ordered a Pillar to be there erected whereon these Privileges were engraven, and his Decree for confirming (e) the same.

§ 38. *PHARNACES*, King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, Son of *Mithridates* late King of *Pontus*, finding the Romans engaged in the Civil Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, took the Advantage to endeavour to recover his Father's Dominions in *Asia*; and in order thereto passed the *Euxine* Sea, took Possession of *Colchis*, of the lesser *Armenia*, and of several Places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. *Cæsar* after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, sent *Domitius Calvinus* with Part of his Army against him. But this Army being weakened by Supplies *Domitius* had sent to *Cæsar* in *Egypt*, was at last overcome by *Pharnaces* (f), who being puffed up with this Success, carried with great Pride and Cruelty to all the Roman Interest in *Asia*.

This obliged *Cæsar*, leaving *Egypt*, where he ordered a Part of his Forces to stay and support *Cleopatra*, to march with the rest into *Syria*. While he was in that Country, *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* late King of the Jews, came to him much lamenting his Father and Brother's Death (g), the one of which had been poisoned, and the other beheaded for adhering to *Cæsar*'s (h) Cause, and prayed him to have Compassion on him, and restore him to his Father's Principality; and at the same Time made heavy Complaints of the Wrongs he had suffered by *Antipater* and *Hyrcauus*. But *Antipater* being then attending on *Cæsar*, defended his own and *Hyrcauus*'s Cause so well, that *Cæsar* rejecting the Accusation of *Antigonus* as a turbulent Fellow, decreed that *Hyrcauus* should hold the Office of High Priest at *Jerusalem*, with the Principality of *Judea* for himself and his Family after him in Perpetuity, and appointed *Antipater* to be Procurator of *Judea* under him, and ordered this Decree to be engraven (i) on Tables of Brass, and to be hung up in the Capitol at *Rome*, and in the Temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Ascalon* in *Phœnicia*. All this was accomplished by *Antipater*, who was a Person of great Wisdom and Foresight, and of such Interest in *Judea* and the neighbouring Provinces, that he made himself necessary to all the Roman Governors; and he was in a special Manner useful to *Cæsar* in the *Alexandrian* War. By this Time he had a strong Family: For by his Wife *Cyprus* he had four Sons, Men of Reputation for Valour and Wisdom. The eldest of them was named (k) *Phasaëlus*, the second *Herod*, the third *Joseph*, and the youngest *Pheroras*, and a Daughter called *Salome*.

Julius Cæsar, after a short Stay in *Syria*, made *Sextus Cæsar* his Kinsman President of that Province (l), and then hastened northward against *Pharnaces*. On his Arrival he gave his Enemy no Respite; for he immediately attacked him, and gained an absolute Victory. Hence he wrote to his Friend, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I saw, I overcame; which Words he caused be engraven, and carried before him afterwards in his Triumph (m). *Pharnaces* fled to *Sinope* with a thousand Horsemen (n), and embarking his Men, sailed to the *Bosphorus*: But *Asander* his Lieutenant having got his Master into his Power (o), killed him and usurped his Crown. *Cæsar*, to reward *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* for the Service he had done him in *Egypt*, gave him the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, and made him one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Galatia* (p). The first was but an empty Title, and seeking to possess it he was cut off by *Asander*.

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Antipater

(a) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, p. m. 360. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 231. (b) Lib. 42. p. 231, 232. (c) Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 792. (d) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. (e) Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 17. (f) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, p. m. 366. Dion Cassius, ubi supra. (g) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15. (h) See above p. 443. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15, 16, 17. Lib. 20. cap. 8. De bello, lib. 1. cap. 7. 8. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. (l) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 390. Plutarch. in Cæsare. (m) Suetonius in Cæsare, cap. 37. Appian. p. 793. (n) Appian in Mithridaticis. (o) Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 233. (p) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, in fine.

Antipater having waited on *Cæsar* thro' all *Syria*, returned again into *Judea*. And soon after going thro' that Country, settled the Civil Government under *Hyrcaus* in every Part according to *Cæsar's* Decree, in the same Manner as it had been done before *Gabinus's* Alteration (a) and appointed *Phasaëlus* his eldest Son to be Governor of *Jerusalem* (b), and *Herod* his second Son to be Governor of *Galilee*. *Herod* being of a very active Genius; and then twenty five Years old, was no sooner in his Government, but to signalize himself he fell upon a Knot of Thieves who infested *Galilee* and the neighbouring Part of *Cœlesyria*, and having taken *Hezekiah* their Leader, with several of his Associates, he put them all to Death, whereby he made his Name known to *Sextus Cæsar*, then President of the Province. But these who envied the Prosperity and Power of *Antipater* and his Family, accused *Herod* to *Hyrcaus* for putting these Men to Death without a legal Trial, and prevailed so far that *Herod* was cited to answer before the Sanhedrim; where he made his Appearance clothed in Purple and surrounded with his Guards: Which so over-awed the Sanhedrim, that they all sat silent, excepting *Sameas*, who rose up and accused him for appearing in a Habit not proper for a Criminal, and of bringing such armed Force with him into the Court, as if he intended to make the Administration of Justice more dangerous to the Judges than to the Malefactor: Upbraiding also *Hyrcaus* with Cowardice in permitting this, he prophetically told, *That though they spared Herod for this Enormity, Time would be that he should not spare them; but that the just Judgment of God by his Hands should be executed upon them.* And so it happened: For when *Herod* came to be King of *Judea*, he put every one of them to Death (excepting this *Sameas* (and *Pollio* his Master) and even *Hyrcaus* himself, as shall be afterwards related. However *Hyrcaus* at that Time did all he could to have *Herod* acquitted, being influenced by his Love to the young Man, and by a menacing Letter from *Sextus Cæsar* in his Favours. But the major part of the Court being inclined to condemn him, he adjourned their Meeting, and advised *Herod* to be gone, who accordingly in the Night-Time withdrawing from *Jerusalem*, he went to *Damascus*, and there putting himself under the Protection of *Sextus Cæsar* defied the Sanhedrim. Yea *Herod* so far ingratiated himself with this Roman Governor, that for a Sum of Money he gave him, he obtained of him the Government of *Cœlesyria*. Whereupon he got together an Army, and marched with it into *Judea*, intending to be revenged on *Hyrcaus* and the Sanhedrim: But *Antipater* his Father, and *Phasaël* his Brother interposing, made him at that Time desist from the Attempt.

Ant. C.
46.
Hyrca. II.
18.

§ 39. THE Remains of *Pompey's* Faction had retired to *Afric*. The chief of them were, *Q. Metellus Scipio*, who was *Pompey's* Father-in-law, *Petreius*, *Afranius*, *Torquatus*, *T. Labienus*, *Faustus Sylla* and *M. Cato* (c). In the Time wherein *Cæsar* was employed in the Wars at *Alexandria* and in *Pontus*, and while he was settling his Affairs in *Italy*, they had gathered Strength; and with the Assistance of *Juba* King of *Mauritania* had made themselves Masters of the whole Province, and had sent *Cn. Pompeius* into *Spain*, as a proper Person to bring that Country (that once had a great Affection to his deceased Father) to the same Interest, designing also to enlarge themselves further. *Cæsar*, to stop their Progress, embarked from *Italy* in the middle of Winter, (it being his usual Custom to surprise his Enemies by his Dispatch;) and about the Beginning of *January* in this Year he landed and rendezvoused his Forces in *Afric*. Encamping near the Shore, he was straitned for Forage and Provisions, and met with considerable Losses in several Skirmishes (d). But in the Beginning of *February* he came upon his Enemies unawares, and in one Day took three Camps, and killed fifty thousand of his Adversaries, with the Loss only of fifty of his own Men (e). *Cato* had very resolutely adhered to the Cause of *Pompey* hitherto. He was a Man very stedfast to his own Opinion, never changing with the Turns of Fortune (f): And therefore, rather than implore the Conqueror's Mercy, or fall into his Hands, he chused to kill himself at *Utica* with his own Sword, amidst philosophical Thoughts, and reading of *Plato's Phædon*, concerning the Soul. The Circumstances of his Death are particularly related by *Plutarch* (g), *Appian* (h) and *Dion Cassius* (i); even with too much Approbation. *Cæsar* having settled the Province, returned to *Rome*, carrying with him *Juba* the Son of King *Juba*, a Youth, whom he caused to be led in Triumph in stead of his Father. However, by this Captivity he had the Advantage of a Roman Education (k), whereby he became a learned Man and a great Historian. His Works now are all lost. The most eminent of them were, his Roman History, writ in *Greek*, and his Book of the Affairs of *Assyria*, collected mostly from the Writings of *Berosus* (l). Before *Cæsar* left *Africa*, he gave Orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage* (m); and the same Year *Corinth* was rebuilt by the like Order: So as these once famous Cities were destroyed and rebuilt in the same Year, just a hundred Years after their Ruin (n). Two Years after this (o) Roman Co-

(a) Above p. 437. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 16, 17. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 8. (c) Hirtius, de bello Africano. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. p. 238, — 240. & lib. 43. p. 240, — 246. (d) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare. (e) Ibid. (f) Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni, Lucan. lib. 1. v. 128. (g) In Catone Uticensi. (h) p. 799, 800. (i) Lib. 43. p. 249. (k) Plutarch. in Cæsare. (l) Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. (m) Appian. de bellis Punicis, in fine. (n) Above, p. 366. (o) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 833. Pausanias in Eliacis & in Corinthiacis, p. 11.

Colonies were sent into each of them; and from the new Colony at *Corinth* were descended those *Corinthians* to whom *Paul* wrote his Epistles.

At this Time *Cæcilius Bassus* created Disorders in *Syria*. He had fought on the Side of *Pompey* at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and after that Overthrow fled to *Tyre*, where he engaged several Roman Soldiers. *Sextus Cæsar* calling him to an Account for these Practices, he so persuaded him of his Innocency, that he was dismissed. Afterwards he seized *Tyre*, and marched out against *Sextus Cæsar*; and was vanquished by him; but seeing himself unable to accomplish his Designs by Force, he tried to do it by Treachery: For *Sextus* being a Man addicted to Pleasures, when he went abroad upon such Views, he made his Army to attend him. This disgusted many: Which *Bassus* understanding, employed Soldiers to kill him; which they did (a), and then joined *Bassus*. But *Antistius Varus* put himself at the Head of another Party, and with Assistance of the Sons of *Antipater* drove *Bassus* out of the Field, and shut him up in *Apamea*; where he defended himself so well, that they were not able to take the Place.

After *Cæsar*'s Return from the *African* Expedition, by the Help of several Mathematicians he reformed the Roman Kalendar (b), appointing the *Julian* Year in all Time coming to consist of 365 Days, 6 Hours, which 6 Hours every fourth Year make the *bissextile* or Leap Year, by adding one Day to *February*. The Year was never well fixed and regulated in the Heathen World before this Time; for the lunar Year, which was in use, falling short of the solar by the Space of eleven Days, made the Calculation very uncertain. To rectify this belonged to *Cæsar* as High-priest of *Rome*, which Office he enjoyed before he was either Dictator or Consul. The Benefit of this Rectification the World hath enjoyed ever since. Pope *Gregory*, in the Year of our Lord 1582, observing by the Help of his Mathematicians, that there was yet a Defect in this Calculation, by reason that the true solar Year consists of 365 Days, 5 Hours, 49 Minutes, that is 11 Minutes less than the *Julian* Year, (which 11 Minutes in the Space of 130 Years make up one Day, which from the Time of the Council of *Nice*, anno 325, to *Gregory XIII.* made 10 Days) decreed the New Stile to be observed 10 Days before the Old; and, to keep the Year right in Time coming, that there should be the Difference of 3 Days more each 400 Years, i. e. of one Day for every Century, except the fourth. But this hath not met with general Approbation, and hence the Old Stile is retained in *Britain*.

In the Kalends of *January*, *Cæsar* entred his fourth Consulship, and thence began the first *Julian* Year (c). Understanding that the Sons of *Pompey* had assembled a great Army in *Spain*, being the last Remains of the Party, he went thither with Forces to suppress them, and brought the Matter to a decisive Battle near *Munda*; where *Cæsar* being in great Danger, cried out to his Troops, 'Tis a Shame to be overcome by these young Men, and at last obtained with difficulty a great Victory, having killed thirty thousand of his Enemies in the Field, with the Loss only of a thousand Men on his own Side. This was the last Battle in all the Civil Wars (d), and the last which *Cæsar* ever fought. When he came to his Tent, he told his Friends, *That he had often fought for Victory, but this Day for his Life*. Having quieted the Province, he returned to *Rome*; and looking on the Civil War as now fully concluded, he issued out an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion to all who had acted against him in the late Wars (e). Whereupon he was made perpetual Dictator, a Temple was built to *Clemency* in memory of his extensive Pardon, and many other Honours and Powers were granted to him, whereby the whole Authority of the Roman State was put into his Hands; and so he was made, tho' not in Name, yet truly and in effect the sovereign Prince of their whole Empire.

On the first Day of the next Year *Cæsar* entred on his fifth and last Consulship, *Mark Antony* being his Colleague (f). He then received a Request from *Hyrcaus*, to permit him to repair the Walls of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had caused to be pulled down. This he readily granted, in consideration of the Services which the Petitioner had done him both in *Egypt* and *Syria*, and a Decree was passed at *Rome* for that purpose; which being carried to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* set about the Work, and the City was again fortified as in former Times. *Josephus* (g) tells us, that this was done in *Cæsar*'s fifth Consulship. About the same time it was decreed, *That in honour of his Name, the fifth Month, hitherto called Quintilis, should be called Julius* (h), which is our *English July*.

Cæsar intending a War against the *Parthians* for revenging the Death of *Crassus*, and having several other great Things in his View mentioned by *Plutarch* (i), resigned his Consulship, substituting in his stead *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young Man of twenty five Years of Age. But when all things were got ready for this Expedition, on the fatal Ides of *March*, or the fifteenth Day of that Month, he was treacherously murdered by twenty three Wounds (k)

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(a) Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. m. 390, 391. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. Epitome Livii, lib. 114. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. (b) Plutarch. in Cæsare. Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. 40. Censorinus, de die natali, cap. 22. Macrobius Saturnalia, lib. 1. cap. 14, 15. (c) Plutarch. in Cæsare. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 803, — 806. (d) Ultima funesta concurrunt praelia Munda, Lucani Pharsal. lib. 1. v. 40. (e) Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 43. p. 267. Appian. p. 806, 807. (f) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 2. Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 14. epist. 9. (g) Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. (h) Macrobius Saturnalia, lib. 1. cap. 12. (i) In Jul. Cæsare. (k) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare, in Bruto, in Cicerone & Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 44. p. 282. Livii Epitome, lib. 116. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. p. 810, — 814.

in his Body, given him by the Senators in the Senate-house, in the fifty sixth Year of his Age. This was a most villanous Act, and the more, because the principal Authors and Actors thereof were his supposed Friends, as *Marcus Brutus*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Cassius*, *Trebonius* and others, whom he had pardoned, and in the highest Manner obliged: And it is remarkable, that every Man of them was cut off in a short Time in a violent Manner, either by their own or other Mens Hands, and some of them by the same Swords with which they had perpetrated the Murder. *Cæsar* was a very proper Person to have extended the *Roman* Empire over *Parthia* and the *Indies*, which he seems to have designed; and if this had succeeded, Christianity would have had easier Access to those Parts of the World. He was a Man of polite Literature, and great Abilities in all Arts of War and Civil Government, and of great Diligence and Application in the Pursuit of both. After his Wars he triumphed five Times (a): First, for his Victories in *Gaul*; Secondly, for those in *Egypt* and *Alexandria*; Thirdly, for those in *Pontus*, over *Pharnaces*; Fourthly, for those in *Africa*, over *Juba* and others; and Fifthly, for his Victory in *Spain*, over the Sons of *Pompey*: The last of which did more offend the *Romans* than any of the former, because it was not over Strangers, but for overthrowing the Sons of the best Quality in *Rome*. To gain the Favour of the People, he feasted at one Time the *Roman* Citizens at two and twenty thousand Tables, and gave them the Diversion of seeing many Sword-players, mock Battles at Sea (b), with other Games and Amusements; yea also of some humane Sacrifices, as *Dion Cassius* (c) observes. He often ventured on very hazardous Undertakings without any Prospect of Success, but in a rash Confidence of that which he called his good Fortune; which did not fail him: For he fought fifty Battles with great Success, and in these he is said to have slain eleven hundred and ninety two thousand Men (d); which discovers him to have been a terrible Scourge in the Hand of God for the Punishment of that wicked Generation.

§ 40. THE Murder of *Cæsar* was followed with great Confusions all over the *Roman* Empire. The Conspirators for fear retired to the Capitol, where they were guarded by a Number of Gladiators. The Senate being assembled, after great Debates agreed to an Act of Oblivion for all that was past, and to ratify *Cæsar*'s Ordinances, because they were for the Good of the Commonwealth. *Mark Antony* being then Consul, of whom we have before (e) heard, he headed the *Cæsarean* Party; and by an Oration made at *Cæsar*'s Funeral (f), so far excited the People against the Murderers, that they were all forced to leave *Rome*; where *Antony* governed till *Octavius* arrived. *Cæsar*'s Will was publicly read before the People, whereby he ordered (g), That *Caius Octavius*, his Sister's Son, by *Attia the Wife of Octavius*, should be his adopted Son, and Heir to three Quarters of his Estate; and that *Pinarius* and *Pædius* should have the other fourth Part. To the *Roman* People he left the Gardens which he had on the other Side of the *Tyber*, and to each Citizen three hundred *Sesterces*. *Decimus Brutus* and some others who had dipt their Hands in his Blood, were named among his second Heirs. These Tokens of Kindness he had expressed to the *Roman* Citizens moved them exceedingly, but *Brutus* being named an Heir, raised their Indignation to a Pitch against so ungrateful a Person. *Cæsar*'s Funerals were celebrated with great Solemnity, and they proceeded afterwards to give him divine Honours.

In the mean time *Octavius* was at *Apollonia* on the other Side of the *Adriatic*, for his Instruction in Literature (h), and to head the Army which his deceas'd Uncle had prepared there for the *Parthian* Expedition, till he himself should arrive. As soon as he was informed of what had happened at *Rome*, he embarked for *Brundisium*, and thence marched to the City; where he declared before the Prætor his Uncle's Adoption, which was registred among the publick Acts, and designing himself *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus*, he took on him to execute his Uncle's Will, by which he was constitute his Heir. A Controversy arising between him and *Mark Antony* (i) about two thousand five hundred Myriads of his deceas'd Uncle's Estate, which the latter, being a Man who lived at a high Rate, had made use of, *Cicero* was employed to manage this Suit. But the main Contest was, Who should succeed *Julius Cæsar* in his Power and Interest? A great Number of *Cæsar*'s Soldiers resorting to *Octavius*, he was like to carry it against his Competitor; which obliged *Antony* to quit *Rome*, and to leave to *Octavius* the Conduct both of Senate and People. This was a great Instance of Management, that when he was but entered the nineteenth Year of his Age, he should be able to outwit one who had so long Experience in Affairs. In the mean time *Cæsar*'s Murderers finding all things go against them in *Italy*, retired: *Brutus* seized *Greece* and *Macedon*; *Cassius* raised Forces in *Cilicia*, *Syria* and the East, where he had been acquainted while he was Lieutenant to *Crassus* in the unfortunate *Parthian* Expedition (k), and afterwards when he commanded in *Syria*, and saved that Country from the *Parthians*.

Hirtius

(a) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 37. (b) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæsare. (c) Lib. 43. p. 256. (d) Plinii Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 25. (e) Above, p. 438. (f) Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 44. p. 292, — 302. (g) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, cap. 83. Plutarch. in Cicerone. (h) Plutarch. in Antonio & Cicerone. Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 8. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. 862. (i) Plutarch. ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. p. 314. (k) Above, p. 440.

Hirtius and *Pansa* were Consuls in the ensuing Year : The former of these was a learned Man, who had served under *Julius Cæsar*, and continued his Commentaries ; where he gives an Account of his Wars in *Egypt* and in *Afric*. During their Consulate, *M. Antony* was declared by the Senate a publick Enemy, chiefly by *Cicero's* Means, who made many smart and eloquent Orations against him (a) ; which in Imitation of *Demosthenes's* Speeches against *Philip* of *Macedon*, he called *Philippicks*, and are still extant : For which *Antony* never forgave him ; and *Fufius Calenus* in the mean Time made a pointed Answer (b) to him. However the War being decreed, both the Consuls marched against *Antony*, who was then besieging *Decimus Brutus* in *Mutina*, now called *Modena*. The Siege being raised *Decimus* was spared, but not pardoned. He designed to penetrate into *Greece* to *M. Brutus* and *Cassius* ; but his Army would not follow him ; and therefore he endeavoured with a few Attendants to pass into *Gaul*, but was taken by *Sequanus* Governor of *Aquileia*, who cut off his Head and sent it to *Antony* (c). A Battle being fought between the Consuls and *Antony*, *Hirtius* was killed, and *Pansa* mortally wounded (d). The Victory being on the Side of *Octavius*, and he surviving he reaped the whole Benefit : For he got the Army under his sole Command, and so far distressed *Antony*, that he was forced in a broken Condition to flee over the *Alps* into *Gaul*, where he was straitned for Provisions : But being received by the Roman Army which *Lepidus* commanded in that Province ; and the Senate refusing *Octavianus* the Honour of a Triumph, this brought the Matter to an Argeement between these three great Men. For *Octavianus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus* met at *Bologna*, where they formed the second Triumvirate, dividing the Roman Empire between them (e) for five Years. They easily agreed about most of their Affairs ; only when the Destruction of their Enemies was determined, *Octavianus* desired to have *Cicero* spared : But *Antony* would consent to nothing, unless he should be destroyed. Indeed the Method the Triumvirate took to establish their Authority, by a Proscription of so many eminent Persons, was very cruel and unjustifiable. They condemned three hundred of the chiefest Citizens to be put to Death (f). Nothing was heard but Cries and Lamentations in every Corner of the City, by Reason of the Murders committed by the Soldiers. The Pretence was to revenge *Cæsar's* Death ; but many suffered who were no Way concerned in it ; some for their great Estates, others for old Quarrels, and some that their Adversaries might seize their Fine Houses and Gardens. Money was extorted from Ladies, fourteen hundred of their Number being also proscribed (g). *Dion Cassius* also observes (h), that *Cæsar* was the most merciful of his Collegues, but *Antony* was the most cruel. *Cicero* hearing of Death being determined against him, resolved to flee, but had not the Courage nor Resolution to do it with that Dispatch and Secrecy which was requisite. *Herennius*, and *Popilius Lænas* a Tribune of Soldiers, whose Cause this Orator had defended, were sent with a small Party of armed Men to kill him. Having found him on the Road, the old Man stopped his Litter, and reached out his Head, which they struck off, with his Right Hand ; and brought the same to *Antony* (i), who said, *Now my Revenge is completed : I have no further Occasion for the Proscription* ; and caused the Head and Hand of this great Man to be put up in the *Rostrum*, where he had often triumphed by the Force of his Eloquence. Thus died *Tullius Cicero*, in the sixty third Year of his Age. I have already taken some Notice of his Life before the breaking out of the Civil Wars (k), I shall only further observe, That in these Commotions he came to *Pompey's* Camp ; but had no Command nor Share in the War. When *Julius Cæsar* had the absolute Power at *Rome*, *Cicero* meddled not in Affairs of State, but privately studied Philosophy, writing several Treatises on that Subject, which remain to this Day ; and was the first, *Plutarch* observes (l), who brought the harsh Terms of Art used by the *Greeks* in their Logicks and Physicks into elegant Latin. His Philosophical Treatises are mostly in the Form of Dialogues. He was not made privy to the Design against *Cæsar's* Life, the Party engaged in that wicked Conspiracy not thinking fit to trust him ; a pretended Friendship being contracted between him and *Octavianus*, they two obtained the Consulate after the Battle at *Mutina*, the Consuls of that Year *Hirtius* and *Pansa* being dead of the Wounds they received at this Action : And while he bore that Office, he was but ill rewarded, by being given up as a Sacrifice to the Revenge and Fury of *Mark Antony* (m) ; tho' perhaps there may be some Secret in this Affair we do not know.

§ 41. DURING all this Time *Marcus Brutus* was preparing his Army in *Greece* and *Macedon*, and *Cassius* was doing the same in *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Caius Antonius* the Brother of the Triumvir having submitted to *Brutus*, he spared him for a while : But when he heard that *Decimus Brutus* his Kinsman, and *Cicero* his dear Friend were cut off in *Italy*, to be revenged on the Triumvir, he put (n) his Brother to Death. *Cassius* on his Arrival in *Syria*, found

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(a) *Dion Cassius*, lib. 45. p. 317; — 334. *Plutarch*. in *Antonio*. (b) *Dion Cassius*, lib. 46. p. 335, — 353. (c) *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 3. p. 954. (d) *Livii Epit.* lib. 119. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 46. p. 360. (e) *Livii Epit.* lib. 120. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 46. p. 371. (f) *Plutarch*. in *Antonio*. *Appian*. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 956, — 978. (g) *Appian*. ibid. p. 978. — 995. (h) *Dion Cassius*, lib. 47. p. 377. (i) *Plutarch*. in *Cicerone*. (k) Above p. 433, 436. & 441. (l) In *Cicerone*. (m) *Vell. Patere.* lib. 2. cap. 66. (n) *Plutarch*. in *Bruto*.

Murcus and *Marcus Crispus* at the Siege of *Apamea* (a). On his coming thither, they both joined him with all their Forces, and *Bassus's* Soldiers did the same. The City was surrendered on Terms; and by this Addition *Cassius* made up an Army of eight Legions. Being thus strengthened, the whole of *Syria* submitted to him. Thence he passed into *Phœnicia* and *Judea* (b) without any Difficulty, securing all these Countries to his Interest. While he lay there, *Allienus* was marching through *Palestine* with four Legions (c), sent by *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, to assist *Dolabella*. These *Cassius* surrounded, and obliged them all to come over to him; by which Means his Army consisted of twelve Legions. For Maintenance of so great a Number of Troops, he was forced to lay heavy Contributions on the whole Country. *Judea* being taxed at 700 Talents, *Antipater*, for the Payment thereof, ordered his Sons, *Phasaël* and *Herod* with *Malichus*, to raise it in their several Districts (d). *Herod* recommended himself to the Favour of *Cassius*, by being the first in bringing in his Quota: But *Gophna*, *Emaus*, *Lydda*, *Tbanna* and some other Cities in *Judea* being found tardy, *Cassius* caused all the Inhabitants in them to be sold by Auction for raising the Money; and *Malichus* had like to have been put to Death by *Cassius* (who was a very passionate Man (e), tho' a good General) for his Failure in this Matter, if *Hyrcanus* had not sent a hundred Talents to redeem him from this Danger. *Brutus* understanding the Preparations made against him at *Rome*, had an Interview with *Cassius* at *Smyrna*, where he persuaded him to give him the third Part of the Money he had raised in *Syria* (f), because his own was exhausted on an Armament by Sea. After this they went on with raising more Money, and preparing for War. *Plutarch* (g) tells us, That when *Brutus* was besieging the City of the *Xantians*, wherein were the strongest Men of *Lycia*, the Besieged made a Sally by Night, and set Fire to the Engines of Battery. The Besieged were soon beat in again: But the Flames they had raised flying in upon the Houses adjoining to the Walls, set the City a blazing; and tho' *Brutus* gave Orders to quench it, the *Lycians* were so mad, as to add Fuel to the Flames, destroying themselves with their Wives, Children and Servants, as well as their Town. *Patara* submitted to *Brutus*. While he was sitting up all Night at *Sardis* to dispatch his Affairs, 'tis said a Spirit appeared to him, saying (h), *I am thy evil Genius, thou shalt see me again at Philippi*. *Cassius* having taken *Rhodes*, compelled the Inhabitants to give him all their ready Money in Gold and Silver, which amounted to the Sum of eight thousand Talents; and yet he condemned the City to pay five hundred Talents more, not sparing (i) even the sacred Things in their Temples.

§ 42. WHILE these Things were a doing, *Malichus* was acting a very wicked Part towards *Antipater* in *Judea*; where he and *Antipater* had been long the chief Supporters of *Hyrcanus's* Interest, against *Aristobulus* and his Sons: But *Malichus* being a crafty Man, and not content to be the second Minister under the Prince, he aspired to be the first (k). In order to this, he laid a Plot against the Life of *Antipater*: But that being prevented for a Time, he made such Protestations of his Innocence, that *Antipater* and his Sons were reconciled to him. Notwithstanding this Obligation, he took the Opportunity, when *Antipater* was dining with *Hyrcanus*, to bribe the Butler to give him Poyson in his Wine, of which he died: And *Malichus* seized the Government of *Jerusalem* with armed Force; but still endeavoured to persuade *Phasaëlus* and *Herod* that he was innocent in the Matter. *Herod* would by open Force presently have revenged it; but *Phasaëlus* advised to execute their Resentment by a Stratagem, that they might not kindle a Civil War. *Cassius* the Roman General being advertised by Letters of what *Malichus* had done, ordered his Soldiers to assist *Herod* in taking Revenge on the Murderer. And when *Cassius* had taken *Laodicea*, *Hyrcanus*, *Herod* and *Malichus*, going with Congratulations and Presents to him, while they were on the Road being to lodge at *Tyre*, *Herod* sent off his Servants on Pretence to provide Supper, but with secret Letters to the Commander of the Garrison, who as desired sent off a Party of Soldiers who killed *Malichus* as he was approaching the City. Thus *Herod* prevented the Designs of *Malichus*, and his Wickedness returned upon his own Head.

Cassius had several Times sent to *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* for her Assistance, being as often refused; and hearing that she was sending Succours to the Triumvirate by Sea, he resolved to make War upon her. *Julius Cæsar* had made her Queen, joining her Brother, a Boy of eleven Years of Age with her in the Government; but now this Boy having become fifteen Years old, was capable of having some Share in the Conduct of publick Affairs, to prevent this she took him off by Poyson (l), and reigned alone in *Egypt*: And since she had received her Crown by *Cæsar's* Favour, she would not assist his Murderers: Wherefore *Cassius* resolved to go against her. But he was called back by *Brutus* for their mutual Support against the Triumvirs; who having declared them Enemies to the Roman State, and left *Lepidus* to command

Ant. C.
42.
Eyre. II.
22.

(a) Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 391. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 752. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. (c) Cassius ad Ciceronem inter Epist. Cic. ad familiares, lib. 12. Epist. 11, 12. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 1000. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. (e) Plutarch. in Bruto. Appian. p. 1013, — 1017. (f) Ibid. (g) Plutarch. in Bruto. (h) Ibid. (i) Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 395. Plutarchus in Bruto. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18, 19, 20. &c de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 9. (l) Appian. de Bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 1003.

mand at Rome, *Octavianus* and *Mark Antony* marched with a great Army of about a hundred thousand Men against them. *Cassius* and *Brutus* having joined their Forces, made an Army not much inferior to that of the Triumvirs. Both met at *Philippi* in *Macedonia* (to the Inhabitants of which City *St. Paul* writes one of his Epistles;) where the Army of the Triumvirs was commanded in Chief by *Mark Antony*, *Octavianus* being at that Time sick in his Tent. A bloody Battle being fought, *Cassius* was soon defeated, and retired to a Hill there to wait for an Account of that Part of the Army commanded by *Brutus*, and thinking in the Confusion and Dust, (that was so great as he could not observe what was a doing) that he was overcome, he caused his Servant *Pindarus* cut off his Head. *Brutus* was so successful the first Day of the Battle as he took *Cæsar's* Camp; but a few Days thereafter coming to a second Engagement, and being entirely routed, he retired to a Hill at Night, and in the Morning caused his Friend *Strato* run his own Sword thro' his Body (a); and so died, as some observe, by the same Sword with which he killed *Cæsar*. He was a Man that professed great Love to strict Virtue, a Hater of Tyranny, a great Reader and Student in Platonick Philosophy, who had a considerable Share in the Affairs of the Commonwealth. Both he and *Cassius* had their Lives spared by *Julius Cæsar* after the Battle of *Pharsalia*; yea thereafter he heaped Favours upon them, and yet both of them were chief Contrivers and Actors in his Murder: And whatever some Heathen Authors speak of their Courage in causing kill themselves, I cannot but esteem such a Death to be most inglorious, and an insolent proud Attempt against the God of Heaven, who gave them a Being: For so the Word of God, and the Light of Nature teaches us to judge of it. The greatest Part of their Army submitted to the Conquerors: And by this Victory the Triumvirs established their Authority; there being now no sufficient Body of Men to oppose them.

§ 43. IN *Judea*, as soon as *Cassius* was gone out of *Syria*, the Faction of *Malichus* at *Jerusalem* rose in Arms to revenge his Death upon the Sons of *Antipater* (b); and having gained *Hyrcaus* to their Side, and also *Felix*, the Commander of the Roman Forces at *Jerusalem*, they assaulted *Phasaëlus*; and at the same Time a Brother of *Malichus* took Possession of *Massada* and some other Castles in *Judea*. *Herod* being then with *Fabius* the Roman Governor in *Damascus*, and there affixed to his Bed by Sicknels, *Phasaëlus* was forced to stand this Storm, and weathered it with Success: For he drove *Felix* and all that Party out of *Jerusalem*. And when *Herod* was recovered and returned, the two Brothers recovered *Massada* and all other Places taken from them; and then justly upbraided *Hyrcaus* with Ingratitude, since to *Antipater* their Father he owed all that he had. But about this Time *Herod*, tho' he had married one *Doris* before, by whom he had *Antipater* his eldest Son, concluded a Match with *Mariamme* the Daughter of *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus*. Her Mother was *Alexandra* the Daughter of *Hyrcaus*; so that by her Father she was Grand-Niece, and by her Mother Grand-Daughter to *Hyrcaus* the present Prince of *Judea*; which Match then reconciled all Differences between *Herod* and *Hyrcaus*. However Peace did not long continue; the Faction revived under another Head: For they called to them *Antigonus* the younger Son of *Aristobulus*; and under Pretence of restoring him to his Father's Throne raised new Disturbances (c). His Father and elder Brother being dead, as hath been related (d), he claimed the Kingdom; and herein was supported by *Marion* King of *Tyre*, *Fabius* Governor of *Damascus*, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Mencus* Prince of *Chalcis*. The first engaged in the Cause out of Hatred he bore to *Herod*, the second for the Money that was given to hire him into it, and the last by Reason of Affinity, for he had married a Sister of *Antigonus* called *Alexandra* (e). After *Aristobulus* was poisoned, and *Alexander* his Son beheaded, this *Ptolemy* sent his Son *Philippion* to bring the whole Family to *Chalcis*, for the Love he bore to *Alexandra*. *Philippion* being smitten with her Beauty, married her on the Way: For which his Father put him to Death at his Return, and then married her himself. By Reason of this Affinity, he did all he could to promote the Interest of *Antigonus*; who being thus supported, got an Army into the Field to pursue his Pretensions. But *Herod* upon his first entring *Judea* gave him a total Overthrow; and then recovering what *Marion* had taken in *Galilee*, he returned to *Jerusalem* with Victory.

§ 44. AFTER the Battle at *Philippi*, *Octavianus* led the old Legions into Italy, to put them in Possession of the Lands that were promised them. *Mark Antony* having given *Brutus* an honourable Burial (f), passed into *Greece*, where he was courted with delicate Flattery. He heard the Conferences of Philosophers at *Athens*, and having made *Lucius Censorinus* Governor over *Greece*, he went into *Asia*, where he raised heavy Taxes and Contributions in every Place to reward his Soldiers; for he had promised to every one of them five thousand Silver Drachms. Besides he employed much Money to support his Luxury in Wine, Women, Feasting,

Ant. C.
41.
Hyrca. II.
23.

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(a) Plutarch. in *Bruto*. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 70. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 4. p. 1043, — 1070. Dion Cassius, lib. 47. p. 404, — 406. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 20. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 10. (c) Joseph. ibid. cap. 21. (d) Above p. 443. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14 cap. 13. (f) Plutarch. in *Antonio*. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1074.

ing, Musick, and every other Thing of that Kind ; which he gave himself excessively to. Wherever he came, he had his Lodging thronged at his Levee by Kings, Princes, and their Ambassadors to solicit his Favour, several of them also bringing their Wives and fair Daughters, the better to obtain their Ends. Among others there came to him several Jews sent to accuse *Phasaël* and *Herod* (a) for usurping the Government from *Hyrcaus*. But *Herod* being present, by his Money and Interest with the Triumvir, he so far prevailed, that they could get no Hearing. Not long after, there came to him other Ambassadors out of *Judea*, praying that the Lands and Territories which *Cassius* had taken from the Jews might be restored ; and that all of that Nation whom he had unjustly sold into Slavery, might be set free ; both which Petitions were readily granted.

Cleopatra Queen of *Egypt* being summoned to answer for assisting *Cassius*, *Dellius*, who was sent with this Message, having told her the whole of *Antony's* weak Side (b), she determined to put on her best Airs in order to catch him. To this end she embarked in a Vessel, whose Stern was of Gold, the Sails of purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept Time to a Consort of excellent Musick. The Queen herself was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, adorned like *Venus* rising out of the Sea, with Children about her like *Cupids* gently fanning her, and her Women like *Nereids* or *Graces*, with Perfumes burning, that sent their fragrant Savour at a good Distance. In this Posture she arrived in the River *Cydnus*, all the People going to behold her. *Antony* upon Invitation went to sup with her, and she drew him into those Snares which enslaved him as long as he lived, and in end ruined him.

Antony, on his coming to *Syria*, deposed the Tyrants whom *Cassius* had made in that Country (c). At *Daphne* near *Antioch* one hundred of the principal Jews came to him in another Embassy, with the same Complaints against the Sons of *Antipater* as the former. He gave them a Hearing : But *Hyrcaus* being asked whom he thought fittest to manage the Government under him, he answered, *The two Brothers* ; and *Antony* being inclined to favour them, because he had been obliged to their Father when he was Lieutenant in *Syria* under *Gabinus*, and also because he liked them on several other Accounts, he made them both Tetrarchs (d), and committed the Affairs of *Judea* to their Management. Yet, on *Antony's* coming to *Tyre*, there came a thousand Jews to him with the same Accusations against the two Brothers. But *Antony* looking on this as a Tumult rather than an Embassy, caused his Soldiers to fall upon them ; so as many of those Jews were slain, and more wounded. *Antony* wanting Money to pay his Army, sent all his Horse to *Palmyra*, to take the Plunder of that City in stead of their Pay (e). Some suppose this Place to have been the same which is called *Tadmor* in holy Scriptures, 1 *Kings*, ix. 18. 2 *Chron.* viii. 4. By the Greeks it was called *Palmyra*. In the middle of the third Century it became the Seat of *OEdenathus* and *Zenobia* (f). The *Saracens* again restored it to the Name of *Tadmor*. It is now famous for nothing but Ruins : Out of which several Monuments have been digged up ; concerning which the Curious may consult a Book, intituled, *Antiquitates Palmyrenæ*, printed at *London* in the Year 1696, in *Octavo*. The City stands one hundred and twenty seven Miles from *Damascus*, at the Distance of a Day's Journey from the River *Euphrates*. The *Palmyrenians* having timely Notice of the Design, before the Troops arrived removed all their Families and Effects to the other Side of the *Euphrates* ; where the Invaders not being able to come at them (g), were forced to return without their Prey : And on their Recess, the *Palmyrenians* returned to their Houses ; and being exasperated with this Usage, did from this Time put themselves under the Protection of the *Parthians*, which became one of the Causes of the second *Parthian* War.

§ 45. *CLEOPATRA* having accompanied *Antony* as far as *Tyre*, there took her Leave of him, and returned into *Egypt* (b) ; but left him so ensnared in the Fetters of Love to her, that he could not stay long behind : And therefore, having appointed *Plancus* to be his Lieutenant in the Proper *Asia*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he made haste after her to *Alexandria* (i), where they spent the whole Winter in mutual Feasting, accompanied with scandalous Lasciviousness and Luxury. In the mean time all *Syria* and *Palestine*, being grievously oppressed with Taxes and Tax-gatherers, joined with the *Palmyrenians* and those Tyrants whom *Antony* deposed (k) for calling in the *Parthians* ; which put the whole Country in the utmost Misery and Confusion : For the *Parthians*, on this Invitation, passed the *Euphrates* with a great Army, under the Command of *Pacorus* the King's Son, and *Labienus* a Roman General. This *Labienus* was the Son of *T. Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* Lieutenant in *Gaul*, but upon some Discontent or other went over to *Pompey*, and was slain fighting (l) against *Cæsar* at the Battle of *Munda*. His Son was sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius* to pray for the Aid of the *Parthian* King ; but upon the News of their Overthrow and Death who had sent him on this Message, he undertook this Command against

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 10. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1078. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22. (d) Ibid. cap. 23. (e) Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1079. (f) Vide Trebellium Pollionem in duobus Gallienis & Vopiscum in Aureliano. (g) Appian. ibid. (h) Ibid. (i) Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 424. Plutarch. in Cæsare & Antonio. (k) Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. & in Parthicus. (l) Hirtius, de bello Hispaniensi. Plutarch. in Cæsare & Antonio.

against the Triumvirs (a). On the *Parthians* entering *Syria*, they vanquished *Saxa* in Battle, and forced him to flee into *Cilicia*. After this, having divided their Army, *Labienus* with one Part of it having pursued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, and there slain him (b), over-ran all the Lesser *Asia*; and forcing *Plancus* to flee thence into the Isles, brought all Places under him as far as the *Hellepont* and the *Ægean* Sea. At the same time *Pacorus*, with the other Part of their Army, subdued all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* as far as *Tyre*, which alone stood out against him (c); for the Remainder of the Roman Forces in that Country having got thither before him, held out that Place.

In the mean time *Octavianus* in *Italy* was busy in dividing the Lands for satisfying the old Soldiers. This exasperated many People who were stript of their Possessions, and brought many Complaints to *Rome*; but it must be done, since the Treasury being exhausted, there was no other Way to satisfy the Demands, and answer the Promises made to the Army. The Cities of *Mantua* and *Cremona* suffered much in this Distribution. There *Virgil*, the Prince of the *Latin* Poets, defending the Possession of his small Estate from *Arrius* the Centurion, very narrowly escaped Death by swimming the River *Mincius*, which gave occasion for the first of his *Eclogues* (d). These Contentions about the Division of Lands gave *Antony's* Wife *Fulvia*, a Woman of a martial Spirit (e), an Occasion to execute her Designs. Her principal Concern was, to bring home her Husband from the Snares of *Cleopatra*; which she believed nothing but a War could effectuate: And therefore she applied to *Lucius Antonius* her Husband's Brother, then Consul, with Complaints against *Octavianus*. *Rome* and all *Italy* were then in Misery, Provisions being very dear, by reason that *Sicily* being possessed by *Sextus Pompeius*, (the only surviving Son of *Pompey* the Great, his elder Brother *Cneius* being killed at the Battle of *Munda*) the Army consumed the Increase of the Land, and spoiled the trading Cities. These things issued in a War, wherein *Lucius Antonius* (f) was so hemm'd in by *Octavianus* and *Agrippa*, that he was constrained to retreat to *Perusia*, a strong City in *Hetruria*, where by Famine he was forced to surrender. Hence the Proverb, *Perusia famas* (g). These Disorders in *Syria*, in the Lesser *Asia* and in *Italy*, roused *Mark Antony* out of that Lethargy into which the Charms of *Cleopatra* (who excelled all Women (h) in Flattery) had plunged him. He having got together an Army, and a Fleet of two hundred Ships, sailed first unto *Tyre*. But on his putting in there, finding all the Country round in the Hands of the *Parthians*, and receiving lamentable Letters of Complaint from his Wife *Fulvia* of her sufferings by *Octavianus*, he neglected the foreign Enemy, and sailed to *Italy* against his Colleague. But on his Arrival, being informed that *Fulvia* was dead at *Sicyon*, to which Place she had gone to meet him, he hearkned to the Advice of his Friends, to make up Differences with *Octavianus* by marrying *Octavia*, his Sister by the Mother's Side (i): On which Terms Peace being made up, they both went to *Rome*, where the Marriage was solemnized with great Pomp. The Triumvirs made a Partition of the Roman Empire; whereby *Lepidus* had the Province of *Africa*; *Octavianus* had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain* and *Sardinia* (k); and *Antony* had all the Eastern Provinces beyond the *Adriatic* Sea. The War against the *Parthians* was committed to his Charge, and that against *Sextus Pompeius*, who had seized *Sicily*, to *Octavianus*: And it was agreed, that *Italy* should be common to them both for raising Forces to carry on these Wars.

§ 46. WHILE these Things were a doing in *Italy*, *Labienus* ravaged all the lesser *Asia* (l), and *Pacorus* having taken *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, sent a Party to invade *Judea*, for making *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* King of that Country: For *Ptolemy* the Son of *Meneas* Prince of *Chalcis* dying this Year, *Lysanias* his Son, who succeeded him in that Principality, having a great Interest with *Barzabarnes*, a chief Commander in the *Parthian* Army, under *Pacorus*, contracted with him in favours of *Antigonus*, to whom he was allied, as already mentioned (m), that for a thousand Talents, and five hundred Jewish Women to be given to the *Parthians* by *Antigonus*, they should restore him to his Father's Kingdom (n). This being ratified by *Pacorus*, he sent his Cup-bearer, who was also called *Pacorus*, with part of his Army from *Ptolemais* to see it put in Execution. *Antigonus* having got together an Army of Jews from about Mount *Carmel* and elsewhere, marched upon the same Design into *Judea*: And having vanquished in Battle those who opposed him, and pursued them to the Gates of *Jerusalem*, and got into the City, many Skirmishes happened between him on the one Side, and *Phasaël* and *Herod* on the other; in which the *Antigonians* being put to the worse, were forced to take Shelter in the Mountain of the Temple; and the other Party seized the Palace; from which Places many hot Bickerings happened between both. These Hostilities continued till the Feast

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of

(a) Livii Epitome, lib. 127. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 9. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 24. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 11. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 425. (d) Vide Virgilii historiam à Carolo Ruæo præfixam editioni in usum Delphini, ad annum U. C. 713. Virgilii 30. (e) Plutarch. in Antonio. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 5. (f) Florus, ibid. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1097, — 1112. (g) Lucan. lib. 1. v. 41. (h) Plutarch. in Antonio. (i) Id. ibid. Livii Epitome, lib. 127. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 427. (k) Ibid. (l) Ibidem, Florus, lib. 4. cap. 9. Appian. in Syriacis & in Parthicis. (m) Above, p. 453. (n) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 24. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11.

of *Pentecost*, when great Numbers of People coming to *Jerusalem* from all Parts, some joining one Side, and some the other, produced a great deal of Bloodshed. To compose those Differences, *Antigonus* cunningly proposed to call in *Pacorus* the Cup-bearer to arbitrate the Matter, who being admitted with five hundred Horse which he had without the Wall of the City, and himself lodged at *Phasaël's* House, he prevailed with *Phasaël* to go on an Embassy to *Barzapharnes*, who governed *Syria* under *Pacorus*. Accordingly *Phasaël*, against the Opinion of his Brother *Herod*, went taking *Hyrcaus* along with him; and the Cup-bearer conducted them on their Way, till another Guard met them, and then he returned to *Jerusalem*. *Barzapharnes* at first received them with an Appearance of Kindness; but as soon as he thought the Cup-bearer was got to *Jerusalem* to seize *Herod*, he made both *Hyrcaus* and *Phasaël* Prisoners (a). *Herod* having Notice of this Treachery, got out of *Jerusalem*, taking with him his whole Family and best Effects, and as many Prisoners as he had at Hand, in order to go to *Massada*, a strong Fortrefs on a Mountain on the West Side of the Lake *Asphaltites*. In his March thither he repulsed several Parties, both of the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*. At *Ressa* in *Idumæa* his Brother *Joseph* met him with some more Forces. *Massada* not being capable of containing all his Company, he dismissed 9000 of them. Of the Remainder he put 800 into the Castle, with his Mother, Sister, and other Women of Quality, whom he brought out of *Judea*: And having furnished the Fortrefs with Provisions for several Months, and left his Brother *Joseph* to command there in chief, *Herod* himself marched to *Petra* in *Arabia*: But not being received there, he went to *Rhinocorura* in *Egypt*, where he had Account of the Death of *Phasaël*: For the *Parthians*, when they found *Herod* gone from *Jerusalem*, after plundering the Country, made *Antigonus* King of *Judea*, and put *Hyrcaus* and *Phasaël* in Chains. *Phasaël* knowing his Death to be determined, to prevent the Executioner, beat out his Brains against the Wall of the Prison. The Life of *Hyrcaus* was spared: But to incapacitate him from being High-priest, *Antigonus* caused cut out his Ears (for by the Law, *Levit. xxi. 16,—24.* none who had any Imperfection in his Body could enjoy that Office;) and afterwards he delivered him to the *Parthians*, who carried him to the East, whither they were obliged to go sooner than they intended.

For *Antony* after his Agreement with *Octavianus*, sent *Ventidius*, one of his Lieutenants against the *Parthians*, who soon cleared all the Roman Territories of them. He came into *Asia* with such Expedition (b), that he surprised *Labiens* before he was prepared to withstand him: And therefore, not daring to stand the Approach of a Roman Army, he retired to Mount *Taurus*, and sent to *Pacorus* for Assistance. *Ventidius* soon came upon them, and entirely routed them. *Florus* tells us (c), That the Romans engaged so close Hand to Hand with the *Parthians*, that the Enemy could make no Use of their Arrows as formerly they had done. *Pacorus* and *Labiens* were killed; and thus *Crassus's* Overthrow was compensated by a Victory at Mount *Amanus*. *Ventidius* defeated another Body of *Parthians*, killing their General *Pharnabates*; and then as Victor passed into *Syria*. The Remainder of the *Parthian* Army was glad to retire over the *Euphrates*, leaving all on this Side that River to the Romans: And *Plutarch* informs us (d), That for these Victories *Antony* obtained to *Ventidius* the Honour of a Triumph, being the only Roman that ever triumphed over the *Parthians* to this Day.

§ 47. IN the mean Time *Herod* from *Rhinocorura* went to *Pelusium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, where taking Ship, he passed by the Way of *Rhodes* and *Brundisium* to *Rome* (e), where he applied to *Antony*, informing him of the lamentable State of all his Affairs in *Judea*, and praying for his Aid. *Antony*, for the Friendship he had first with his Father, and then with himself, and for the Sake of a great Sum of Money promised, undertook to assist him, and did much more than was expected: For whereas the utmost of *Herod's* Design was to obtain the Kingdom for *Aristobulus*, the Brother of *Mariamne* his Wife, who being the Son of *Alexandra*, the Daughter of *Hyrcaus*, and of *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus*, had the Title of both these Brothers, proposing only for himself that he might govern the Country under him, as his Father had done under this young Man's Grandfather. *Antony* managed the Matter so as the Crown was given to *Herod* himself, tho' the Romans used not to pass the Royal Line, and give the Crown of a dependent Kingdom to an Alien. *Octavianus* also favoured the Design to gratify *Antony*; and in Gratitude to the Family of *Antipater*, who had so seasonably assisted his Uncle *Julius Cæsar* in *Egypt* (f). The Matter being thus concerted, *Messala* and *Arratinus*, two Senators, introduced *Herod* into the Senate-house, where they set forth the Merits of his Father and him, and the evil Deserts of *Antigonus*, who had brought in the *Parthians* upon the Roman Empire: The Royal Dignity was conferred on *Herod*, and *Antigonus* declared an Enemy to the Roman State. *Herod* having so good Success in this Affair, made haste back again to *Judea*; for he tarried in *Rome* only seven Days, and accomplished his whole

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis, p. 268. & de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1127. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 435, 436. (c) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 9. (d) In Antonio. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11. (f) Ibid. cap. 46, 27. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 11.

whole Journey by Sea and Land in three Months. On his Arrival he took Care to relieve his Mother, Sister, and Friends, who were shut up in *Massada*, where *Antigonus* ever since his Departure closely besieged them; And at one Time they were in so great a Strait for Water, that *Joseph* resolved to make his Escape; but that very Night a plentiful Shower of Rain filled their Cisterns, and put them in Capacity of holding out till *Herod* relieved them. On his Return he raised an Army either of Foreigners or *Jews* as he could find them; and with these and some *Roman* Auxiliaries which he had from *Ventidius* and *Silo* his Lieutenant, he made himself Master of all *Galilee*, some few Places excepted, took *Joppa*, raised the Siege of *Massada*; and from thence marched to *Samaria*, where having placed his Mother, his Sister, with his other Friends, he passed into *Galilee*, where he reduced *Sepphoris*, and other Places which held for *Antigonus*; and then took Care to rid it of those Thieves that infested it, ferretting them out of their Holes. This being done, he gave to each of his Soldiers a Donative of 150 Drachms in Money, to the Officers more, and dismissed them into Winter Quarters.

Ant. C.
39.
Antigonus.

§ 48. At *Rome* *Octavianus* and *Antony* having agreed, came also to an Accommodation with *Sextus Pompeius*, who possessing the Isles of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, by his strong Navy hindered Provisions from coming to the City; which put the People in Danger of starving. This made a Peace more necessary, which was at last concluded on the following Terms (a), That the said Pompey should retain *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for five Years, being obliged to rid the Sea of Pirates, that it might be safe for Merchants and Passengers; and should pay to *Rome* the same Quantity of Corn as was usual out of *Sicily*; and that all proscribed Persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar's* Death, should have Liberty to return to the City, and to enjoy a fourth Part of their Estates. This being done *Antony* with his Wife *Octavia* went to *Athens*, where he kept a free Table for entertaining the *Grecians*; and after he had heard of the Victories of his Lieutenant over the *Parthians*, spent the Winter in Feasting, Games and Amusements. *Dion Cassius* observes (b), That *Antony*, contrary to the Custom of his Country, allowed himself to be called *Bacchus*, and to be married to *Minerva*, but obliged the *Athenians* to pay a good Sum for her Dowry. *Ventidius* might probably have carried his Victories further into the Dominions of the *Parthians*, if he had not been afraid to offend *Antony* by doing too much: And therefore being content with the Honour of a Triumph offered to him, after this he lived privately in the City to the Day of his Death (c), and had a publick Funeral made for him at the Charges of the Common-wealth.

Orodes King of *Parthia* hearing that his Forces were defeated in *Syria*, and his Son killed, was so overwhelmed with Grief, that he turned almost mad. For several Days he spoke not a Word, nor cared for any Meat (d); and when he began to utter Words, he cried still, *Pacorus*! expressing his Lamentations with a Flood of Tears. Indeed this Overthrow was the greatest that the *Parthians* had ever received from the *Romans*; and the Loss of *Pacorus* made it yet greater to them; for he was a Prince of great Valour and Clemency. After his Death *Phraates* killed his Father *Orodes* (e), and reigned in his stead, several *Roman* Gentlemen who lived as Exiles in *Parthia*, and some *Parthians* also, knowing his cruel Temper, fled out of his Dominions.

In *Judea* *Herod* carried on the War against *Antigonus*, *Machæras* a *Roman* General was sent by the Order of *Antony* with two Legions, and a thousand Horse to his Assistance (f). *Machæras* approached *Jerusalem* to converse with *Antigonus*; But he suspecting him to be corrupted by *Herod*, caused the Archers and Slingers beat him back from the Walls; which put the General into such a Rage, that retiring from *Emaus*, he killed all the *Jews* who came in his Way, whether Friends or Foes. *Herod* having some of his Friends there cut off, could not bear it with Patience, but went to *Samaria*; and thence hastned to *Antony* to make Complaint of this Outrage. *Machæras* went after him, and having overtaken him, they two patched up an Agreement. However *Herod* continued his Journey to *Antony*, whom he found besieging *Samosata*, which *Antiochus* King of *Comagena* held (g). *Ventidius* had begun the Siege, and *Antiochus* had offered him 1000 Talents for his Peace. This not being accepted of, because he desired it to be done by his Master; and *Ventidius* to whom the Offer was made, being gone into *Italy*, *Antony* continued the Siege: But the Besieged growing valiant, upon finding the best Offers they could make refused; and the Soldiers finding their Captain gone, under whom they had gained so many noble Victories, relented of their Vigour, and became mutinous; which obliged *Antony* for three hundred Talents, to remove and raise the Siege. Then *Antony* having appointed *Sosius* his Lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Palestine*, left the Army with him, failed to *Athens*, and thence to *Brundisium*, to confer with *Octavianus*: But not finding him there, he returned to *Athens*, and thence to *Alexandria*; where he spent the Winter in Pleasures with *Cleopatra*, as he had done two Years before.

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(a) Plutarch. in Antonio. Livii Epit. lib. 127. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1128, — 1132. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. p. 432. (b) Ibid. p. 434. (c) A. Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 4. (d) Justin, lib. 42. cap. 4. (e) Plutarch. in Crass. so in fine, &c in Antonio. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 12. (g) Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis.

While *Herod* was absent attending upon *Antony*, *Joseph* forgetting the Orders he had received from his Brother, made an Expedition against *Jericho*, taking with him his own Men, and five Cohorts received from *Machabæas*; but being there circumvented by the Enemy, himself was slain, and most of his Forces cut in Pieces. Whereupon these that were disaffected to *Herod* in *Galilee* and *Idumæa*, revolted from him: Of which he being informed, as he returned from *Antony*; and having got at Mount *Libanus* eight hundred Men, and one Roman Cohort (a), he marched thence to *Ptolemais*, where he received another Cohort; with which Assistance he soon made the Revolters in *Galilee* to submit. After that he went to *Jericho* to revenge his Brother's Death: But the *Antigonians* in these Parts overpowering him with their Numbers, put his Army to the Rout, and wounded *Herod* himself in the Conflict. Having got more Forces, and finding that *Pappus*, a prime General of *Antigonus's* Party, had taken the Field; he engaged him in Battle, and gained an absolute Victory over him; and had it not been for the Winter Season, he had then taken *Jerusalem*; but his Soldiers being much fatigued, he put them into Winter Quarters, and delayed further Action till next Season.

Ant. C. 38. Antig. 2. § 50. *ANTONY* next Spring leaving *Alexandria*, came to *Athens*; where having taken in his Wife *Octavia*, he passed to *Italy* with a Fleet of three hundred Sail, and landed at *Tarentum*. Jealousies at that Time were like to arise between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but *Octavia* mediating between her Husband and her Brother, made up all Matters. Whereas the five Years for which the sovereign Government of the Roman Empire was given to the Triumvirs by the People were expired, they prolonged it for five Years more by their own Authority (b). After this *Antony* returned to *Syria*, to make Preparations for the *Parthian* War. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*; but, that she might not be exposed unto Dangers, he sent her back to *Italy* till the War should be over, committing her, and his Children, which he had either by herself or by *Fulvia* his former Wife, to the Care of *Octavianus* his Colleague. Upon *Antony's* Return into *Syria*, *Octavianus* married *Livia Drusilla*, the Daughter of *Livius Drusus*. She was first the Wife of *Tiberius Nero* (c), and by her he had *Tiberius Cæsar*, who succeeded *Augustus* in the Empire. *Octavianus* had a former Wife called *Scribonia*, whom he divorced for her intolerable Temper sometime after she had born him his Daughter *Julia*. At the Time when he matched with this *Livia Drusilla*, she was six Months gone with child to her former Husband yet alive. This Child was born in *Augustus's* House; and being called *Drusus*, was given to *Tiberius* the proper Father. *Octavianus* kept *Livia* as his Wife as long as he lived; and tho' she bore him no Children, she had always a great Interest in his Affection, and a mighty Ascendant over him.

Ant. C. 37. Herod the Great I. § 51. IN the mean time *Herod* having made great Preparations for this Year's Campaign, marched with his Forces directly to the Walls of *Jerusalem*; where he ordered the casting up of such Works against it as were then thought proper for taking the Place. While this was a doing, he went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his Marriage with *Mariamne* (d). He had betrothed her four Years before (e), but his Troubles hindered him from marrying her till now. The Jews in those Days having generally a great Affection for the Family of the *Asmonæans*, *Herod* expected by marrying this fair Lady that he would easily reconcile the whole Nation to himself. On his Return to his Army before *Jerusalem* (f), *Sosius* the Governor of *Syria*, being ordered to do his utmost for subduing *Antigonus*, and putting *Herod* in full Possession of the Kingdom of *Judea*, he joined *Herod*, and pushed on the Siege with great Vigour. Both of them together had an Army of eleven Legions and six thousand Horse, which would amount to above sixty thousand Men. However the Place held out above half a Year. At last the Jews being beat out of all their Places of Defence, the City was taken. The Enemies entering on every Side, made themselves Masters thereof; and being exasperated with the Length of, and the Labour they endured in the Siege, they filled every Place of the Town with Rapine, Bloodshed and Devastation. *Herod* did what he could to hinder such a Saccage, but *Sosius* encouraged his Soldiers to it, alledging the Spoils were their Due; which obliged the Prince, who counted now the City to be his own, to redeem it from utter Ruin by a Sum of Money. *Antigonus* finding all lost, cast himself at *Sosius's* Feet, begging Compassion. But *Sosius* despising his womanly Cowardice, called him *Antigona*, and ordered him to be cast in Chains: And at the Desire of *Herod* he was put to Death with the same Indignities as if he had been a common Criminal; for they first whipt him at a Stake, and then killed him. *Plutarch* (g) and *Dion Cassius* (h) say, that no King had before suffered the like Death by the Romans. Here ends the Reign of the *Asmonæans*, when it had continued, from the Government of *Judas Maccabæus* to this Time one hundred and twenty nine Years.

On the taking of *Jerusalem* *Herod* was put in the thorough Possession of all *Judea*; but the greater

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello Jüd. lib. 1. cap. 13. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1145. (c) Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 62. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. in fine. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13. (e) Above, p. 453. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 28. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13. (g) In Antonio. (h) Lib. 49. p. 463.

greater Part of the *Jews*, as long as any of the old *Asmonæan* Family were alive, out of their Affection to them, and out of Hatred to this Upstart, could not be induced to own him for their King (a). But *Herod* having forced his Way to the Throne by a great deal of Bloodshed, he established himself in the same Manner: For in the first Year of his Government he put several of the opposite Faction to Death, and all the Counsellors of the Sanhedrim, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*. These two, during the Siege, had declared for yielding the City to *Herod*, and for receiving him as their King, saying, *The Sins of the People were so great, that God would deliver them to this Man for their Punishment*. But the rest of the Sanhedrim cried violently, *The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!* as if for the sake thereof God would certainly protect the City (b), thus encouraging the People to an obstinate Defence: And therefore *Herod* having got them into his Power, put them all to death, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*. These two are called by the *Jewish* Writers *Hillel* and *Schammai*, and their Names are of the greatest Note among all the *Mishnaical* Doctors; that is, those who superadded Traditions to the written Word, from the Time of *Simon* the Just to the Time wherein Rabbi *Judab Hakkadosh* compiled the *Mishna*. But of the several Sorts of Doctors among the *Jews*, of their *Mishna*, *Targums* and *Talmuds*, I shall have occasion to discourse in the following Part of this Work, and therefore now go on with the History.

§ 52. *SOSIUS*, whom *Antony* had left Governor in *Syria* on his going to *Italy*, finding that *Ventidius* had lost his Favour by doing too much for him in the *Parthian* War, resolved that he would do no more (c). But he had done too much already, by placing *Herod* in the quiet Possession of *Judea*: And therefore, as soon as *Antony* returned to *Syria*, he removed him from that Government, and put *Plancus* Governor of *Asia* in his Room, and sent *G. Furnius* to govern *Asia* in *Plancus*'s stead.

On the Death of *Antigonus*, *Herod* made *Ananelus* High Priest in his Place (d), tho' he was only an obscure Person residing among the *Jews* in *Babylonia*; but being of the Family of the Priests, and formerly well known to *Herod*, he sent for him and put him in that Office; for being a Man of no Interest at *Jerusalem*, he thought he never could interfere with the Regal Authority.

Ant. C.
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Herod. 2.

When *Phraates* came to possess the Crown of *Parthia*, tho' he shewed Cruelty to his own Brethren by putting them to Death, yet he expressed Kindness to *Hyrcaus* the old captive Prince of the *Jews*: For he ordered him to be released from his Chains (e), and to live at Liberty among the *Jews* in that Country, who respected him as their King. But when *Hyrcaus* heard that *Herod* did reign in *Judea*, whose Life he had once preserved when arraigned before the Sanhedrim (f), nothing would please the old Man but to return to his own Country; and *Herod*, tho' with another View, was as earnest to have him there: For he feared some Turn or other might happen to bring this old Prince again to the Throne; and therefore he desired to have him in his Power, that he might cut him off if he should see Occasion. To this End he not only invited the old Man to come to *Judea*, but also sent an Embassy to solicit the Permission of *Phraates*; and having succeeded according to his Wish in these Particulars, the unfortunate old *Hyrcaus*, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, left *Babylonia* and returned to *Jerusalem*; where *Herod* for some Time treated him with all seeming Respect, till at length he found a Pretence to put him to Death, as shall be afterwards observed.

§ 53. *PUBLIUS CANIDIUS*, one of *Antony*'s Lieutenants, having overcome the *Armenians*, *Iberians* and *Albanians* (g), and carried his victorious Arms as far as Mount *Caucasus*; *Antony* being proud of this Success, resolved to prosecute a War against the *Parthians*, to revenge the Death of *Crassus*, and of the *Romans* who perished with him at *Carrae*. In his Preparations he made use of the Advice of one *Monæses* a *Parthian* Gentleman, who had fled from *Phraates*'s Cruelty (h): And to engage him to his Service, he allowed him the Revenues of three Cities, viz. of *Larissa*, *Arethusa* and *Hierapolis*, promising, that on conquering the Country, he would make him King thereof. But while these Projects were a forming, Ambassadors came from *Phraates* to invite *Monæses* home to *Parthia*, with Offers which he thought fit to accept. *Antony* sent with him Proposals of Peace, which had no Effect. Therefore *Antony* having gathered an Army of above a hundred thousand Men, *Romans* and Auxiliaries, he marched from *Syria* into *Parthia*. *Artabazes* King of *Armenia*, one of the Auxiliaries, led the Army by a Way so far about, that before *Antony* arrived at the Place intended for beginning the War, the Army was so fatigued, and so much of the Year spent, that the General had not Time sufficient to execute what he intended. However, to make all the Expedition possible to return to *Cleopatra*, with the Poison of whose Love he was so bewitched as to ruin his best Designs, he overmarched his heavy Carriage, leaving *Statianus* with a Guard of

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 1. (b) Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 28. & lib. 15. cap. 1. (c) Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 463. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 23. (e) Id. Ibid. (f) Above p. 448. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 464. Plutarch. in Antonio. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 501. (h) Ibidem ibidem, & Appianus in Parthicus, p. 270, — 293.

ten thousand Men, to bring after him three hundred Waggon's loaded with Battering Rams, of which one was eighty Foot long, and other military Engines for Sieges. With the rest of his Army he besieged *Phraata* the Capital of *Media*. But he could do nothing to Purpose in this Siege without the Engines, which never came to his Hand: For the *Parthians* encountering *Statianus*, cut off his ten thousand Men, burnt all the heavy Carriages, and seized the rest of the Baggage; which was a great Loss to the *Roman Army*: For the *Parthians* daily harrassed them in the Siege, and cut off their Foragers; and tho' *Antony* endeavoured to bring the Enemy to a general Engagement, yet when he had done so, and put them to the Rout, the *Parthians* being all Horsemen, fled so fast, as there were only eighty of them slain, and thirty taken Prisoners. At last *Antony* for Want of Provisions was forced to leave the Siege, and depart homeward. In his Retreat he had three hundred Miles of the *Parthian Country* to go through, before he came to the Borders of *Armenia*, where he was entangled with many Difficulties and Dangers, but was much obliged to a faithful *Mardian* Soldier who conducted him. The *Parthian Army* eighteen times (a) assaulted him; and tho' he as often repulsed them, yet it was with greater Loss to himself than to the Enemy. Thrice he was in Danger of being undone by Ambushes, but he had seasonable Notice of them twice by *Monases*, and once by an old *Roman* Soldier who had remained in that Country since the Defeat of *Crassus*. Passing through *Armenia* in the Winter, when the Country was covered with Snow, tho' he had no Enemy to encounter, yet by the Rigour of the Season and Climate, he lost a great many Men, so as *Florus* tells (b), he scarce brought back the third Part of his Army which he had carried out of *Syria*. *Velleius Paterculus* (c) says, scarce a fourth. And if so, tho' he met not with such a shameful Overthrow as *Crassus*, wherein 20000 were killed, and 10000 taken Prisoners, yet if *Antony* brought back only the third Part of his Army, he must have lost about 60000 Men in this unsuccessful Expedition; which justifies the Observation of some Authors, that this great Man was more prosperous when his Wars were managed by his Lieutenants, than by himself, which I think will particularly hold; after he was ensnared with Love to the Queen of *Egypt*.

Indeed the main Cause of all his Misfortunes was his immoderate Affection to that lascivious Woman *Cleopatra*. He sent for her into *Syria*, where she influenced him to put many of the Nobility to Death, that she might have their forfeited Estates, among whom was *Lysanias*, the Son of *Ptolemy Menæus*, Prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa* (d), whom she ruined on a false Accusation of confederating with the *Parthians*, and had his Dominions granted to her. *Antony's* staying with her retarded his *Parthian Expedition*, which made him come so late in the Year, that he had no Time for the Operations of the Campaign; and he hastened to return to her, before he had done any thing to Purpose: So that coming over the Mountains of *Armenia*, when covered with Snow, he lost eight thousand more of his Men (e); which brought them to a small Number, as hath been observed.

§ 54. WHILE these Things were a doing in the East, great Changes happened in the West; for *Sextus Pompeius* not performing the Treaty made with the Triumvirs (f), *Octavianus* went to War with him; wherein he and *Lepidus* subdued him by Sea and Land. *Agrippa* destroyed his Fleet, his Land Forces surrendered to *Octavianus*, and *Pompey* himself fled to *Antony* in the East (g). *Lepidus* became proud of this Victory, but did not long enjoy the Fruit thereof; for *Octavianus* had the Interest to make the whole Army declare against him; which so damped the poor Triumvir, that quitting the Marks of his Authority, he, in a mourning Gown threw himself at *Octavianus's* Feet, only begging his Life. The Soldiers would have killed him; but *Cæsar* only thought fit to banish him into *Circeii*, a maritime Town of the *Latines* (h), where he ended his Life in Obscurity and Contempt. Fortune had raised him to be one of the three Governors of the *Roman Empire*; but he had neither Wisdom nor Valor for that high Station. After this *Antony* and *Octavianus* kept the whole *Roman Empire* between them: The former held all the East, from the Borders of *Illyricum*, and the *Adriatic Sea* to *Egypt*, and the latter all the western Part of the World; who tho' he was no more than twenty eight Years of Age when he attained to all this Power, yet he maintained it for many Years with great Prosperity.

When *Antony* had returned from his *Parthian Expedition* into *Syria*, he sent for *Cleopatra*; waiting for her with Impatience at *Leucecome*, a Castle between *Sidon* and *Berytus* (i). Upon her Arrival she produced great Quantities of Clothing for the Army, which was all shattered and in Rags, after their Return from *Parthia*. These Clothes, with a good deal of Money which came from *Antony* himself, was given as a Donative to the Army in the Name of *Cleopatra*. This being done *Antony* returned with her into *Egypt*, and there spent the Remainder of the Winter in Luxury and Pleasures.

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(a) Appian in Parthicus p. 290. (b) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 10. (c) Lib. 2. cap. 82. (d) Plutarchus in Antonio. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. (e) Livii Epit. lib. 130. (f) Above, p. 457. (g) Livii Epit. lib. 128, 129. Florus lib. 4. cap. 8. (h) Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 455. 456. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 1159, — 1174. Suetonius in Octavio. cap. 16. & 54. Vell. Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 80. (i) Plutarch. in Antonio.

In *Judea*, *Alexandra*, *Herod's* Mother in Law, could not bear that *Ananelus*, an obscure Person should be High-priest, and her Son *Aristobulus*, the Grandchild of *Aristobulus* and *Hyr-canus*, who had been both Princes in that Country, should be secluded; and therefore she and her Daughter *Mariamne*, the beautiful Wife of *Herod*, were still teasing him about this Matter. She also by Letters to *Cleopatra*, and by one *Dellius* her Message-bearer, engaged *Antony* and *Cleopatra* to favour this Interest; so as *Herod* found it necessary for his Affairs to depose *Ananelus*, and make *Aristobulus* his Brother in Law, a Youth then of seventeen Years of Age, High-priest in his stead. This seemed pleasing to the two Ladies, and to the Generality of the People: But *Alexandra* knowing that her Son had as good a Claim to the Kingdom as the High-priesthood, pursued the same Means for obtaining this also. *Herod* smelling out her Correspondence, and understanding the Design thereof (a), confined her to her Palace, and set Spies upon her to watch all her Steps. She resented this Confinement with great Indignation; and to remedy it, formed a Plot to escape with her Son unto *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, who had invited them thither. In order to this End, a Ship was provided at the next Seaport; and they being put into two Coffins, were carried aboard. *Herod* knowing the whole Contrivance, seized the Ship with *Alexandra* and her Son, but durst not openly resent what was done, for fear of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; and therefore pretended to pardon that which he was afraid to punish; but resolved to take the first Occasion to rid himself of *Aristobulus*. He was right Heir to the Crown, which *Herod* by the Favour of the *Romans* had taken from him: And being a very beautiful young Man, the Usurper feared, lest by the Favour of so great Patrons as *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, he might soon gain it. Besides he observed, that this young Man became the Favourite of the People; so as when he officiated as High-priest, he captivated the Affections of the whole Assembly. This raised the Jealousy of the Tyrant, that he had no longer Patience to bear him: For after the Festival he carried him to an Entertainment at *Jericho*; where after Dinner *Herod's* Attendants bathing themselves in a Fish-pond, *Aristobulus* was persuaded to go in with them; and when he dipped under the Water, *Herod's* Servants held him down till he was drowned to Death. This was pretended to be done out of Sport. *Herod* mourned for him, and gave him a sumptuous Burial: But every Body saw through the Hypocrisy, and none more than *Alexandra*, who could not be comforted for the Loss of her beautiful Son, the only surviving Male-Heir of the *Asmonæan* Family.

All this while *Antony* lay idle at *Alexandria*, spending the whole Year in Dalliances with *Cleopatra*. Tho' Opportunities were offered of revenging the *Roman* Cause upon the *Parthians*, yet he neglected them all for his Pleasures: For *Antony* was no sooner returned, than the Kings of *Media* and *Parthia* fell out about the Prey taken from *Statianus* (b). The King of *Media* being deprived of his Share, sent an Embassy to *Antony*, offering to assist him with all his Forces against the *Parthian*. This Offer *Antony* accepted of with good Reason; for the *Median* Horse would have been very useful to fight against the *Parthians*; whose Strength consisted in Cavalry; and the *Parthians* were then weakened by Commotions and Rebellions occasioned by their King's Cruelty. A more favourable Juncture than this could not have happened: But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her Way to *Antony* her Husband, *Cleopatra* feared, that if they should meet, she would be excluded from his Affection. To prevent this she set all her Arts to work, abstaining from Meat, and pretending his Absence would kill her; and she succeeded so far, that he laid aside the Expedition; and wrote to *Octavia* at *Athens* to proceed no further; which became the first Rise of the Breach between him and *Octavianus*.

§ 55. THIS Year did put an End to the Family and Faction of *Pompey* the Great. He left only two Sons, *Cneius* and *Sextus*; *Cneius* the eldest was slain in *Spain* after the Battle at *Munda* (c), and *Sextus* the younger Son was expelled *Sicily*, as hath been before observed (d). He had retired to *Lesbos*, and there lived a while private among the *Mitylenians*; but hearing of the bad Success of *Antony's* Expedition against the *Parthians*, he thought an Opportunity offered to raise himself; and therefore passing over the Continent of the Lesser *Asia*, he there got a small Army together, with which he made several desperate Pushes for restoring his Fortune; but failing in them all, he was this Year taken and put to Death by *Titius*, one of *Antony's* Lieutenants. When *Antony* had Notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to Death: But soon after repenting of this Order, he gave a second to save him alive. The Messenger who carried the Letters of Mercy arrived first: But *Titius* executing his Letters not according to the Sense, but according to the Order of Time in which he received them, put his Captive to Death (e); which rendered him so odious to the *Roman* People, out of the Regard they had to *Pompey's* Family, that they (f) hissed him out of the publick Theatre. Here ends *Appian's* Account of the Civil Wars; being the last of this Author's Works that now remain.

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 2, 3. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion. Cassius, lib. 49. p. 470. (c) Above; p. 455. (d) Above, p. preced. (e) Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. p. 1188. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 460. (f) Vell. Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 79.

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Herod 4.

§ 56. *ALEXANDRA* by Letters acquainted *Cleopatra* of the Murder of her Son (a), and possessed her so effectually with the Villany of *Herod*, that she never left solliciting *Antony* till he promised to call him to an Account for it: And therefore *Antony* going early this Year into *Syria*, in which Journey *Cleopatra* accompanied him, he cited *Herod* to appear before him, and answer this Accusation. But *Herod*, by fair Words and large Promises, so softened *Antony*, that nothing could be done against him; tho' *Cleopatra* used all Arts to ruin him, not merely to gratify *Alexandra*, but also out of a covetous Desire to have his Kingdom granted to herself. But *Antony* satisfied her, by giving her *Cœlesyria* instead of *Judea*, and so the Accusation was dropt. *Herod*, on his leaving *Judea* to go and be judged by *Antony*, appointed *Joseph* his Uncle to administer the Government in his Absence, and gave him in Charge, *That in case Antony should put him to Death*, (as his Murder of *Aristobulus* deserved) *he should cut off his best beloved Wife Mariamne*. This he did, that none but himself, and especially *Mark Antony*, who he heard had professed a Passion for his Wife, might ever enjoy so great a Beauty. *Joseph*, during *Herod's* Absence, frequently waited on *Mariamne*, and one Day told her, *That Herod had such an Affection to her, that he could not live without her*; and upon some further Discourse, blabbed out the whole Matter. This exceedingly offended *Mariamne* and *Alexandra* her Mother; so as on a flying Report that *Herod* was put to Death, they resolved to put themselves under the Protection of a Roman Legion. But Letters coming to hand, that *Herod* was not only in Safety, but also in great Favour with *Antony*, and himself soon arriving, stopt this Design. On his Arrival, *Salome* his Sister, the Wife of *Joseph*, told him what had been doing in his Absence, and filled his Mind with Jealousy of *Mariamne*: But he soon found there was no Reason for this Suspicion, and therefore professed great Affection to his Wife. *Yes indeed* (says she) *it is a notable Sign of your Love, to order to put your innocent Wife to Death in case you should die your self*. At these Words *Herod* flew in the utmost Fury, concluding that nothing but an adulterous Conversation could make *Joseph* betray such a Secret to her: But being satisfied as to her Innocence, he vented his Wrath by putting *Joseph* to Death without allowing him to speak for himself, and clapping *Alexandra* into Prison, as the Root and Cause of all the Mischief.

Cleopatra following *Antony* into *Syria*, was there continually solliciting him for Grants of Provinces, she being as insatiable in her Covetousness as in her Lust. She had already obtained of him *Cyrene*, *Cyprus* (b), *Cœlesyria*, *Ituræa* and *Phœnicia*, and fain would also have had *Judea* from *Herod*, and *Arabia* from *Malchus*, and desired these two Kings to be put to Death that she might have their Kingdoms for a Prey (c). But *Antony* would not grant this last Request: However, to quiet her, he gave her out of *Malchus's* Kingdom that Part of it which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod's* the Territory of *Jericho*, with the balsam Gardens that grew there. By these Largeesses to such a Woman, he very much offended the Roman People. From *Syria* *Antony* marched into *Armenia*. *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as the *Euphrates*; from whence returning by the Way of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, she came to *Jerusalem*, where she was splendidly entertained by *Herod*. While there, she pretended Love to him, and would willingly have drawn him into her Embraces (d). But he abhorred her: And no wonder; for she had endeavoured to persuade *Antony* to deprive him both of his Life and Kingdom: For which Reason he had Inclinations to put her to Death. But his Friends dissuaded him from such an Attempt for fear of *Antony's* Resentments; and therefore he entertained her with all Splendor while she tarried in *Judea*, and upon her Departure waited upon her to the Borders of *Egypt*. However, fearing her Malice, and the tumultuous Temper of the *Jews*, he made *Massada* a very strong Place, as particularly described by *Josephus* (e), and furnished it with Arms for ten thousand Men, that he might there have a safe Retreat in case of any Danger.

In the mean time *Antony* in *Armenia* having by Treachery drawn *Artabazes* King of that Country into his Power, made him his Prisoner, and seized his Kingdom. This Prince had deserted *Antony* in the former *Parthian* War; but now he must either go to him, or enter into a disadvantageous War against him. Upon all the Securities that sacred Oaths and solemn Promises could give for his Return, he ventured into the Roman Camp; where he was no sooner arrived, than, contrary to all those Obligations (f), he was clapped into Chains; which *Paterculus* (g) says were made of Gold, to do him Honour. The *Armenians* resented this with Indignation, as it deserved; and having put *Artaxias*, the eldest Son of the captivated King, on the Throne, they marched with all their Forces to revenge this Perfidy. But *Antony* having overthrown them in Battle, and driven *Artaxias* to take Shelter in *Parthia*, most of the Country submitted to him, and the rest were reduced by Force. But the Perfidy of seizing a confederate King was look'd on at *Rome* as dishonourable, and *Octavianus*, in his Speeches both to the Senate and People (h), made this one of the Reasons of the War that afterwards broke

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. (b) Plutarch. in Antonio. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 13. (d) Idem, Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5. (e) De bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 27. (f) Livii Epitome, lib. 131. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. c. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 474. (g) Lib. 2. c. 82. (h) Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 479.

out between him and *Antony*; who after he had contracted a Marriage for *Alexander*, one of his Sons by *Cleopatra*, with a Daughter of the King of *Media*, leaving the Gros of his Army in *Armenia*, he returned with the rest to *Alexandria*; where he entred the City in a triumphal Chariot, causing the Prey taken in *Armenia*, with King *Artabazes*, his Wife and Children, and other Prisoners, to be carried before him in the same Manner as used to be done in Triumphs at *Rome*, with this Difference, that the Procession here ended at a Place where *Cleopatra* was seated in a golden Throne, on a Scaffold overlaid with Silver, surrounded by the People on every Side. The *Romans*, looking on the Ceremony of a Triumph as peculiar to their City, took it grievously ill that *Antony* carried it to *Egypt* to honour a lewd Woman. However *Antony*, when he had feasted the People at *Alexandria* (a), carried them to the Place of publick Games; where, on the Scaffold already mentioned, *Antony* being seated on a Throne of Gold, and *Cleopatra* on another, he made an Oration to them, declaring *Cæsarion*, the supposed Son of *Julius Cæsar* and *Cleopatra*, to be King of *Egypt*, of *Cyprus* and of the Lower *Syria*, in conjunction with his Mother (b). And whereas he himself had three Children by the same *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander*, the eldest, *Armenia*, *Media* and *Parthia*; to *Ptolemy*, the youngest Son, he gave *Phanicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, bringing them out in Habits like the Princes of those Countries. As to his Daughter *Cleopatra*, he had already made a Match for her, as hath been observed. About the same time he gave to Queen *Cleopatra* the Name of *Isis*, and to himself that of *Osiris*, appearing often after this in the Habit of those Deities. By all these Actions he alienated from him the Affections of the *Romans*.

§ 57. NEXT Year *Antony* went into *Armenia*, with Design to make War on the *Parthians*: But the War then commencing between him and *Octavianus*, hindered him from doing any Thing against the *Parthian*. *Octavianus* had been preparing against *Antony*, and by several Speeches had excited the Senate and People of *Rome* to declare War. On the other Side *Antony* sent *Canidius* one of his Lieutenants to the Coast of the *Ionian* Sea, with sixteen Legions; and after he had renewed a League with the *Median* King, he himself hastned to *Ephesus*; in which Journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which ruined all his Affairs. She would go, fearing (c) lest in her Absence, a Peace should be made on Terms of *Antony's* receiving *Octavia*, and excluding her self. Her strongest Argument was, that she had advanced twenty thousand Talents, which comes to about four Millions of our *Sterling* Money, to the Expence of the War, and therefore it was reasonable that at her Desire she should be present. Many Causes were pretended for the commencing of these Commotions; as the Injury which *Antony* had done to *Octavia* his lawful Wife, by preferring *Cleopatra*, tho' *Octavia* was the younger and more handsome of the two; his declaring *Julius Cæsar* to have been married to *Cleopatra*, and that *Cæsarion* was his lawful Son: For this was to bring an Heir over the Head of *Octavianus* the adopted Son, to dispossess him of the Inheritance; and his giving so many Provinces, as hath been mentioned, to *Cleopatra* and her Children. But the true Cause was, that neither *Antony* nor *Octavianus* could bear a Partner in the *Roman* Empire; each of them would have the whole. From *Ephesus*, *Antony* passed to *Samos*, and thence to *Athens*, in which two Places he and *Cleopatra* spent the most Part of the Year in Luxury (d), Musick, Games and Pleasures.

Antony next Year sent a Bill of Divorce to *Octavia* (e), with Messengers to *Rome* to drive her out of his House. He advanced in his Preparations far sooner than *Octavianus*, who was detained at *Rome* levying Money, and with these Exactions all Italy was oppressed. If *Antony* had pushed the War without losing of Time, probably he might have carried it; but his indulging his Pleasures at *Samos* and *Athens* proved his Ruin. Besides, while he delayed, many of his Friends deserted him; among whom were *Plancus* and *Titius*, whom *Cleopatra's* ill Usage drove away, to his great Prejudice; for they being privy to all his Counsels, disclosed the same to *Octavianus*; particularly they discovered that *Antony* had made an extravagant Will in favours of *Cleopatra* and her Children, to the Dishonour and Damage of the *Roman* State, and lodged it with the Vestal Virgins (f); which being produced and publicly read, did very much excite the *Roman* People against him. *Octavianus* caused the War to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*; which served his Purpose better than if *Antony's* Name had been insert. Both Parties called all their Friends and Allies to their Help: *Octavianus* had all the West, and *Antony* all the East. *Antony's* Forces by Land and Sea, consisted of one hundred thousand Foot, twelve thousand Horse, and five hundred Ships of War; and *Octavianus* had eighty thousand Foot, twelve thousand Horse, and two hundred and fifty Ships of War. *Cæsar* rendezvoused his Fleet and Army at *Brundisium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but the Summer being spent, both Sides put their Armies into Winter Quarters, and laid up their Fleet till the next Spring.

§ 58. IN *Judea*, *Herod* had provided an Army for *Antony's* Assistance: But when he was ready

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(a) Dion Cassius, lib. 49. p. 475. Plutarch. in *Antonio*. (b) Ibidem, ibidem. (c) Plutarch. in *Antonio*. Dion Cassius, lib. 49 & 50. (d) Ibidem. (e) Livii epitome, lib. 132. Plutarch. in *Antonio*. (f) Plutarch. in *Antonio*. Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 481.

to march, Letters came excusing him from this Expedition; and desiring him to turn his Arms against *Malchus* King of *Arabia Petraea* (a), (some Translations of *Josephus* call him *Aretas*.) *Cleopatra* had extorted from *Antony* a Part of the Dominions of this Prince bordering upon *Egypt*. While *Antony* was in Power, the *Arabian* held these Lands for a yearly Tribute; but he being now engaged in a War, in which he expected him to perish, the *Arabian* refused to pay the Tribute any longer. For which Reason, at the Instigation of *Cleopatra*, *Antony* ordered *Herod* to make War upon him, expecting that one of those Kings would fall, and she should have his Kingdom for a Prey. *Herod* on Receipt of these Orders, marched with his Forces into *Arabia*, where after a sharp Fight he obtained a signal Victory: But in a second Battle at *Cana* in *Cœlesyria*, *Athenion*, who was *Cleopatra's* Lieutenant in those Parts, from Hatred to *Herod* joined the *Arabian*, and overthrew the *Jews* with a great Slaughter, *Herod* himself hardly escaping. Not long after, another Calamity happened by a terrible Earthquake, which shaking the whole Land of *Judea*, destroyed about thirty thousand of its Inhabitants in the Ruins of their Houses. Whereupon *Herod* sent to the *Arabians* to crave Peace; but they despising the Message, put his Ambassadors to Death and invaded his Country. *Herod's* Forces being encamped in the Field, had suffered nothing by the Earthquake; and therefore he having got them together, encouraged them by a Speech, at large recorded by *Josephus* (b), to engage, and in the first Encounter he overthrew the Enemy with the Slaughter of five thousand of their Men, and besieged the Remainder in their Camp; where being sore distressed for want of Water in a hot Climate, they rashly ventured another Battle, in which he slew seven thousand more, and forced the Remainder to yield themselves Prisoners. Whereupon the *Arabians* were obliged to submit to such Terms as *Herod* thought fit to demand: And thus he returned with Victory to *Jerusalem*.

Ant. C.
31.
Herod. 7.

§ 59. IN the mean time *Octavianus* and *Antony* took the Field: While *Antony* lay idle, *Octavianus* embarked at *Brundisium*, landed in *Greece*, and took the City *Toryn* before his Adversary well understood that he had gone aboard his Fleet (c). This Action surprised the Enemy, and made many go over to *Octavianus*; which rendred *Antony* so distrustful of the rest, that he was willing to push the Matter to a speedy Decision. Thus came on the Battle of *Actium*, so called from a little City of that Name on the South-side of the *Ambracian* Gulph of *Epirus* (d), where the Cause was decided. The Fleets anchored within a Mile's Distance of each other, and the Armies by Land were within View; the one drawn up on the North Side, the other on the South Side of the Streights entring the Gulph, to wait the Event of the Battle. *Canidius*, who had the chief Command in *Antony's* Army, advised his Master to march his Army into *Thrace* or *Macedon*, and there to try his Fortune by Land. But *Cleopatra's* Opinion prevailed; to venture all by Sea, tho' *Antony's* Fleet was not so well provided for Action as when they came first into *Greece*, many of the Mariners being dead; which forced him to cause burn some of his Ships for want of Seamen to navigate and row them, and the rest were heavy and ill mann'd; whereas the Fleet of *Octavianus* was light, clean, well mann'd, and fit for Action. Both engaged on the second of *September* (e). The Fight for some Time continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, being affrighted with the Noise of the Battle; which Ladies use not to be acquainted with, failed off, and with her sixty tall *Egyptian* Ships: Which *Antony* observing, was not his own Man, proving (as *Plutarch* (f) says) *That the Soul of a Lover liveth in another Body, not in his own*; for he failed after her, leaving the Victory to *Octavianus*. However he came not easily by it; for *Antony's* Ships fought so valiantly for him, even after he was fled, that tho' the Fight began at Noon, it was Night before it ended. There were five thousand Men killed, and three hundred Ships taken. Next Morning *Octavianus* finding his Victory complete, sent a Squadron of his Fleet after *Antony* and *Cleopatra*: But finding them to be out of Reach, they returned to the rest. *Antony* and *Cleopatra* got to *Tænarus* on the Point of *Peloponnesus*: Tho' he went aboard *Cleopatra's* Ship, yet he did not speak to her nor to any body for three Days, but sat in the Posture of a melancholy Man, confounded with Anger and Shame for his ill Conduct. But when he was come to *Tænarus*, *Cleopatra's* Women brought him and her to speak, sup and ly together (g). There *Antony* had an Account that his Army was still safe, and sent Orders to *Canidius* to retire with it through *Macedonia* into *Asia*, purposing there to renew the War. *Canidius* for seven Days continued his March as directed; but being then overtaken by *Octavianus*, he fled by Night to *Antony*. The Army finding themselves abandoned by their Generals, went over to *Octavianus*, and were listed by him among his *Roman* Legions. *Cæsar* sailed towards *Athens*, where he divided the Corn left by *Antony's* Army (h) to the *Greeks*, who were then in great Straits. The foreign Auxiliaries that helped *Antony* in the War retired to their respective Countries (i), and afterwards made their Peace with *Cæsar* as well as they could. He imposed on some of them

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, cap. 6, 7, 8. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 14.* (b) *Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 8.* (c) *Plutarch. in Antonio.* (d) *Dion Cassius, lib. 50. p. 487. Plinius, lib. 4. cap. 1.* (e) *Dion Cassius, lib. 51. at the Beginning, where the 4th of the Nones is with us the 2d of the Month.* (f) *In Antonio.* (g) *Plutarch. ibid.* (h) *Ibid.* (i) *Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 507.*

them and also on the free Cities that had joined with *Antony* heavy Mulcts, whereby he discharged the Expences of the War. As to the *Romans* who had been of *Antony's* Party, some of them he pardoned, some he fined, as he judged their Conduct deserved. *Cassius Parmensis*, the last Survivor of *Julius Cæsar's* Murderers, being overtaken, was killed by those whom *Octavianus* sent to execute Vengeance upon him (a).

From *Tanarus* *Cleopatra* sailed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*, where he had an Army under *Scarpus* : But finding that this had also revolted to *Octavianus* (b), he sailed after *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria* ; where he found her engaged in a very extraordinary Undertaking : For fearing she might fall into the Hands of *Octavianus*, she projected to draw her Ships that were in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red Sea* (c), over the Isthmus of seventy Miles between them, and having joined them with other Ships already in the *Red Sea*, to put on board some of her Treasure, and seek some other Place of Habitation. But the *Arabians* having at the Instigation of *Q. Didius*, then President of *Syria* for *Octavianus*, burnt all those Ships (d), this disappointed her of that Design. *Antony*, upon his Arrival at *Alexandria*, went not into the Palace, but shut himself up in a House near the *Pharus*, secluding himself from the Conversation of all Men, after the Example of *Timon* the *Atbenian*, called *Misanthropos*, or Man-hater (e). But he did not long relish this Way of living ; for he was soon found with *Cleopatra*, spending his Time in Luxury and Folly, as formerly ; only now they feasted as those who resolved to die together.

§ 60. *OCTAVIANUS* having settled the Affairs of *Greece* and the Lesser *Asia*, repaired to *Samos*, and there took up his Winter-quarters, but did not long continue in them, by reason that the Army in *Italy* proving mutinous for want of Pay, and Rewards after their Victories (f) ; and *Agrippa* finding it too hard to quell the Commotion, acquainted *Cæsar* thereof ; who, in a stormy Winter, embarked for *Rome*. On his Way he lost some Ships that attended him, and escaped several Dangers himself. However, being safe, he stayed only twenty seven Days in *Italy* ; where, by giving some Money to the Soldiers, and to others Lands and fair Promises, he quieted them at present. After the Conquest of *Egypt* he gave them several other Donatives (g). Having thus settled his Affairs, he returned to *Asia* before *Antony* and *Cleopatra* had any Notice of his leaving it.

Ant. C.
30.
Herod. 8.

Upon *Cæsar's* coming to *Rhodes*, *Herod* King of *Judea* made his Address to him (h). *Herod* did not leave off Friendship to *Antony* till his Patron's Affairs were become desperate ; and even then he offered his best Advice, which was, *To kill Cleopatra, seize her Kingdom, and with her Treasure to raise a new Army to carry on the War* ; in which Case he promised to stand by him to the utmost. But finding this Advice neglected, and *Antony* fallen into the Snares of *Cleopatra* as much as before, he thought it high Time to take care of himself, and make his Peace with *Octavianus* on the best Terms he could. Old *Hyrchanus* being still alive, who had reigned in *Judea* under the Protection of the *Romans* till he was deposed by the *Parthians*, *Herod* entertained a Suspicion, that if any thing went hard with him, this old Prince would be restored to the Kingdom ; of which *Alexandra* his Daughter had signified some Hopes. To prevent this, *Herod* trumped up a sham Plot against *Hyrchanus*, as if he held a treasonable Correspondence with *Malchus* King of *Arabia* ; and under this Pretence caused him to be put to Death, after he had past the eightieth Year of his Age. But still, to provide the best he could for the worst Fate that might happen, *Herod* lodged *Mariamne* his Wife, and *Alexandra* her Mother, in the Castle of *Alexandriou*, with a Guard commanded by *Joseph* and *Sobemus*, and sent his Mother and Sister with the rest of his Kindred to *Massada*, the strongest Fortress in *Judea*, committing them and the Government to *Pheroras* his Brother, ordering him in case he should be ruined to assume the Crown to himself. Having thus settled Matters at home, he set forward on his Journey to meet *Octavianus* ; and having obtained Audience, he laid aside his Diadem, and in his Speech frankly declared, *That he had formerly entirely loved Antony as his Friend, and had furnished him with Wheat and Money for the War, and would have assisted him in Person at the Battle of Actium, had he not been detained fighting against the Arabians ; and that after Antony was unfortunate, he had offered him his best Advice, (as above related :) But now, since Antony was wholly lost, if Octavianus thought his Friendship worthy of Acceptance, he humbly offered with the same Fidelity to serve him.* *Octavianus* being pleased with *Herod's* frank Way of owning the Truth, and judging him a Person capable to do him Service, ordered him to resume his Diadem. Whereupon *Herod* made large and magnificent Gifts to him, and after this had more of *Cæsar's* Favour and Friendship than any tributary Prince of the *Roman* Empire. Therefore he returned to *Jerusalem* with great Joy ; but on his Arrival, his best beloved Wife *Mariamne* was mightily embittered against him, by reason she look'd on herself and her Mother to have been shut up as Prisoners in the Castle of *Alexandriou* during her Husband's Absence, and had heard from *Sobemus*, that he had private

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Orders

(a) V. Maximus. lib. 1. cap. 7. (b) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 511. (c) Plutarch. in Antonio. (d) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 512. (e) Plutarch. in Antonio. (f) Sueton. in Octavio. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 521. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 9, 10. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 15.

Orders to put them both to Death in case *Herod* should miscarry, and to preserve the Crown to *Pheroras*. *Herod's* Mother, and *Salome* his Sister, who had always been in ill Terms with *Marianne*, took this Advantage to exasperate him against her, and at length prevailed with him to put her to Death, as shall be afterwards told.

§ 61. *OCTAVIANUS* from *Rhodes* marched through the lesser *Asia* (a), to invade *Egypt* on that Side, while *Cornelius Gallus* his Lieutenant was to penetrate into it by the Way of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. On *Cæsar's* Arrival at *Ptolemais*, *Herod* waited on him, entertaining him and all his Army with great Magnificence, and furnishing him with Necessaries till their Arrival into *Egypt*, and over (b) and above presented him with eight hundred Talents. By which royal Munificence he was in high Esteem with him and all his Followers. In the mean Time *Antony* three Times sent Ambassadors (c) to *Octavianus* to sue for Peace, offering to lead a private Life in any Place he should appoint, only desiring the Kingdom to the Children of *Cleopatra*: But no favourable Answer could be obtained with respect to *Antony* himself. As to *Cleopatra*, *Cæsar* desiring to seize her Treasure, and to have her Person to adorn his Triumph, sent her kind Messages, that she might not in a desperate Fit destroy both. She refused indeed to kill *Antony*, but she betrayed him in every thing else; particularly by yielding *Pelusium* to *Octavianus* without Resistance; which was a Key to *Egypt* on the East Side, as *Peritonium* was on the West; which she also betrayed to *Cornelius Gallus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant (d), where he had Occasion to destroy *Antony's* Fleet. *Antony* hearing of these Losses, hastned to defend *Alexandria*, where he routed *Octavianus's* Horse, and boasted much of the Victory to *Cleopatra*: But in a second Engagement, he was entirely vanquished by *Cæsar's* Foot, and driven into the City with great Loss. Next Morning *Antony's* Fleet surrendered to *Cæsar*, and his whole Army revolted. *Antony* perceiving all this to be effected by the Treachery of *Cleopatra*, expressed his Resentments with loud Complaints. Whereupon she fled to a Monument which she had caused to be built of great Height, and wonderful Structure, near the Temple of *Isis*. Thither she had removed the best of her Treasure and Jewels; and there she shut up herself, with two of her Maids, and one of her Eunuchs, causing it to be given out that she was dead; which *Antony* hearing, fell on his Sword, and gave himself the Wound of which he died. But living a few Hours, and being told that *Cleopatra* was yet alive, he caused himself to be carried to her Monument, where she and her Maids hoisted him up, and there he died in her Arms, in the 53d Year of his Age. *Octavianus* lamented his Death, and allowed *Cleopatra* to order for him an honourable Burial. He was a Person of great Generosity, eloquent, and a good Soldier: The two great Victories of *Pharsalia* and *Philippi* were in a good Measure owing to his Valour: But he was corrupted in his Manners, and especially given to Pleasures with the fair Sex; which *Cleopatra* observing, to promote her Avarice and Ambition, yielded her self to Debauches with him; yet when she could no longer serve her Designs by him, was content, for saving her own Interest, to give him up to Ruin, but succeeded not according to her Expectations. For tho' *Octavianus* visited her, and gave her fair Promises, even after she was his Prisoner (e); yet she well enough perceived that he had no Regard for her, but only to preserve her alive to adorn his Triumph; which above all Things she abhorred: And hearing that in three Days she was to be carried to *Rome*, to prevent this, she caused her self to be bitten with an Asp, and so died, after she had lived thirty nine Years, and reigned twenty two (f), from the Death of her Father, whereof fourteen with *Mark Antony*. She was a Woman of great Parts, as well as of great Wickedness. She readily spoke several Languages, being well skill'd in *Greek* and *Latin*: She could converse with *Ethiopians*, *Troglodytes*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes*, *Persians* and others. in their own Languages, without an Interpreter. She excelled in the Art of Flattery, and exceeded in Expences, Feasting and Prodigality. At one Supper she gave *Antony* an Entertainment to the Value of 60000 Pound *Sterling*, by dissolving one of the Pendants of her Ears, a Jewel of immense Value, in strong Vinegar; and drinking it off. *Plancus* secured the other Pendant; which afterwards came into the Hands of *Cæsar*, who caused it to be cut assunder, and made into two Pendants for the Image of *Venus*, thinking that Goddess well adorned with Half of this prodigal Queen's Supper. In her Death ended the Reign of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, after it had continued from the Death of *Alexander the Great*, 294 Years (g). After this *Egypt* was reduced into the Form of a *Roman* Province, and governed by a *Præfect* sent from *Rome*. *Cornelius Gallus* (the same to whom *Virgil* inscribed his tenth Eclogue) by the Appointment of *Augustus*, was the first who enjoyed this Prefecture; and under this Form of Government *Egypt* continued six hundred and seventy Years, till it was taken from the *Roman* Empire by the *Saracens* in the Year of our Lord 641. *Octavianus* having made himself Master of *Egypt*, put an End to the Civil Wars of the *Romans*, and cut off such of the opposite Party as might revive the same; among whom were

(a) Sueton. in *Octavio*, cap. 17. (b) Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 15. cap. 10. de bello *Jud.* lib. 1. cap. 15. (c) Plutarch. in *Anton.* Dion. Cassius, lib. 51. p. 512, — 514. Florus lib. 4. cap. 11. (d) Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 19. (e) Plutarch. in *Antonio*. (f) Canon *Ptolomæi*. Plutarch. in *Antonio*. Eusebius in *Chronico*, fol. m. 68. ad *Olymp.* 187. (g) Euseb. in *Chronico*, ibid.

Antyllus, *Antony's* eldest Son by *Fulvia* (a); *Cæsarion*, Son to *Cleopatra* by *Julius Cæsar*, who having claimed to be lawful Heir to *Julius Cæsar*, could not be born with by the adopted Son; and *Canidius* *Antony's* General. As to the rest of *Antony's* Children, *Cæsar* shewed them all Manner of Favour. *Antonius*, the youngest Brother of *Antyllus* by the same Mother, was a great Favourite, till being convicted of corrupting *Julia*, the only Daughter of *Augustus*, he was put to Death for it. Of *Antony's* two Daughters by *Octavia*, descended *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, who were all three in Process of Time Roman Emperors.

While *Octavianus* was in *Egypt*, he went to the Sepulchre of *Alexander* the Great, and saw his Body (b), which being embalmed, was there preserved in a Case of Glafs. It had formerly been kept in a Case of Gold; but that having been taken away (c) by *Seleucus Cybiosactes*, it was put in a Case of Glafs, in which *Octavianus* saw it, and paid great Reverence to the Remains of this great Conqueror; but would not see the Sepulchre of the *Ptolemies*, nor the *Egyptian Apis*, saying, *He worshipped Gods, not Beasts*. *Cæsar* came to *Egypt* in the Beginning of *August*; and having settled his Affairs there, towards the End of that Month he returned by the Way of *Syria*, the Lesser *Asia*, and *Greece*, towards *Rome*. From this Conquest of *Egypt* begun the *Æra* of the *Actiac* Victory, by which the *Egyptians* computed their Time to the first Year of the Emperor *Diocletian*, in the Year of our Lord 284; which was by the Christians called the *Æra of the Martyrs*.

Herod King of *Judea* hearing of the Death of *Antony*, and that *Cæsar* had made himself Master of *Egypt*, hastned thither to him; and on *Cæsar's* leaving that Country, accompanied him as far as *Antioch*. In this Journey he so far ingratiated himself with this great Man, that he restored to him the Territory of *Jericho*, with the Balsam Gardens that had been taken from him by *Antony*, to gratify *Cleopatra*; and gave him also *Gadara*, *Hippon* and *Samaria* (d) in the Inland Country, with the Towns of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and *Straton's Tower* on the Sea-coast; which made a considerable Enlargement to his Kingdom (e).

Octavianus on his Arrival at *Antioch*, found there *Tiridates* waiting for him. He had been set up to be King of *Parthia* in Opposition to *Phraates* (f); and there also he found Ambassadors from *Phraates* on the like Errand, even to sollicit Assistance the one against the other. He gave to each a friendly Answer, without designing to help either, but rather to dash the one against the other, that thereby he might weaken both, so far as to make the *Parthian* Nation no longer formidable to the *Romans*. With this View he gave Leave to *Tiridates* to continue in *Syria* till he should be in a Condition to expel *Phraates* out of *Parthia*, and accepted of him a Son of *Phraates*, whom he carried to *Rome*, there to be reserved (g) as an Hostage. After this *Cæsar* having appointed *Messala Corvinus* to be Præfect of *Syria*, marched from *Asia* into the Proper *Syria*, where he took up his Winter Quarters.

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Cæsar* entred his fifth Consulship (h), and had therein many Honours decreed to him at *Rome*. In the Summer following, having settled all the Affairs of the several Provinces of the Lesser *Asia*, and the adjoining Isles, he passed into *Greece*, and from thence returned to *Italy*; where he arrived in the Month *Sextilis*, afterwards from him, called *August*, entring *Rome* with three Triumphs (i); the first for his Victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and some other German and Gallick Nations, whom he had overcome before his War with *Antony* began; the second for his Sea-Victory at *Actium*; and the third for subduing *Egypt*, which was the most splendid of all the three: In it there were led before him the Children of *Cleopatra*, and herself in Effigie, with an Asp hanging by her Arm, to signify the Manner of her Death. There being now a profound Peace over the World, the Temple of *Janus* was shut (k), after it had stood open 245 Years. Such immense Riches were brought to *Rome* from *Egypt* (l); that the Value of Money fell one half, and the Prices of Provisions and of all vendible Wares were doubled. The Triumph being over, *Octavianus* had the Title of *Imperator* or Emperor conferred upon him (m), not in the Sense wherein the *Romans* formerly understood it: For thus it imported no more than a Compliment given by the Soldiers to their General, after a Victory obtained; but it was given to him in the same Sense in which all that afterwards governed the *Roman* Empire were called *Emperors*.

§ 62. If we look into what was doing in *Judea* in the mean time, we may observe, that tho' *Herod* on his Return from his late Visit which he made to *Octavianus*, had great Satisfaction in his Success, yet he found nothing but Trouble and Vexation in his own House (n). *Mariamne* his Wife entertained her Resentments for the cruel Commission her Husband had given to *Sobornus* against her and her Mother (o), and carried them on so far as to treat with

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equal

(a) Plutarch. in Antonio prope finem. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 17. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 519. (b) Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 18. Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 520. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 794. (c) See above p. 436. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. (e) See Basnage's History of the Jews, p. m. 9, 10. of the Extent of Herod's Dominions. (f) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. m. 522. (g) Justin, lib. 42. cap. 5. (h) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 522, 523. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 26. (i) Livii Epitome, lib. 133. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 22. Virgil Æneid 8. v. 714. At Cæsar, triplici investus Romana triumpho Mœnia — (k) Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 524. Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 22. (l) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 522. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 29. p. m. 533. (m) Dion Cassius, lib. 51. p. 524. (n) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. (o) See above p. 465.

equal Averſion him and all his Relations, eſpecially *Cyprus* his Mother, and *Salome* his Siſter. Them ſhe frequently upbraided with the Meannels of their Birth in reſpect of hers ; and him ſhe as often reproached with the ſevere Orders he gave to *Joſeph* his Uncle concerning herſelf (a), without mentioning the laſt Injunctions for the Sake of *Sobemus*, from whom ſhe had Notice of the Secret. *Herod* bore this Humour for a whole Year after his Return from *Rhodes* ; often his Wrath made him ready to run into Extremes, but this was as oft checked by the Love he had to her. One Day he called for her into his Bedchamber : She obeyed ſo far as to go to him, but would receive none of his Embraces or Careſſes, yea upbraided him with the Death of her Relations. This provoked the Tyrant to ſuch a Degree, that he had much ado to forbear laying violent Hands upon her for ſuch an Indignity. *Salome* his Siſter underſtanding how the Matter went, ſuborned the Butler to accuſe *Mariamne* of tempting him to adminiſter unto the King a poyſonous Cup. This adding to the Rage he was in againſt her, he immediately ordered her favourite Servant, without whoſe Privy ſhe did nothing, to be put on the Rack ; but all he could extort from him was, that it was ſomething which *Sobemus* had told *Mariamne*, that put her into ſo bad an Humour. Upon this *Herod* fell into a violent Rage of Jealouſy, crying out that *Sobemus* could never have been induced to tell this Secret to her, but at the Price of an adulterous Converſation, and cauſed him immediately to be put to Death. As to *Mariamne*, *Herod* having packed a Bench of Judges out of his Creatures, brought her before them, to be tried for her Life ; who finding with what Vehemence he proſecuted the Accuſation, paſſed upon the poor Lady the Sentence of Death. Neither the Prince nor the Judges intended that the Execution ſhould be precipitated, only that ſhe ſhould be confined to ſome of his Caſtles. But his Mother and his Siſter were ſo bitter againſt her, for ſeveral Womanish Quarrels, that they urged, that if ſhe was kept alive, the People would riſe in her Behalf ; and that there was no other Way to keep all Things quiet, but to cut her off. *Herod* being terrified by theſe Suggeſtions, ordered her Execution. As ſhe was led to it, her Mother *Alexandra* fell on her with bitter Railings, accuſing her of being ungrateful towards an affectionate Husband, and ſeemed ſo offended with her as ſhe was like to fly in her Face. She acted this hypocritical Part, fearing her own Turn might come next : But her Daughter paſſed on without answering a Word, going to her Execution with an intrepid Mind, without changing her Colour, dying as ſhe had lived, great, firm and fearleſs to the laſt. Thus ended the Life of this virtuous Princeſs. In the Beauty and Charms of her Perſon, ſhe excelled all the Women of her Time, and would have been an incomparable Lady, could ſhe have carried with ſome better Temper towards her Husband. But conſidering that he had built his Fortunes upon the Ruins of the whole Family from which ſhe was deſcended, the noble Race of the *Aſmonæans* ; that he had uſurped from them the Crown that he wore, and had cauſed or procured her Father *Alexander*, her Grand-Father *Hyrcanus*, her Brother *Ariſtobulus* the High-prieſt, and her Uncle *Antigonus*, to be all put to Death, as hath been already mentioned in this Hiſtory, and had twice ordered her Death in caſe himſelf had been ruined, it would have tried the Patience of the beſt tempered Woman in the World, to bear ſuch an Husband with any Affection or Complaiſance. Aſſoon as *Herod's* Wrath was allayed, inſtead of Joy, Agonies of Sorrow and Remorſe for what he had done filled his Mind, and would not ſuffer him to reſt Day nor Night, the Thoughts of *Mariamne* ſtill purſuing him (b). Theſe he endeavoured to ſtifle by Wine, Company, Feaſts and Diversions ; but no ſuch Means effecting his Relief, he fell into Fits of Diſtraction, and would often order his Servants to bring *Mariamne* to him, as if ſhe whom he with incredible Cruelty had cut off, had been ſtill alive.

Ant. C. 28. *Herod* 10. Soon after this, there happened a grievous Peſtilence in *Judea* (c), by which great Numbers of People of all Sorts were deſtroyed ; which was reckoned as a Judgment of God for the Death of the Queen. This added to *Herod's* Diſorder ; ſo that not knowing what to do he retired to *Samaria*, where he fell into dangerous Sickneſs. Having got rid of it, with great Difficulty he returned to *Jeruſalem* to take Care of his Kingdom, but never recovered his former Temper, acting ſtill with greater Rigour and Cruelty to the End of his Life. While he lay ſick at *Samaria*, *Alexandra*, whoſe active Head could never be at reſt, thinking he would die, laid Plots for ſeizing the Government ; and in order thereto, treated with the Governors of the two Caſtles at *Jeruſalem*, namely that of *Antonia* on the Mountain of the Temple, and the other in the City, to have them delivered into her Hands, on Pretence to ſecure them for *Herod's* Sons by *Mariamne*. But the Governors of theſe Caſtles liking neither *Alexandra* nor her Deſigns, ſent an Account to *Herod* ; who immediately gave Orders to put her to Death. Thus was her Hypocriſy at her Daughter's Execution rewarded.

Ant. C. 27. *Herod* 11. § 63. *OCTAVIANUS* having filled the Senate at *Rome* with his own Creatures, whoſe Fortunes entirely depended upon him, after ſeveral Conſultations with *Agrippa* and *Mæcenat* (d), made an Offer to reſign the Government into the Hands of the People : But the whole Senate

(a) See above p. 462. (b) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.* (c) *Joſeph. Ibid.* (d) *Vid. Dion. Caſſium lib. 52. per totum.*

Senate entreated he would be pleased to take upon himself the whole Conduct of the Empire, which he with a seeming Reluctancy agreed to for ten Years (a). He would not accept of it for a longer Term, pretending that in this Space, all Things would be settled in Peace, and then he would ease himself of the Burden; still knowing that when this Term should end, he could renew the Lease from one ten Years to another, which he actually did as long as he lived. Here ended the Republican Government of the Roman State, and the whole Power of Senate and People was vested in *Octavianus*, and remained with him and his Successors as long as the Roman Empire continued. The Name of *Augustus*, signifying sacred or venerable, was given to him; and from this Time he was called *C. Julius Cæsar Augustus* (b); which Title we shall afterwards give him. That he might allow the Senate a Shadow of Power with himself, he divided the Empire into two Parts, granting the Senate to govern the Provinces that were quiet and peaceable next *Rome*, and the other Provinces which lay upon the Skirts of the Empire, and were most exposed to the Incursions and Wars of the barbarous Nations, he took under his own Conduct or that of his Lieutenants (c). These were called the *Imperial Provinces*, comprehending *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, *Egypt*, besides others on the Borders of the Empire. By this Management he secured all the Armies and Military Power in his own Interest; and thus he was sure to prevent all Disturbances.

§ 64. IN *Judea*, *Salome* falling out with *Costobarus* the *Idumæan* her second Husband, sent him a Bill of Divorce, contrary to the Law and Usage of the *Jews* (d), for according thereto, the Husband might divorce the Wife, but not the Wife the Husband; but *Salome* by *Herod's* Authority, made that go for Law which best pleased her. To make herself more acceptable to her Brother, she pretended to have discovered *Costobarus* to be conspiring against the King (e), with *Lysimachus*, *Antipater* and *Dositheus*, all Men of Note in the Country; and that for this Reason she abandoned him. To gain the better Credit to her Accusation, she discovered where *Costobarus* had concealed the Children of *Babas*, Sticklers for the *Asmonæan* Race, whom he was appointed to cut off. *Herod* sent to the Place which she named; and finding all to be true which she told as to this Point, believed her as to the rest, and therefore immediately ordered not only them, but also *Costobarus*, *Lysimachus*, *Dositheus*, and several others accused as their Accomplices, to be put to Death.

Cornelius Gallus being recalled from *Egypt* (f), *Petronius* was made Prefect in his Place. *Gallus* on his Return to *Rome*, having spoke too liberally against *Augustus*, was noted with Infamy, being forbid his House and the Provinces under his Command. Other Accusations coming against him, of Concussions, Rapines, Extortions, and other Misdemeanors committed by him while Governor of *Egypt*, he was by vote of the Senate condemned to Banishment; but he prevented the Execution of the Sentence, by falling on his own Sword, and killing himself (g). He was an eminent Poet, and a great Friend to *Virgil*, as appears by his tenth Eclogue inscribed to him.

§ 65. *HEROD* having cut off all the *Asmonæan* Party, thought himself now secure against Dangers, and therefore ventured in many Things to depart from the *Jewish* Customs, by bringing in (h) Rites of foreign heathenish Superstition: For he built at *Jerusalem* a Theatre and an Amphitheatre; and in Honour of *Augustus* celebrated Games much disliked by the Generality of the *Jews*, as inconsistent with the Religion of their Country; particularly they were displeased with some Trophies he set round his Theatre, adorned with *Cæsar's* Titles, with Vestments and precious Stones, which they took for Images; and that he encouraged and rewarded Wrestlers, Musicians, Chariot Races, fighting with Lions and other savage Beasts, as used among the *Romans*. These Things gave so great Offence, that ten Persons entred into a Conspiracy for cutting him off by an Assassination. One of the Conspirators was blind (i), yet did much excite and encourage the rest. They provided themselves with Daggers under their Garments, and went to the Theatre when *Herod* was to come, designing there to slay him. But one of his Spies (of which Sort he had a great many) having got some Notice of the Matter, made Discovery of the same to him, as he was going to the Theatre; whereupon the Conspirators being seized, they boldly owned the Design, saying, *no Man would suffer his Religion to be violated tho' it should cost him his Life*, and were all put to Death by exquisite Torments. The Intelligencer having incurred the general Odium of the People, some of them Meeting with him in a private Place, tore him in Pieces. *Herod* never left off Inquiry after those who had done this, till he got it wrought out of a poor Woman who had been Witness to the Fact, who upon Torments confessed; and then all the Actors, with their whole Families, were punished by Death. To secure himself against all such Tumults for the future, he built many strong Cities in the Land, beginning with *Samaria*. It had been ruined in the Time of *Johir Hyrcanus* (k). *Herod* restored it to its former Splendor, and in Honour of *Augustus* called it

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(a) Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 569, --- 577. (b) Livii Epitome, lib. 134. Florus, lib. 4. & ultimo in fine. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 7. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 20. (c) Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 576, 577. (d) Deut. xxiv. y. 1, 2. Matth. v. 31. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. (f) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 819. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 587. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 66. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. (i) Ibid. (k) See above p. 378.

Sebaste, for Σεβαστὴς in Greek is the same with *Augustus* in Latin. This Place he planted with six thousand new Inhabitants invited thither from all Parts, and divided among them the Country round about it, which being a fertile Soil, when well cultivated, made the City rich and populous, affording plenty to all its Inhabitants. He also put a Garrison into *Straton's Tower* (a), which in Honour of the same *Cæsar Augustus* was afterwards called *Cæsarea*; and he did the same in *Gabala*, where he kept his Horsemen. He built also the Fort *Esthmonites* in *Peræa*, and some others for keeping the Country quiet. This Year, being the thirteenth of the Reign of *Herod*, great Calamities, thro' God's Displeasure (b), fell upon *Judea*, a long Drought produced a Famine, and that Famine a Pestilence, which swept away great Numbers of the People. *Herod* being deprived of the ordinary Revenues from the Fruits of the Earth, and his Treasury being exhausted by building new Cities, did melt down the Gold and Silver Plate in his Palace, and coining it into Money sent it into *Egypt*; from whence *Petronius* the Prefect sent him abundance of Corn to provide his own People, and also some of their Neighbours in *Syria*: And whereas most of the Sheep were consumed; he took Care that such Quantities of Wool were imported from foreign Countries, that every one might be provided with Cloaths against the cold Season. These Acts of Generosity did in some Measure gain him the Affection of the People; but what he gained by such Means he lost by his Tyranny, which continued with him as long as he lived.

§ 66. THE Roman Power protected *Herod*, and the Name of *Augustus* at that Time grew famous all the World over. The remotest Nations of the North and East, that is the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, the *Indians* and *Seres* (c), sent Ambassadors humbly to desire his Friendship, and to offer Presents of Jewels, precious Stones and Elephants. *Florus* tells us (d), that the *Seres* were four Years on their Journey, which is to be supposed coming and going. They were the remotest People of the East, the same whom we now call *Chinese*, and had their Name from making of Silk, and silken Manufactures.

Augustus with the Beginning of this Year entering into his tenth Consulate (e), had a Decree of the Senate made in his Favours, which freed him from the Obligation of all Laws, setting him above all these, with an absolute Power to do all Things in the Government of the Empire according to his good Pleasure: And many other Things were decreed in Honour of him, thro' the Flattery of some who courted his Favour, and the Fear of others who dreaded his Power.

§ 67. *HEROD* being now at Peace and in Prosperity, set himself to the building of a stately Palace on Mount *Zion* (f), making it a Structure of that Magnificence, that in some Measure it exceeded the Temple it self, and was especially famous for two large Apartments, the one of which was called *Cæsareum*, in Honour of *Augustus*, and the other *Agrippæum* for *Agrippa* his Favourite. The same Year *Herod* furnished *Augustus* with five hundred Men out of his Guards, for carrying on an Expedition against the Southern *Arabs*. He having heard that they abounded in Gold, Silver, and other Riches, resolved either by Treaty to make them his Friends, or by Conquest to make them his Subjects. *Ælius Largus*, a Roman of the Equestrian Order, was sent to command in this Expedition (g); for which *Augustus* furnished ten thousand Men, *Herod* five hundred, and one thousand were sent by *Syllæus* from *Obados* King of the *Nabathæan Arabs*. *Syllæus* informing *Largus* falsely, that there was no safe Passage thither by Land, this put him on building a Fleet, and having provided one hundred and thirty Transports at *Cleopatra's* at the Bottom of the Red Sea, he put his Army on board, and sailed to *Leucocome*, a Port of the *Nabathæans*. The Navigation being dangerous, by Reason of Rocks and Shelves, and *Syllæus* guiding him the worst Way, he lost many of his Ships; and on his Landing, his Army falling sick under a warm Climate; he was forced to ly there the Remainder of this Summer, and the Winter following, to wait their Recovery. Next Spring he set out from *Leucocome*, and after a March of six Months Southward, came into those Parts he intended, defeating in his March all who opposed him: But through the Difficulties of the Way, the Heat of the Country, and Unwholsomeness of the Air, Water and Herbs, he had by this Time lost the better half of his Army; and therefore was forced to return without effecting what he designed. The Treachery of *Syllæus* being discovered, *Largus*, by the Conduct of more faithful Guides, returned to the same Ports from which he had been six Months in marching out; and imbarcking at *Negra*, landed in eleven Days at *Myos Hormus* in *Egypt*; from whence he marched to *Alexandria*, having spent two Years in this Expedition. The miscarrying thereof was owing to the Treachery of *Syllæus*; for which, among other Crimes (h), he was executed at *Rome* some Years after this by the Rods and Ax of the Lictor.

§ 68. WHILE *Largus* was on this Expedition, *Candace* Queen of *Æthiopia*, invading the Province of *Thebais* in upper *Egypt* with a great Army, took *Syena* and other Places on the Bor-

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12, 13. (b) Ibid. cap. 12. (c) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 12. prope finem. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 21. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 21. (d) Florus, Ibid. (e) Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 591. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. (g) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 28. Strabo, lib. 16, 17. Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 591, 592. (h) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 782.

Borders, and carried the Garrison Soldiers into Captivity (a): Whereupon *Petronius* then Governor of *Egypt* marched against her, and having vanquished her Forces in Battle, and driven them out of the Country, pursued them into *Æthiopia*; and having pierced above eight hundred Miles into that Kingdom, took *Napata*, or, according to *Cassius*, *Tanape*, the Metropolis, which he destroyed and some other Cities, till not being able to proceed further, by Reason of great Defarts of Sand, and the Heat of the Climate, he returned with many Captives, a thousand of the principal of them he sent to *Augustus*, and sold the rest at *Alexandria*.

Phraates King of *Parthia* being again driven out of his Kingdom by *Tiridates*, prevailed with the *Scythians* to bring him back with a great Army. Whereupon *Tiridates*, with the Chiefs of his Party, fled to *Augustus* to pray for his Assistance (b), promising to hold the Kingdom in Homage of him, in Case he should be restored by his Help. *Phraates* hearing what Way his Adversary was gone, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* after him, demanding of *Augustus* to deliver up his rebel Subjects, and to release his Son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his Hands, as before (c) observed. *Augustus* answered as he had done before at *Antioch*, That he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the Hands of *Phraates*, nor assist either of them against the other: But to gratify both a little, he allowed *Tiridates* to live at *Rome*, with a Maintenance out of the Treasury to support him in Plenty and Honour; and he sent back to *Phraates* his Son, on Condition that he should restore all the Roman Captives and Ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken either from *Crassus* or *Antony* in their Wars. This was then promised, but not done till three Years after this, when *Augustus* came into *Syria*, and by the Threats of a new War induced them to perform it.

§ 69. At this Time there being in *Jerusalem* a very beautiful young Lady called *Mariamne*; the Daughter of *Simon* the Son of *Boethus*, an ordinary Priest of that Place (d), *Herod* fell in love with her; and to make her a more suitable Match for him, he deposed *Jesus* the Son of *Phibes*, and made *Simon* her Father High-priest in his Room. After this he built a stately Palace about seven Miles from *Jerusalem*, on the Ground where he had formerly defeated the *Parthians* and *Jews* of the *Asmonæan* Party. This from his own Name was called *Herodium*. It stood on a very pleasant and strong Situation on the Top of a Hill, from whence there was a Prospect of all the Country round, and at the Foot thereof was such a Number of Houses as made a little City.

Augustus having been seized this Year with a dangerous Sicknefs, when other Means failed of Success, was cured by the Use of the cold Bath, and cooling Potions, prescribed by *Antonius Musa* (e); for which this Physician was advanced to Honours, and well rewarded. A little after *Marcellus* falling sick, while *Musa* endeavoured to recover him by the same Method, he died, to the great Grief of *Augustus*. For he was the Son of *Octavia* his Sister by her first Husband; and being a young Man of great Hopes, he had married his Daughter *Julia* to him, and in his Sicknefs adopted him for his Son and Heir, and all this encreased his Sorrow. This is the *Marcellus* whose Death *Virgil* does lament in charming Verse (f); so as *Octavia* his Mother, when hearing them repeated before *Augustus*, fainted away, and ordered 10000 *Sesterces* to be given to the Poet for each Line on that Subject.

Herod having finished *Samaria*, which he called *Sebaste* (g), surrounded it with a strong Wall, supported by the natural Steepness of the Place; and in the midst of the City there was a sacred Place, containing a Furlong and a Half in Bounds, where was a Temple built (h), famous both for Beauty and Bigness. He began the Building of another City at *Straton's Tower*, on the Sea Coast of *Palestine*, which in Honour of *Augustus* he called *Cæsarea*. In building and adorning of it he spent twelve Years (i), and expended vast Sums of Money; whereby he made it a City of prime note, and the best Port in all the Coasts of *Phœnicia*; whereas before it was a very dangerous Harbour, so as no Ship could ride safe there when the Wind blew South-west. To remedy this, he ran out a Mole in a circular Form, which fenced the Port both against the South and the West, and encompassed Room enough for a great Fleet to ride safe within against all Wind and Weather, leaving a Passage into it only by the North, where the Sea was less rough. This Work was built with Stones brought from far, and of a very large Size, being fifty Foot long, eighteen broad, and nine deep, some greater, some lesser; and the Foundation was laid twenty Fathom deep into the Sea. The whole was fortified with divers Towers; one whereof was called *Drusus*, in Memory of *Drusus*, *Cæsar's* Son in Law, who died young. In the midst of the City there was a Theatre, and behind it an Amphitheatre, both of Stone, pleasantly situated. When *Judea* was reduced into the Form of a Province, this City was usually made the Residence of the Roman Governor. *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, Sons of *Herod* by *Mariamne* (who had been executed) being now grown up, their

Ant. C.
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Herod 16.

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(a) Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 599, 600. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 820. (b) Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 594. Justin lib. 42. 5. (c) Above, p. 467. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. & lib. 18. cap. 7. (e) Dion Cassius, lib. 53. p. 592. Suetonius in Octavio. cap. 59. Plinius lib. 29. cap. 1. (f) Vide Virgil. Æncid. 6. 860, — 884. Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis, &c. & Ruazi notas in locum. (g) Above p. 469. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. (i) Ibid. cap. 13. & de Bello, lib. 1 cap. 16.

Father sent them to *Rome* for their Education (a), providing a Reception for them in the House of *Pollio* : But *Augustus* assigned them Apartments in his own Palace, and gave full Power to *Herod* to leave the Possession of his Kingdom to which of his Sons he should think fit ; and at the same Time added *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, or *Iturea*, and *Batanæa*, Districts that lay beyond *Jordan* and the Sea of *Galilee* to *Herod*'s former Dominions, which was done on this Occasion. There was one *Zenodorus* Tetrarch of that Territory, who not being content with the honest Gain of his Farm, went Sharer with a Company of Thieves in the Mountains of *Trachenitis*, permitting them to rob the Country round about to encrease his Profit. This being complained of, *Augustus* put all these Provinces which *Zenodorus* had farmed into the Hands of *Herod* ; who marching thither with his Forces, broke into the Dens of those Thieves, and by killing a great Number of them, and driving out the rest, soon cleared the Country of them all. *Zenodorus* went to *Rome* to make Complaints against *Herod*. But no Ear being given to his Accusations, he excited the *Gadarenæ* to complain of him to *Agrippa*, who then had the Government of the eastern Provinces beyond the *Egean* Sea, to which *Augustus* had sent him, to prevent some Mistakes that were like to arise between *Agrippa* and *Marcellus*, *Cæsar*'s Son in Law. *Herod* hearing that *Agrippa* had taken up his Residence at *Mitylene*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, sailed thither, to cultivate the Friendship that had been before between them. After him came the *Gaderenes* with their Complaints ; but *Agrippa* was so far from hearing them, that he sent them in Chains to *Judea*. *Herod* to sweeten them, soon dismissed them, which quieted the Troubles which they and *Zenodorus* would have raised against him.

Ant. C. 21. *Augustus* intending a Progress into the East, on his Arrival in *Sicily*, in his Way
 Herod. 17. thither, sent for *Agrippa* ; and having given him in Marriage *Julia* his Daughter, now become a Widow by the Death of *Marcellus* her former Husband (b) sent him to *Rome* there to take Care of Affairs in the West, while he himself should be absent in the East. While *Augustus* tarried in *Sicily*, there came Ambassadors from *Candace* Queen of *Æthiopia* to sue for Peace (c), who finding him at *Samos*, obtained the Peace they desired, and returned to *Æthiopia* (d).
 Ant. C. 20. Next Spring *Augustus* passed from *Samos* into the lesser *Asia*, and having settled all Matters
 Herod. 18. there, continued his Progress till he came to *Antioch*, where *Zenodorus*, with Delegates from the *Gaderenes*, addressed him with their old Complaints against *Herod*, for Tyranny, Violence and Rapine. *Augustus* appointed *Herod* a Day to make his Defence (e) against these Accusations ; but at the same Time treated him with so much Favour, that the *Gaderenes* despairing of their Cause, some of them broke their Necks, others drowned themselves in the River, to prevent their being delivered to *Herod* ; and *Zenodorus* did the like : For having taken Poison, it threw him into a violent Flux of Blood, of which he died. *Augustus* looking on these Men as self-condemned, absolved *Herod*, and gave him the Tetrarchy of *Zenodorus*, joined him in Commission with the President of *Syria*, ordering that nothing should be done in the Province without his Knowledge and Advice. And moreover, at his Desire, gave to *Pheroras* his Brother a Tetrarchy in those Parts. In Acknowledgment of these Favours, *Herod* erected in the Territories which had belonged to *Zenodorus*, at a pleasant Place near the Mountain *Paneas*, from the Foot of which springs the River *Jordan*, a sumptuous Temple to *Augustus*, all of white Marble. By which idolatrous Flattery, and the like Compliances with the Heathens, he further alienated from him all those Jews who were zealous for the Law of *Moses*.

Phraates King of *Parthia*, on *Augustus*'s coming into *Syria*, sent Ambassadors to him to pray his Friendship : For being then in ill Terms with his People, whom he had alienated from him by his Tyranny and Cruelty, he dreaded a foreign War ; and he had Reason at that Time to fear it from *Augustus* : For whereas he had three Years before (f) released him one of his Sons, on promise that he should send back all the Prisoners and Ensigns which the *Parthians* had taken from the *Romans* in their Wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*, this was never yet performed : And therefore, that this might occasion no new War, the *Parthian* not only sent back all those Captives and Ensigns (g), but also yielded to all other Terms of Peace then required of him, and gave four of his Sons, with their Wives and Children, in hostage for the Performance. Thus, as *Justin* (h) remarks, *Augustus* did more by the Greatness of his Name than any other Commander could do by War : And *Ovid* sings of it, as in his Words at the Foot of the Page (i). At the same time *Augustus* settled Affairs in *Armenia*.

Towards the End of Summer, *Augustus* returning out of *Syria*, *Herod* attended him to his Ship. From *Syria* he sailed to *Samos*, and there resided all the ensuing Winter ; and in consideration of the Accommodations the *Samians* afforded him, he gave them their Liberty, and made their City free (k). *Herod*, on his Return to *Jerusalem* finding the People much offended, because of the many Breaches he had made upon their Religion, by his frequent Compliances

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. & de bello Jud. cap. 15. lib. 1. (b) Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 600. Vell. Pat. lib. 2. cap. 93. (c) See Above, p. 470, 471. (d) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 821. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 602. (f) Above, p. 471. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 601, 602. Livii Epitome, lib. 139. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 12. V. Pat. lib. 2. cap. 91. (h) Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5. in fine. (i) Tristium lib. 2. Nunc petit Armenius pacem, nunc porrigit arcus Parthus eques, timida captaque signa manu. (k) Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 603.

pliances with the idolatrous Customs of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, excused himself by the Necessity he was under to please *Augustus* : But this not giving Satisfaction, he prohibited the Meetings of the *Jews* in Clubs or other Assemblies, and had Spies upon them, who gave him Intelligence how all went. Thus, by frequently punishing the Guilty (a), he made a Shift to secure himself. He designed to have imposed an Oath of Fidelity on all his Subjects; but *Hillel* and *Shammai*, with the *Pharisees* and *Essenes*, refusing to take it, he was forced to let it drop; only those who had rendered themselves suspected were forced to comply with it for avoiding his Severity.

While *Augustus* lay at *Samos*, there came thither to him a second (b) Embassy from the King of *India*, to desire the Establishment of a League of Friendship with him (c). To which purpose he wrote a Letter to him in *Greek*, telling, *That though he reigned over six hundred Kings, yet he had such a Value for Augustus by the great Fame he had heard of him, that he sent this Embassy a long Journey to ask his Friendship.* Signed by *Porus* King of *India*. The six hundred Kings of whom he boasts seem to be *Raja's* or petty Princes, who governed as the King's Ministers, of which Number there are many in the *Indies* to this very Day. *Zarmarus* a *Gymnosophist* was one of those Ambassadors, who following *Augustus* to *Athens*, burnt himself in his Presence, as *Calanus*, another of that Sect, had done formerly in the Presence of *Alexander* the Great. Among the Presents they brought there were some Tygers, which were the first of that sort of Beasts that had been seen in *Europe*. *Augustus* returning to *Rome*, was there received with great Honour, his bringing back the Ensigns and Prisoners taken in the *Parthian* Wars being esteemed above a Victory. The Emperor valued himself so much upon this score, that many of his Coins still remaining bear the Inscription *Signis receptis*.

§ 71. *HEROD* having finished his Buildings at *Sebaste*, and far advanced those at *Cæsarea*, formed a Design of new building the Temple at *Jerusalem* (d); whereby he hoped he should not only reconcile to him the Affections of the *Jews*, but also erect a lasting Monument to his own Name. The Temple built after the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity was far short of *Solomon's* in many Particulars; and being erected 500 Years before this Time, several Decays had happened in it. For the Temple being the strongest Part of the City, whenever the Inhabitants were pressed by War they made their last Refuge thither; and when they did so, some of the Buildings suffered by it. To amend all these Defects, *Herod* offered to the *Jews* to rebuild the whole Temple: But finding them startled at the Proposal, he told them he would not take down the old till he had all Materials ready to erect a new one in its Place; and accordingly he employed a thousand Waggons for carrying Stones and Timber, ten thousand Artificers to fit all things for the Building, and a thousand Priests skilful in Architecture to supervise and direct the Work. By these Means all things in two Years Time were got ready, and then, and not till then did he pull down the old Temple, and lay the Foundations of the new one. The Proposal was made in the eighteenth Year of *Herod's* Reign, according to *Josephus* (e), and the Work begun in the nineteenth Year thereof.

Ælius Gallus succeeding *Petronius* in the Prefecture of *Egypt* (f), made a Progress into the upper Parts of that Country, as far as *Syene* and the Borders of *Æthiopia*, in which *Strabo* the Geographer accompanied him. But we have spoken of this Author near the Beginning of this Chapter (g), and now go on with the Affairs of the *Romans* and *Jews*.

Herod having now prepared Materials for new building the Temple, pulled down the old Edifice, and began the erecting of a new one, just forty six Years before the first Passover at *Christ's* publick Ministry. At which Time the *Jews* told him, *Forty and six years hath this temple been in building, S. John, ii. 20.* So that Text may be rendered: For tho' in nine Years this Building was fit for divine Service, yet forty six Years had at that Time passed since it was begun, and there were still many Labourers and Artificers employed for carrying on the Outbuildings all the Time our Saviour was here on Earth, and for some Years after, till on the coming of *Gessius Florus* to be Governor of *Judea* there were eighteen thousand of them discharged at once; who for want of Work (h), began those Mutinies which at last drew on the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple. If this be duly considered, the Objection of the *Jews* (i) against this Text, *John, ii. 20.* will entirely vanish.

This Year, *Julia* the Daughter of *Augustus* brought *Agrippa* a second Son (k), called *Lucius*. The eldest, called *Caius*, was born three Years before. *Augustus* adopted them both for his Sons, and declared them Heirs of the Empire; for this he thought would conduce to settle his Affairs.

§ 72. *HEROD* sailed into *Italy*, there to pay his Respects to *Augustus*, and to see his Sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, who were there educated. In his Way he stopt at *Greece*, and was

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.* (b) See above, p. 470. (c) *Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719, 720.* *Dion. Cassius, lib. 54. p. 603.* (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.* (e) *Ibid.* (f) *Strabo, lib. 17. p. 806.* (g) Above, p. 389. (h) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (i) See *Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, Part 2. p. 121, — 126.* (k) *Dion. Cassius, lib. 54. p. 610.*

Ant. C.

19.

Herod 19.

Ant. C.

18.

Herod 20.

Ant. C.

17.

Herod 21.

Ant. C.

16.

pre-Herod 22.

present at the Games exhibited upon occasion of the 191st Olympiad, in which he presided (a); and to restore these Shews to their former Solemnity, the Poverty of the *Elia*ns not being able to support them, he settled a constant Revenue upon them. On his coming to *Rome*, he was received with great Honour and Kindness by *Augustus*; from whom he received his Sons, instructed in all *Roman* Exercises and Literature, and returned with them into *Judea*. The eldest of them he married to *Glaphyra*, Daughter to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* (b), and the second to *Berenice*, Daughter to *Salome* his Sister. The young Men, by reason of their excellent Qualifications, were esteemed of all the *Jews*; but *Salome*, and others who had contrived the Death of *Marianne* their Mother, fearing their Revenge, did work their Destruction, as shall be afterwards observed. Mean time the Work of the Temple went on, and in a Year and a half the holy Place, the Holy of Holies and the Porch were wholly finished (c), and after eight Years more all the rest was built which *Herod* proposed. The Structure was very magnificent, being an hundred Cubits in length, and an hundred and twenty in height, the Foundations sinking a Part of the last twenty Cubits. The *Jews* afterwards, in *Nero*'s Reign, designed to have raised it to its former Height, but got it not done. It was built of large white Marble, each Stone being twenty five Cubits long, eight Cubits high, and about twelve in breadth. The Porches and Gates were very rich and stately.

Ant. C. 15. *Herod* 23. Next Year *Augustus* having sent *Agrippa* into the East, as soon as *Herod* heard of his Arrival in the Province of the Proper *Asia* he went thither to him (d), and prevailed with him to come into *Judea*, where he entertained him and all his Attendants with all Magnificence, having shewn them all his new built Cities and Castles; as, *Sebaste*, *Cesarea*, *Alexandria*, *Herodium*, *Hyrkania* and *Jerusalem*. At the last of these he was met by the People in their festival Apparel in a solemn Procession. After some Stay, he gave one hundred Oxen for Sacrifices at the Temple, feasted all the People, and then took Shipping for *Ionia*, both he and his Friends being honoured with very great Presents.

Ant. C. 14. *Herod* 24. § 73. *ASANDER* King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* being dead, left the Kingdom to *Dynamis* his Wife, in whose Right he had possessed it, she being the Daughter of *Pharnaces* the Son of *Mithridates* (e). One *Scribonius*, pretending to be a Grandson of *Mithridates*, took *Dynamis* to Wife, and seized the Country. Whereupon *Agrippa* sent *Polemon* (whom the *Romans* had made King of *Pontus* and of the Lesser *Armenia*) to make War upon him. But before *Polemon*'s Arrival, the *Bosphorans* had discovered *Scribonius* to be a Cheat, and put him to Death; yet would not submit to *Polemon*: Which brought *Agrippa* upon them with all his Army, and a dangerous War ensued. *Herod* hearing of this, hastned to help *Agrippa* with a Fleet and Army, whereby he exceedingly gained his Favour: For coming to him at *Sinope* in *Pontus* when he was in some Distress, nothing could be more acceptable than the Supply he brought him (f); for with this Assistance *Agrippa* soon reduced the *Bosphorans* to a thorough Submission. Whereupon *Dynamis* being given to *Polemon* to Wife, he had with her the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* conferred on him, and by the Favour of *Augustus*, who confirmed the Grant, held it with *Pontus* and the Lesser *Armenia*, which he had before. After Matters were thus settled in *Bosphorus*, *Agrippa* returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia*, unto *Ephesus*. *Herod* accompanying him all this Way, procured many Favours of him for the People of those Parts, who prayed his Mediation. At *Ionia* he had an Opportunity to solicit Favour for the *Jews*. *Antiochus* the Great had long Time before this planted two thousand *Babylonish Jews* in *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other Provinces adjoining (g). These being increased to a greater Number, and spread over all the Lesser *Asia* and the Isles, they were maligned and oppressed by the Heathens among whom they dwelt, who would not permit them to live according to the Law of *Moses*, nor to send their sacred Money to *Jerusalem*, nor to enjoy the Privileges granted them, first by the Kings of *Syria*, and afterwards by the *Romans*. *Herod* on their Application undertook their Cause, and employed one *Nicolaus* to speak in their favour, whose Oration is at large to be read in *Josephus* (h). *Agrippa* found their Request reasonable, and for his Friend *Herod*'s sake granted their Demands, confirming them in the Enjoyment of all the Privileges they had at any time possessed. After this *Agrippa* passed to *Samos*, and *Herod* returned to *Judea* (i). On his Arrival at *Jerusalem*, he related to the *Jews* the Successes of his Journey, and what he had obtained for their Countrymen in the Lesser *Asia*; and then remitted to them the fourth Part of their Taxes, which was accepted with great Thankfulness.

Ant. C. 13. *Herod* 25. § 74. *LEPIDUS* being dead, who had born the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* or High-priest at *Rome*, *Augustus* took that Office to himself (k), as did all his Successors in the Empire, as well Christians as Heathens, till *Gratian*, who succeeded *Valentinian* in the Year of our Lord 375. He being a zealous Christian, thought it inconsistent with his Religion to bear so much

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 1. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 16. (b) Idem, Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 2. (c) Ibid. lib. 15. cap. 14. (d) Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 2. (e) Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 616. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 3. (g) Above, p. 338. (h) Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 4. (i) Ibid. cap. 5. (k) Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 31. Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 619.

as the Title of High-priest in the Heathen Rites. He first refused it (a), and others who succeeded him in the *Roman* Empire did the same, tho' that Title is sometimes given to them in ancient Inscriptions. As soon as *Augustus* entred on the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, he set himself to the reforming of many things which were thereby put under his Care. He reduced the Year to the Reformation made by his Uncle *Julius Cæsar*, which had for some Time been neglected. He called in a great many prophetic or fatidic Books, which served only to raise vain Hopes and Fears among the People, and of these he burnt two thousand Volumes (b), reserving only the Books said to be writ by the *Sibyls*; and after having examined them, he rejected those that were counted spurious, and as for those that were counted genuine, he put them into two golden Cabinets, and laid them up in the Temple of *Apollo* under the Pedestal of the Image. These Prophecies were all destroyed in the Year of our Lord 399. Whether the eight Books called *Sibylline*, still extant in Print, be all spurious, or only interpolated, I shall not determine; only we stand in no need of them to confirm our holy Religion, which is attested by a more sure word of prophecy. These who desire a more full Account of the *Sibylline* Books may consult the Authors at the Foot of the Page (c).

§ 75. *ALEXANDER* and *Aristobulus*, Sons to *Herod* by *Mariamne* who had been executed, having on their Return from *Rome* lived three Years at home with their Father, at length fell grievously under his Displeasure. In the Heat of their Youth they had let fall many rash Words, expressing their Resentments for the Death of their Mother, with Threats of Revenge upon the Authors thereof. At which *Salome* and *Pheroras*, the chief Advisers of her Execution, being alarmed, laid Plots for the Ruin of the young Men. In order to this end, they took care to represent all their hot Words on this Subject to *Herod* (d), with all the malicious Interpretations that Words could admit: Which had this Effect on their Father, that he brought *Antipater*, his eldest Son by *Doris* his first Wife, whom he had divorced on marrying *Mariamne*, to Court, and placed him over their Heads. This did not humble them, but rather provoked them to more intemperate Language. *Antipater* brought his Mother *Doris*, who was still alive, also to Court; and they both with great Cunning and Malice improved every thing the Sons of the said *Mariamne* did or said to inflame their Father against them. *Agrippa* being called out of *Asia*, *Herod* waited on him, carrying his Son *Antipater* thither, whom he introduced to *Agrippa's* Favour, and sent him to *Rome* with him (e); where, by Letters commendatory from his Father, he got into the Favour of *Augustus* and of many great Men at *Rome*. But while he was absent, having a View to pave his own Way to the Kingdom, he ceased not to write Letters to his Father against the two Sons of *Mariamne*; but concealing his Malice against them, he expressed only a Concern for his Father's Safety.

§ 76. *AGRIPPA* on his Return to *Rome* was sent against the *Pannonians*, who had revolted (f); but on his coming, the Rebels being frightened by the Terror of his Name, submitted to such Terms of Peace as were required. In his Return he fell sick in *Campania*, and there died. He was the chief Favourite of *Augustus*; and having married his Daughter *Julia*, bore a great Part of the Burden of the Government. On his Death *Augustus* made choice of *Tiberius* the Son of *Livia* his Wife by her former Husband, as his Assistant, tho' no way equal to that Trust, and married him to his Daughter *Julia*, the Widow of *Agrippa* (g), causing him divorce his former Wife, tho' then big with child by him.

The Breach between *Herod* and his Sons by *Mariamne* still growing wider by Means of those who did ill Offices between them, *Herod* took them with him to *Italy*, of Purpose to accuse them before *Augustus*, and brought the Cause before him at (b) *Aquileia*. He charged them that they had carried insolently towards him, and sought to take away his Life by Poyson. *Josephus* sets forth both the Accusation of *Herod*, and the Answer of *Alexander* his Son at large, and in very pathetick Terms. *Augustus* finding that of the main Accusation nothing could be proved, but only Jealousies, and groundless Suspensions, and that the Heart of the Parent and of his Sons relented towards one another, acquitted the young Men, reconciled them to their Father, and sent them Home in Terms of Friendship. He gave to *Herod* the Half of the Revenues of the Metal Mines in *Cyprus*, and the other Half to the Overseer of the Work. On *Herod's* Return to *Jerusalem*, he called the People together, and related to them the Event of his Journey; and according to the Power given him by *Augustus*, he named *Antipater* in the first Place to succeed him in the Kingdom, and next after him the Sons of *Mariamne*.

After twelve Years Time employed in that Work, *Herod* having finished *Cæsarea*, dedicated the Place with great Solemnity, and with Games, after the *Roman* (i) Fashion. Next to *Jerusalem* it was the most large and Magnificent City in all *Judea*. He built also several other Cities, as *Antipatris*, after the Name of his Father, *Cypran*, to bear the Name of his Mother,

D d d d d 2

Ant. C.
12.
Herod 26.

Ant. C.
11.
Herod 27.

Ant. C.
10.
Herod. 28.

(a) Zosimus, lib. 4. c. 61. See Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 387 & 652. (b) Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 31. (c) Blendel de Sibyllis. Servius & Ruzus in Virgilii Æneid. 6. v. 35 & 69. Salmasius in Solinum, p. 75 & seqq. Pri-
deaux's Connection, Part 2. Book 9. p. m. 621, — 635. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16 cap. 6. (e) Ibid. cap. 7. (f)
Dion Cassius, lib. 54. p. 619, 620. Livii Epitome, lib. 136. (g) Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 63. & in Tiberio, cap. 7.
(h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 7, 8. (i) Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 9.

and *Phasaelis* at *Jerusalem*, after the Name of his Brother. It was a fine Tower like that of *Pharus* at *Alexandria*. *Augustus* and *Agrippa* did frequently say, That *Herod's* Magnificence was greater than his Revenues could bear, and he deserved an Empire as large as *Syria* and *Egypt*.

Ant. C.
Herod 29. The *Jews* of *Asia* and *Cyrene* being oppressed by the Heathens among whom they dwelt, and not permitted to live according to their Religion and Liberties formerly granted them, addressed themselves to *Augustus*, and obtained of him an Edict in their Favours (a), whereby they were allowed to send their sacred Money to *Jerusalem*; not to be judged before any Tribunal on their Sabbaths; to live according to their own Laws; and had every other Thing granted which they desired.

§ 77. *HEROD* was a Prince of vast Expence and Liberality, as appears not only by the Temple that he built at *Jerusalem*, and other Cities, Palaces, and Castles that he erected throughout the Land of *Judea*, severals of which have been already mentioned; but also by his extensive Gifts, Buildings and Reparations in many Parts of the *Roman* Empire, which if they were not recorded by such an Historian as *Josephus*, might seem incredible. He tells us (b), That *Herod*, at *Tripolis*, *Damascus* and *Ptolemais*, built publick Baths; that he erected the Wall at *Byblus*, the Seats, Porches, Temples and Markets at *Berytus*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Damascus*. He built a Theatre and an Aqueduct at *Laodicea*, a Sea-Town. At *Aiscalon* he erected sumptuous Baths, with Pillars of very noble Work. To many Cities he gave Fields, as though they had been in his own Kingdom. He gave a yearly Maintenance to the Baths at *Coos*; to poor People he gave Corn, and to the *Rodians* Money to build a Navy of Ships at his own proper Charge. He repaired *Pythium* burnt with Fire; he extended his Liberality to those of *Lycia* and *Samos*, and gave magnificent Gifts to the People of *Ionia*; yea the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, the *Nicopolitans*, with those of *Mysia* and *Pergamus* received Benefits at his Hands. He paved a large Street in *Antioch*, which before had been very dirty, with polished Marble; and adorned it with Galleries, that People might go through it dry in rainy Weather. The doing of all these Things without and within the Kingdom, required a vast Treasure of Money, which no Wonder he was sometimes straitned to find. And hearing that *Hyrchanus* had found Money in *David's* Sepulchre; he, with a few trusty Friends ventured into the same in the Night Time (c); but found no Money there, only some fine Garments and Ornaments of Gold which he caused carry away: And being terrified, to atone for his Fault, he built a sumptuous Monument of white Marble at the Entrance of the Sepulchre.

§ 78. THESE Actions at home and abroad made him highly esteemed: But he lost the Comfort of the whole, by Disturbances in his own Family. *Salome*, *Pheroras* and *Antipater* pursuing their Plot against the Sons of the executed *Mariamne*, took Care that many false Stories concerning them were from Time to Time carried to the Ears of *Herod*; which so tormented him, that he could neither sleep by Night, nor enjoy Quiet by Day. To make Discovery of the imagined Treason, he put his own Eunuchs and all the Confidents of the young Princes on the Rack; which made them tell many Things true or false to be free of Torture. Whereupon *Alexander* his Son was cast into Prison. He not knowing what to do, wrote four Letters to his Father, telling him, that it was true there was a Combination against his Life; and that *Salome* his Sister, *Pheroras* his Brother, with *Ptolemy* and *Sapinnius* his two Confidents were on the Conspiracy (d). This had the designed Effect; the old suspicious Tyrant raged more than ever, even like a mad Man, trusting to no Body, condemning many to Death; and tormenting others, because they would not confess what they knew nothing of; whereby his Palace was turned into a Slaughter-house; no Body durst come into his Presence for Fear of Death or Torments, and all were filled with Confusion and Horror. While he was in this Case, *Ant. C.*
8. tormenting himself and others, *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* came to his Court: His Daughter was married to *Alexander*. *Herod. 30.* On hearing the Complaint against his Son in Law, he put on a seeming Rage against him; which outdid that of *Herod*; threatening to take his Daughter from him, and using many bitter Expressions; which brought *Herod* to plead for his Son: *Archelaus* finding *Herod* in this Temper, by his good Address procured another Reconciliation between the old King and his Sons (e). *Herod* being sensible of the Kindness *Archelaus* had done him; in making Peace in his Family, gave this Prince great Presents; and on his Return accompanied him as far as *Antioch*, where he reconciled him to *Titus Volumnius*, President of *Syria*: And because *Herod* had acquainted *Augustus* with this second Breach in his Family, he thought fit also to go to *Rome*, and give him an Account of the Reconciliation.

§ 79. WHILE *Herod* was absent the Thieves of *Trachonitis* taking the Advantage, returned to their old Trade of robbing all Parts of *Judea* and *Cælesyria* that lay within their Reach (f), which created this King a great deal of Trouble. Their Ring-leaders were entertained by *Syllæus*, who governed *Syria* under *Obodas*. This *Syllæus* hated *Herod*, because tho' he had obtained

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 10.* (b) *De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 16.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 11.* (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Ibid. cap. 12.* (f) *Ibid. cap. 13.*

ed the Consent of *Salome* his Sister for Marriage, yet *Herod* stopped the Match, unless *Syllæus* would turn a Jew (a), which he durst not do for fear of the *Arabians*; whereupon she was married to *Alexas* a Confident of *Herod*'s. Upon his Return from *Rome* into *Judea*, *Herod* applied himself to punish the *Trachonite* Thieves: But not being able to come at them by reason of the Protection given them in *Arabia*, he ruined all their Families and Kindred that he could find in any Place of *Trachonitis*. The Thieves being exceedingly exasperated at this, renewed their Inroads upon *Judea* in a desperate Manner, and did great Damage to the Country.

The Re-edifying of the Temple by *Herod* being finished at the End of nine Years and a Half from the Beginning of that Work, *Herod* celebrated the Dedication thereof with Solemnity, which was the greater (b) because it did fall on the same Day of the Year on which he received the Crown. *Josephus* says, 'Tis reported, that during the building of the Temple, it never rained by Day, but only by Night, that the Work might not be interrupted. Such Reports the Reader may believe as he pleaseth.

This Year died *Horace* (c) that eminent Poet, and *Mæcenæ* his great Patron (d), who next to *Agrippa* was the greatest Favourite of *Augustus*, and was always a true and faithful Counsellor to him.

§ 80. *HEROD* being still vexed with the *Trachonite* Thieves, who had taken Shelter in *Arabia*, applied to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* the Roman Governors in *Syria*, with Complaints against *Syllæus* for protecting them (e); and at the same Time commenced a Suit against him, for a Debt of sixty Talents for the Service of King *Obodas*. *Syllæus* was forced to appear before the Presidents of *Syria* at *Berytus*; and on *Herod*'s making good his Allegations, was obliged to pay the Debt in thirty Days, and to deliver up the Fugitives that were in the Dominions of *Obodas*. Failing of both these Engagements, he fled to *Rome*: Whereupon *Herod* applied himself to the Roman Governors in *Syria*; and having got their Licence to right himself by Arms, he marched into *Arabia* with an Army, destroyed *Repta*, the Nest of those Thieves, and slew as many of them as fell into his Hands, with *Nacebus* an *Arabian* Captain, and five and twenty of his Men (f), and then marched back into *Judea*, placing three thousand *Idumæans* in *Trachonitis*, to hinder these Thieves from their Depredations. At *Rome* *Syllæus* having received Information of all this, put on Mourning, and went to *Augustus*, magnifying the Injuries *Herod* had done to *Arabia*; that he had ravaged and ruined the whole Country, pillaged *Repta* of a vast Treasure, killed 2500 *Arabians*, and with them *Nacebus* his Kinsman (g). *Augustus* crediting the Truth of the Story, wrote a very sharp Letter to *Herod*, who for some Time, upon this Account, was out of his Favour, till at length the Emperor was better informed of the Truth of the Matter. In the mean Time died *Obodas*, King of the *Nabathæan* Arabs. *Syllæus* had contrived his Death before he left the Country, and went to *Rome* to procure the Succession when it should happen: But the *Nabathæans*, without making any Application to *Augustus*, placed on the Throne of the Deceast one *Æneas*, who by a Name common among the *Arabian* Kings was called *Hareth*, in Greek *Aretas*.

Augustus taking an Account of all the Inhabitants of *Rome*, found them to amount to four Millions, two hundred and thirty three thousand People (h). According to *Suetonius* (i), this Emperor three Times made a Census; the first and last with a Colleague in the Consulship, and the second alone; which seems to be this of which we are speaking. The Empire of *Rome* by this Time was become very great, comprehending the best Part of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, near four thousand Miles in length, and about the half in breadth; the Revenues thereof amounted to about forty Millions *Sterling*.

§ 81. *TIBERIUS*, the Step-Son and Son in Law to *Augustus*, in some Discontent, either because he observed *Caius* and *Lucius*, Grand-children to the Emperor, preferred to him (k) or from Displeasure with *Julia* his Wife, whom he durst not accuse, nor yet liked to bear (l), or some other Cause, left *Rome* and retired to *Rhodes*, on Pretence there to improve himself in his Studies; where he continued for about seven Years in a private Life. He had a great Difficulty to obtain *Augustus*'s Consent to his Retirement, but greater afterwards to gain his Permission to return.

At this Time *Herod* was involved in great Perplexities. His Quarrels with the Sons of the executed *Mariamne* revived; *Eurycles* the *Lacedæmonian* blew the Coal: And *Herod* being out of Favour with *Augustus*, on Account of *Syllæus*'s Information, the *Trachonites* took the Advantage (m), and overpowering his *Idumæan* Guards, began their Depredations again. *Herod* durst not revenge himself on them for fear of offending the Emperor. He sent two Embassies to *Rome* to remove these Prejudices; but none of them could obtain an Audience, which encouraged

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 11. & 13.* (b) *Ibid. lib. 15. cap. 14. in fine.* (c) *Suetonius in vitâ Horatii.* (d) *Dion Cassius, lib. 55. p. 632.* (e) *Joseph Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 13.* (f) *Ib. cap. 14.* (g) *Ib. cap. 15.* (h) *Gruteri Inferip. p. 230. Usserii annales ad annum M. 3996. p. m. 563. Vide Isaac. Vossium de magnitud. urbis Romæ.* (i) *Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 27.* (k) *Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 99.* (l) *Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 10.* (m) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15, 16.*

couraged the Thieves to great Insolencies. At length he employed *Nicolaus Damascenus* the Historian; who on his coming to *Rome*, durst not directly apply to *Augustus*, but joining with the Ambassadors of the *Nabathæans*, sent to compliment the Emperor for their new King's Accession to the Throne, and to accuse *Syllæus* for killing *Obodas* their late King. He undertook to manage their Cause, and resolved to bring in the Affair of *Herod* by a Side Wind. But *Augustus* would receive no Compliments nor Letters in Name of *Aretas*, because he had entred on the Government without his Consent; yet he appointed a Day for hearing the Accusation against *Syllæus*. *Nicolaus* in Management of this Cause, declared the grievous Crimes that *Syllæus* had been guilty of, and that he had most audaciously imposed on *Augustus* himself in the Account he had given of the Affair of the *Trachonites*, which was all false. The Emperor being startled at this, desired *Nicolaus* to make out that Point: Which he having done so fully, and proved his Allegations by the Sentences and Letters of the Roman Presidents in *Syria*, so that the accused then present could not contradict one Article of what had been advanced; *Augustus* gave Sentence against *Syllæus*, That he should be carried back into Arabia, should pay his Debt due to *Herod*, and after that should be put to Death (a); which was accordingly executed upon him.

By this *Augustus* being again reconciled to *Herod* (b), and being grieved that, upon the Credit of *Syllæus*'s false Accusations, he had writ so severely to him, resolved to make him Amends, by expelling *Aretas*, and giving to him the Kingdom of the *Nabathæan Arabs*. But while he was thinking of this, Letters were given from *Herod*, full of Complaints against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, his Sons by *Mariamne*, and desiring the Emperor's Leave to proceed criminally against them. Upon perusing these Letters, *Augustus* considering *Herod*'s Age, and his present Misfortunes as to his Children, thought it not proper to burden him with the Affairs of a new Kingdom; and therefore changing his Design, he accepted of the Presents offered by the *Nabathæan* Ambassadors, which were very rich, particularly a fine Crown of Gold, and confirmed *Aretas* in his Kingdom. However he wrote a kind Letter to *Herod*, wherein he consoled his Misfortune as to his Sons, and gave him full Liberty to proceed against them as their Crime should deserve, advising him to call a Council at *Berytus*, and there with the Assistance of the Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, together with *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and other Persons of Honour therein named, to hear and finally determine the Matter.

Herod being well pleased with this Letter, immediately summoned a Council to meet at the Place mentioned, calling to it *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Governors in *Syria*, and all others who were named in the Emperor's Letters, except *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, who being *Alexander*'s Father in Law, seemed to be too much engaged by that Relation, to be an impartial Judge in that Affair. The Council being convened, *Herod* accused his Sons with great Vehemence (c); and tho' there was but little true in all that he alledged, save only that they designed to have retired out of *Judea* from their Father's Tyranny; yet the Majority of the Council being overborn by *Herod*, passed a Sentence of Condemnation against his Sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, leaving to *Herod* to execute it as he should think fit: Whereupon sending them to *Sebaste*, he caused them both to be there strangled; yea, he caused *Tyro* and his Son, with three hundred others to be put to Death, only because they did plead for the Life of these unfortunate Princes. In this Tragedy, *Salome* the Sister of *Herod*, acted the chiefest Part. She was a crafty and malicious Woman, ever busy where any Mischief was to be done, and by humouring her Brother, maintained her Interest with him as long as he lived.

Ant. C. § 82. THE Sons of *Mariamne* being now cut off, and *Antipater* having nothing to stop his
5. Way to the Crown but the Life of *Herod* his Father, he entered into a Conspiracy with *Pheroras*
Herod. 33. his Uncle, to dispatch the old King (d) by Poison. Tho' *Pheroras* had always found *Herod* a kind Brother to him, yet he was at present very much out with him on account of the Wife he had lately married. On the Death of *Pheroras*'s first Wife, *Herod* offered him one of his Daughters by *Mariamne*; but he was so entangled with Love to a Maid Servant, that he rejected the King's Daughter; whereupon she was given to *Phasael* (e), the Son of *Phasael*, *Herod*'s elder Brother. However, *Herod* after some Time proposed to him another Daughter, and this Marriage he promised to solemnize in a Month's Time, but when that Time was expired, he refused to perform his Engagement, being unwilling to put away the Maid Servant he had married. This widening the Breach, *Antipater* took the Occasion to engage *Pheroras* in his Designs. Another Occasion also contributed to this Difference: The whole Nation of the Jews being called to swear Allegiance to *Augustus* and *Herod* (f), the *Pharisees*, to the Number of six thousand Persons, refused the Oath, upon a Notion that it was against their Law to yield Allegiance to any Prince who was not of the Stock of *Israel*. *Herod* imposed a great Fine upon them for this Contumacy; which *Pheroras*'s Wife, out of her great Zeal for that Sect paid down, and they to requite her, pretended by a prophetick Spirit to foretel, That God would

(a) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 782. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 16. (c) Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 17. (d) Ibid. lib. 17. cap. 1. (e) Ibid. lib. 16. cap. 11. (f) Ibid. lib. 17. cap. 3.

would transfer the Kingdom from the Family of Herod to that of Pheroras. Herod having got Notice of this by Salome, several of the Pharisees were put to Death, and with them Carus and Bagoas the Eunuch; and Pheroras was charged to put away his Wife, or the King would never shew Favour to him as a Brother; but Pheroras told he would rather die than live without his beloved Wife. Herod resenting this Answer, forbid Pheroras his House, and discharged all his Friends from having any Correspondence with him. These Things made Antipater and Pheroras join in Counsel to cut off Herod by Poison: Mean time Antipater went to Rome, and Pheroras retired to his Tetrarchy, where he took Sickness and died,

Upon his Death, two of his freed Men made heavy Complaints to Herod, that their Master had been poisoned by his own Wife (a). Herod making diligent Enquiry into this Matter, put several to Torture, and thereby came to the Discovery of the Plot that was laid against himself by Antipater, Pheroras and others, to cut him off by Poison. The deadly Poison was found to have been brought out of Egypt, from Theudion the Brother of Doris, by Antiphilus the Brother of Antipater. Pheroras's Relict confessed that she had the Poison delivered to her to keep, but that her deceas'd Husband repenting of the Plot on his Brother's kind visiting him in his Sickness, she by his Direction did cast the Poison into the Fire, excepting a small Part she had reserved for herself to make use of if there should be occasion. By this it was made out, that Antipater having procured the Death of the two Brothers to make his Way to the Crown, had for the same End laid a most wicked Plot for poisoning his Father, and retired himself to Rome till the Parricide should be acted. Upon this Discovery, Herod spoils Doris, that had been his Wife, of her Ornaments, and thrusts her out of the Palace; puts away also Mariamne the Priest's Daughter, his present Wife, as conscious of the Treason; scores her Son out of his Testament, depriveth Simon the Son of Boethus his Brother-in-law of the High-priesthood, and placeth Matthias the Son of Theophilus in his room.

§ 83. AT this Time Zacharias saw the Vision in the Temple mentioned by the Evangelist Luke, i. 5, — 22. Zacharias being of the Course of Abiah (b), when it came to his Share to offer upon the Altar of Incense (c), the Angel Gabriel, who had before foretold the coming of the Messias to Daniel (d), appeared to him, and foretold the Birth of his Son, Christ's Forerunner, to come in the Spirit and Power of Elias, to be born of his Wife Elisabeth, tho' she had been before barren, and advanced in Years; which Promise Zacharias not firmly believing, was stricken dumb till the same was accomplished.

Next Year the Temple of Janus was shut at Rome. They used to lay open its Gates in Anno ante te Heras the Time of War, and to shut them up in Times of Peace. They had been only five Times shut since the building of the City: First, in the Reign of Numa (e); Secondly, after the End of the first Punic War (f); Thirdly, after Augustus had vanquished Antony and Cleopatra (g); Fourthly, after Augustus's Return from the War with the Cantabrians in Spain (h); and the Fifth Time was in this present Year (i); for at this Time there was a general Peace all the World over for twelve Years together, which was a proper Season to usher in Christ our Lord the Prince of Peace.

For in the sixth Month after the Angel Gabriel had appeared to Zacharias in the Temple, he was sent to Nazareth, a City of Galilee, to Mary, a Virgin of the House of David, espoused to Joseph, of the same Lineage, to declare to her the good Tidings, that of her was to be born the Son of God, Luke, i. 26, — 36. by the Holy Ghost coming upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadowing her.

Cæsar Augustus at this Time issued out a Decree that all the World should be taxed, and this Taxing was made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria, Luke, ii. 1, 2. This is the same Census that we have before (k) observed to have been begun three Years ago. But the Account being very particular, (for the Censors took notice, and made Registration of all the Roman Citizens, their Wives and Children, with the Age, Qualities, Trades, Offices, and Estates real and personal (l) of all of them) three Years were employed in this Work before they came to Bethlehem, to which Joseph and Mary, being of the House and Lineage of David, originally belonged. Tertullian (m) tells us, that the Census was made under Augustus by Sentius Saturninus President of Syria. Augustus was then composing a Book (n), containing an exact Survey and Description of the whole Roman Empire; and in order to this, it was necessary that there should be an accurate Account of Judea, which was then a Kingdom depending upon the Empire as well as the Provinces that were under Roman Governors, tho' perhaps the Romans did not levy Money of the People in Judea till about eleven Years after this, when Archelaus being banished, Quirinius, called in Greek Cyrenius, was Governor or Procurator of Judea. This makes the Account given by Josephus (o) of this Matter agree with

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that

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 6. (b) 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. (c) Exod. xxx. 7, 8. (d) Dan. ix. 21, — 27. (e) Plutarch. in Numa. Livius, lib. 1. (f) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 3. (g) Dion Cassius, lib. 5. p. 524. (h) Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 20. (i) Ibid. cap. 22. (k) Above, p. 477. (l) Florus, lib. 1. cap. 6. Cicero, de Legibus, lib. 3. (m) Adversus Marcionem, lib. 4. cap. 19. operum Tertulliani p. m. 513. (n) Sueton. in Octavio, cap. 101. Tacitus, Hist. lib. 1. cap. 11. Dion Cassius, lib. 56. p. m. 677. (o) Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1.

that of the Evangelist *Luke* (a). And it needs not seem strange, that so exact a Survey of the *Roman* Empire cost several Years Labour, when we consider that *Joab* was nine Months and twenty Days in taking up a List of the Men fit for War in the ten Tribes of *Israel* (b). And when a Survey of *England* was made by *William* the Conqueror in that called *Domesday-book* (c), it was six Years in making.

Anno
Christi ve-
ro 1.
Herod 35.

§ 84. IN the declining Part of *Augustus's* Reign, the great Ambassador of Heaven, our Lord *JESUS*, was sent into the World to publish the glad Tidings of Salvation, born in the Fulness of Time, at *Bethlehem*, of the blessed Virgin *Mary*; and being wrapped in swadling Cloaths, was laid in a Manger, because there was no Room for him in the Inn (d). This was a Time of universal Joy. The Angels revealed his Birth to the Shepherds, saying, *Fear not: I bring you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For to you is born in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* This was followed by a triumphant Song of the heavenly Host, praising God, and saying, *Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good-will towards men.* In the eighth Day after his Birth he was circumcised, and his Name called *Jesus* (e). Wise-men out of the East, following the Guidance of a Star, came and worshipped Christ at *Bethlehem* (f), presenting unto him Gold, Frankincense and Myrrhe. At the End of forty Days after his Birth, his Parents presented him in the Temple to the Lord, offering, according to the Law (g), a Pair of Turtle-doves or two young Pigeons (h); for being poor, they were not able to give a richer Sacrifice. When they brought the Child *Jesus* to the Temple, *Simcon*, a just and devout Man, to whom it was revealed that he should not die before he had seen the Lord's Christ, took the Child into his Arms, blessing God, and prophesying concerning Christ and his Mother. *Anna* also, the Daughter of *Phanuel*, gave Thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all that waited for Redemption in *Jerusalem*. And when *Joseph* and *Mary* had performed all things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned unto *Galilee* to their own City *Nazareth*.

Herod being alarmed with the Birth of one who was to be King of the *Jews*, and thinking *Jesus* to be still at *Bethlehem*, caused kill all the children in that city, and the coasts thereof, from two years old and under (i). Which Fact is attested by *Macrobius* a Heathen (k). But of the Confirmation of these Passages of the New Testament History by the Testimony of *Jews* and Heathens, I have discoursed in another Essay (l); and therefore shall not insist on it here, nor on these remarkable Steps of divine Providence, which did promote the Overthrow of heathenish Idolatry, and the Conversion of the *Gentiles* (m). The holy Angels, who are Ministers to the Lord, took a tender Care of our Redeemer in his Infancy; for an Angel appeared to *Joseph*, saying, *Arise, take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him* (n). Then he arose, and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into *Egypt*, and was there until the death of *Herod*.

§ 85. THIS leads me to go on with the History of the *Jews*. I have hitherto deduced a Narrative of Affairs in several Nations of the Heathens, so far as Authors give us Light concerning them, as well as of the Transactions of the Church of God before the coming of our Saviour to enlighten the *Gentile* World. But in the following Part of this Work, I design as far as conveniently I can to confine my self to the History of the *Jews*, leaving other Affairs to those who write the History of the Christian Church.

We have already observed how *Herod* discovered that his Son *Antipater* had prepared a deadly Poison, in Conjunction with others, to carry off his aged Father (o) out of this World. *Antipater* returning from *Rome*, and not knowing that the Plot had been laid open in his Absence, on his Arrival at his Father's Palace at *Jerusalem* he was there arrested and taken into Custody. Next Day his Father accused him before *Quintilius Varus*, newly arrived in those Parts, to succeed *Sentius Saturninus* as President of *Syria*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* prosecuted the Accusation in a large Speech (p); and *Antipater* not being able to purge himself of what was alledged, the Poison was brought forth, and given to a condemned Malefactor, whereby he was immediately killed. *Antipater* being cast in Chains, was sent to *Augustus* with an Information of the whole Affair, and *Varus* went to *Antioch* to take Care of the Government of *Syria*. New Letters arriving from *Egypt*, gave a further Discovery of the Treason; these were also sent to *Rome*. *Augustus* having considered the whole Affair, punished one *Acme* with Death for being conscious to the Crime, but sent *Antipater* back to *Jerusalem*, allowing his Father either to banish or put him to Death as he pleased. *Herod* being at this Time under the Sickness of which he died, recovered his Spirits a little by the Pleasure he took in *Augustus's* Letters, and called for an Apple and a Knife whereby to pare it; and seeing no Body in the Room, he de-

(a) ii. 1, 2. (b) Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 8, 9. with 1 Chron. xxi. 5, 6. (c) Spelman's Glossary on the Word Domesday. (d) Luke, ii. 6, — 14. (e) Luke, ii. 21. (f) Matth. ii. 1, — 12. (g) Levit. xii. (h) Luke, ii. 22. — 39. (i) Matth. ii. 16. (k) Saturnalia, lib. 2. cap. 4. (l) Propagat. of Christianity, vol. 1. p. 210. & seqq. (m) Ibid. p. 400, — 404. (n) Matth. ii. 13, — 15. (o) Above, p. 478. (p) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 7, 8. & de bello, Jud. lib. 1. cap. 20.

designed to have given himself a mortal Wound with the Knife, but was hindered by *Achibub* his Nephew. Upon this a Noise arising that the King was dead, *Antipater* offered a Bribe to his Jaylor to set him free, that he might seize the Crown. But the Jaylor informing *Herod*, the old Tyrant lifted himself upon his Elbow, and commanded one of his Guards presently to kill *Antipater* (a), and bury his Body in the Castle of *Hyrcanion* without any Honour; which was accordingly performed five Days before his own Death.

While *Herod* lay sick unto Death, *Judas* the Son of *Sariphaeus* and *Matthias* the Son of *Margalothus*, Interpreters and Teachers of the Law among the Jews, inculcated upon their Scholars, and other young Men in the Place, how many things the King had done contrary to the Law; which they ought to testify against, even with the Hazard of their Lives; and particularly, that he had set up a golden Eagle over the great Port of the Temple. Mean Time a Noise being spread that the King was dead, the young Men assembled, pulled down the Eagle, and hewed it all in Pieces. *Herod* being acquainted of this, called the Governors of the Jews, and expostulated with them about this Commotion, speaking to them out of his Couch; and saying, the young Men had destroyed these Things which he had dedicated to God. The Governors fearing the King's cruel Temper, told they would not justify the Action; it was done without their Consent, and deserved Punishment: And the King to shew his Resentment, caused *Matthias* to be deprived of the High-priesthood, as privy to, or not hindering what the young Men had done, substituting *Joazar* the Brother of *Marianne* his Wife, Daughter to *Simon* the Son of *Boethus* in his Room: And as to *Matthias* the Son of *Margalothus* and his Associates (b), he caused them all to be burnt to Death.

§ 86. *HEROD*'s Disease grew still more and more bitterly violent, God exacting Vengeance upon him for his grievous Enormities. He had a slow Fever (c), not shewing it self so much to the outward Touch, as more grievously burning him within. He had a vehement *Bulimia* or canine Appetite for Meat, which nothing could satisfy. His Bowels were ulcerated, especially the Colon-Gut; from whence he suffered grievous Pains. His Feet were swollen, whence issued a phlegmatick shining Humour. The Disease also seized the lower Part of the Belly; and an Ulcer broke out in his Genitals, breeding Worms and Lice, with a filthy Priapism. He had a troublesome Flux of Rheum, accompanied with an Asthma, with a stinking unfavorable Breath; and the Patient not having Strength to bear all this, there followed a Convulsion of all the Parts of the Body. Thus he died in horrid Pain and Torment, smitten of God for his enormous Iniquities, which is the Fate of many Persecutors. His Death happened in the seventieth Year of his Age, after he had reigned from the Time of his being declared King at Rome thirty seven Years, and from the Death of *Antigonus* thirty four (d):

In his whole Sickness he was of an uneasy Mind, apprehending that he became contemptible in the Eyes of the Jews, and that the whole Nation took Pleasure in any Misfortune that befel him. Tho' his Disease was inveterate, he used all the Help and Medicines that his Physicians could afford him, went and bathed in the warm Waters of *Callirhoe*; but all to no Purpose. When he found himself a dying, he shewed his cruel Temper by this Project: He summoned all the principal Men in every Corner of *Judea*, commanding their Appearance at *Jericho*, where he then lay, on Pain of Death. On their Arrival he shut them all up in the *Hippodrome*, or Place for Tilting and Horse Races, and then sending for *Salome* his Sister, and *Alexas* her Husband (e), he commanded them as soon as he should be dead, to send his Soldiers in upon these Men, and kill every one of them; For this, said he, will provide Mourners for my Funeral all over *Judea*, and make every considerable Family to mourn whether they will or no. Having adjured them to do this, he gave up the Ghost and died. But *Salome* and *Alexas* were not wicked enough to perform what they had promised; for as soon as *Herod* was dead, they opened the *Hippodrome*, and permitted every Man shut up in it to go home to his own Business. These Cruelties which *Herod* practised against his own Family, his Wife and Children, and did and ordered to be done against the best People in *Judea*, takes off all Manner of Objection against the Truth of his murdering the Innocents at *Bethlehem*, and shews that there could be nothing so cruel and barbarous but this great wicked Man was capable of doing it.

Herod had nine Wives (f), and by them many Children (g). Three of his Sons he put to Death, viz. *Alexander*, *Aristobulus* and *Antipater*: Of the rest of his Posterity I shall only notice these who are mentioned in the New Testament. Of *Malthace*, one of his Wives, he had *Archelaus* (h), and *Herod Antipas* (i). By *Cleopatra*, another of his Wives, he had *Philip* (k), and by *Marianne*, the Daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, he had *Herod Philip* (l). *Aristobulus*, whom *Herod* had put to Death, had by *Berenice* his Wife, King *Agrippa*, who slew *James* the Brother of *John*, and afterwards was smitten of God at *Cæsarea* (m), and *Herodias* his Sister. She first married *Herod Philip* her Uncle, and afterwards eloped from him

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 9. De bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. ult. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. (c) Ibid. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 21. Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 8. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 10. (e) Ibid. cap. 8. & de bello lib. 1. cap. 21. (f) Idem de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 18. (g) See Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 1. p. m. 27. (h) Matth. ii. 22. (i) Matth. xiv. 1. 3. 6. (k) Luke iii. 1. (l) Matth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. (m) Acts xii. 1, 2. 20, — 23.

him to marry *Herod Antipas*, his Brother. By her first Husband she had *Salome*, who danced off *John Baptist's* Head, for reproving *Herod Antipas* (a) for incestuous Adultery with her Mother. Of this King *Agrippa I.* called also *Herod*, was born King *Agrippa II.* (b) before whom *Paul* pleaded his Cause, and his two Sisters *Drusilla* and *Berenice*; the first of which was Wife to *Felix* (c) the Procurator of *Judea*, and the other was present with her Brother at *Cæsarea* (d), when *Paul's* Cause was heard before him.

Herod by his last Testament (for he oftner than once changed it, on occasion of condemning his Sons) left (e) *Archelaus* to be King of *Judea*, *Idumæa* and *Samaria*, *Herod Antipas* to be Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*; and to *Philip* he gave the Provinces of *Gaulonitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Batanæa* and *Paneas*. Thus was his Kingdom divided. He gave to his Sister *Salome*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus* and *Phasaelis*, with fifty thousand Crowns of Gold. He provided his other Kinsmen in Money and Revenues. To *Augustus* he gave ten Millions of Drachms in Silver, besides a great Quantity of Gold and Silver-plate, with precious Moveables; and to *Livia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, he bestowed five Millions of Drachms or thereby. *Archelaus* gave his Father a magnificent Funeral, where the Procession was made from *Jericho* to the Castle of *Herodium*, the Place of Interment. The Corps was laid on a gilded Litter, adorned with Gold and precious Stones, the Body lying on a Bed of Purple, with a Crown at the Head, and a Scepter and Diadem of pure Gold in the right Hand. About the Bier were the Sons and Kinsmen of the deceast, with his Guards; and after it the Soldiers, distinguished by their Habits and Nations, and five hundred Servants carrying Perfumes. *Herod's* Testament was of no Effect till it was (f) confirmed by *Cæsar*; and the Emperor did not think fit to make *Archelaus* a King, but gave him *Samaria*, *Judea* and *Idumæa*, with the Title of *Ethnarch*, or, *Prince of the Nation*, only promising to make him a King, if he made himself worthy [of it by his Virtue. This proves that *Judea* was then a Kingdom depending upon the Roman Empire. Indeed it was both depending upon, and tributary thereto, ever since *Pompey* conquered *Jerusalem*; which tho' it be against the Notion of *Harduin* the Jesuit (g), yet 'tis evident from the whole History since the Time of *Pompey*. *Herod* the Great durst not condemn any of his Sons, *Alexander*, *Aristobulus*, nor *Antipater* to Death till he got the Emperor *Augustus's* Allowance; and in all the Processes he made against them, we have seen how careful he was to have his Consent. The Romans made him a King; and because he was careful and capable to advance the Interest of their great Men *Antony* and *Octavianus*, they continued him in the Power as long as he lived, but could have deprived him as they did his Son *Archelaus* afterwards, if they had pleased. In short the Sceptre had been departing from *Judah*, ever since the Time of *Pompey*, to make Way for the coming of the *Messiah*, as hath been before observed (h). The Curious who desire to see the Notions of *Harduin* more fully examined and confuted, may consult the learned *M. Basnage* (i). I go on with our History.

§ 87. AFTER *Herod's* Death, *Joseph* being warned by an Angel in a Dream, arose and took the young Child and his Mother, and returned out of *Egypt* into the Land of *Israel* (k). He was afraid to return to *Jerusalem*, lest *Archelaus*, who there reigned, should act conform to the Hatred and Cruelty of his Father; but he turned aside to the Parts of *Galilee*, and dwelt at *Nazareth*. There none of *Herod* the Great's Posterity were; for *Herod Antipas*, who was afterwards Tetrarch of that Country, was then at *Rome* soliciting the Emperor to bestow the whole Kingdom upon him, according to his Father's first Testament.

As soon as the Mourning for the Death of *Herod* was over, which continued seven Days, *Archelaus* feasted the People, and gave them Abundance of fair Words; and the Soldiers promised Fidelity to him. Mean Time there arose a Sedition among the *Jews*, complaining that *Judas* the Son of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the Son of *Margalothus*, with these who joined them, were unjustly put to Death, for cutting in Pieces the golden Eagle, and demanding a new High-priest. *Archelaus* endeavoured to pacify them, but in vain: For at last Matters came to this Pass, that he sent in his Army upon them about the Time of the Passover, who killed three thousand of these Malecontents near the Temple, putting the rest to Flight (l). This being done, *Archelaus* embarked for *Rome*, leaving *Philip* his Brother to govern *Judea* in his Absence, taking with him *Malthace* a Samaritan his Mother (who died at *Rome*) *Nicolaus* the *Damascene* and *Ptolomæus* his Father's Advocates, and many of them Friends. With him also went *Salome* his Aunt, *Herod's* Sister, and her Children, with severals of her Creatures, pretending to assert *Archelaus's* Right to the Kingdom, but really to act for themselves, and to accuse him as Author of the Sedition and Murder lately committed in the Temple. At the same Time *Herod*, with his Mother *Cleopatra*, a Jewess of *Jerusalem*, sailed for *Rome*. When their Cause came to be heard before *Augustus*, *Archelaus* meanly fell down at the Emperor's Feet: But he lifting him up again, allowed him to govern a Part of *Judea*, left to him by his Fa-

(a) Matth. xiv. 6, — 11. (b) Acts xxv. & xxvi. (c) Ibid. xxiv. 24. (d) Ibid. xxv. 23. (e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 10. & de bello Jud. lib. 1. cap. 21. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. (g) De Nummis Herodiadum. (h) Above, p. 432. (i) Hist. of the Jews, Book 1. (k) Matth. ii. 19, — 23. (l) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 11.

Father's Testament, promising him Royal Dignity, if he behaved himself virtuously (a) : And thus the Affair ended.

In the interim *Sabinus* came to *Judea*, to seize for the Use of *Augustus* the Money that had been left by *Herod*. He met with *Archelaus* at *Cæsarea*, and after his Departure, *Sabinus* marched with some *Roman* Soldiers to *Jerusalem*, to execute his Commission, and to make what Gain he could for himself. At the Feast of *Pentecost*, a Multitude of the *Jews* gathered together, who with armed Force opposed him. A great many were killed ; and the Tumult became so dangerous, that *Varus* was obliged to come with two *Roman* Legions and support *Sabinus*. He quashed this Commotion (b), and punished the Authors of several other Insurrections in *Judea* : One of these seems to have been that of *Thendas*, mentioned in *Gamaliel's* Speech, *Acts* v. 36.

§ 88. ABOUT this Time, one counterfeited himself to be *Alexander* the Son of *Mariamne*, whom *Herod* the Great had caused to be strangled at *Sebaste* (c). He having got a Friend who was well acquainted in *Herod's* Court, pretended that the Executioner had spared him, and that he had been privately educated by a Friend at *Sidon* to this Occasion. The *Jews* received him and gave him Money ; and he assumed the Confidence to sail to *Rome*, to have his Character acknowledged by *Augustus* : As he passed *Crete* and *Melos*, the *Jews* entertained him as a Prince of the Blood Royal, and gave him liberal Presents (d), which those of that Nation also did at *Puteoli* and at *Rome*. But he did not so easily deceive *Augustus*, who being well acquainted with *Alexander* the Son of *Mariamne*, found this Pretender to be but a Cheat ; a Person that had been accustomed to labour, as himself confessed on Promise of his Life, and as appeared also by the Hardness of his Hands : And therefore the Emperor put him to row at the Oar in one of his Gallies, and caused execute his Governor, who for Gain had carried on this Imposture.

After this, *Archelaus* returned from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, to take Possession of the Government allotted for him : Where he deposed *Joazar* the Son of *Boethus* from the High-priesthood (e), establishing *Eleazar* his Brother in his Room, and repaired the Palace at *Jericho*.

There is nothing more appears remarkable in the History of the *Jews* before the tenth Year of *Archelaus* ; when he having committed many tyrannical Male-administrations in the Government, Ambassadors came to *Rome* both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans* (f) to accuse him before *Augustus* : Whereupon he was called to answer for his Tyranny, and not being able to justify himself, but being found guilty of the Charge, he was deposed from his Principality, had his Goods confiscated, and was himself banished (g) to *Vienne* in *Gaul*. He seems to have been a Man of a mean Spirit, noway capable to serve the *Romans* as his Father *Herod* had done ; and therefore they took the Government from him, and reduced *Judea* to the Form of a *Roman* Province. *Josephus* tells us, (h), That before *Archelaus* was summoned to appear before *Cæsar*, he reported a strange Dream that happened to him, namely, That he saw ten great Ears of Corn devoured by Oxen. One *Simon* an *Essene* interpreted the Dream thus, That the ten Ears signified so many Years, after which the Prince's Condition should be changed to the worse. *Glaphyra* his Wife had the like Vision. She had been married first to *Alexander* the Son of *Mariamne*, and after his Execution she married *Juba* the King of *Mauritania*, and he being also dead, *Archelaus* divorced his first Wife, and took her, tho' she had been once his Brother's Wife. He seems to be the same Son of *Herod*, whom *Strabo* affirms (i) to have died in Exile among the *Allobrogian* Gauls.

§ 89. UPON his Banishment the Emperor *Augustus* appointed *Sulpitius Quirinius*, who had been once Consul at *Rome* (k), (who according to the Greek Way of Writing, is called by the Evangelist (l) *Cyrenius*) to be President of *Syria* (m), sending him to take Possession of that Country which *Archelaus* had governed, with *Coponius* a *Roman* Knight to assist him as Procurator of *Judea*. They seized *Archelaus's* Goods which had been confiscated, and in a great Measure abolished the *Jewish* Policy, establishing the *Roman* in its stead : For after this, the Power of Life and Death was taken out of the Hands of the *Jews* (n), and placed in the *Roman* Procurator ; and the Taxes were paid immediately to the Collector and Farmers employed by the *Roman* Emperor. The Description and Registration of every Man's Possession was made eleven Years before by *Sentius Saturninus*, but the uplifting and levying of the Tax was not put in Execution till the Country was reduced into the Form of a *Roman* Province by *Cyrenius* Governor of *Syria*. All this was a further Evidence of the Sceptre's departing from *Juda*, and a Lawgiver from between his Feet, upon *Shiloh*, the blessed *Messiah*, our Saviour's coming. The raising of the Taxes caused great Disturbances, many opposing it under one Notion or another ; yet they submitted to it by the Advice of *Joazar* the Son of *Boethus*,

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thus,

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 1.* (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 12. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 2, 3, 4.* (c) Above, p. 478. (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 14. & de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 5.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 15.* (f) *Joseph. Ibid. & de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 6.* (g) *Dion Cassius, lib. 55. p. 649.* (h) *Loc. cit.* (i) *Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765.* (k) *Id. lib. 12. p. 569.* (l) *Luke ii. 2.* (m) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. ult. & lib. 18. cap. 1.* (n) *John xviii. 31.*

thus, who by some Means was again restored to the High-priesthood. But there arose a Jew called Judas the Gaulonite, born in the City Gamala (a), who having Sadoc the Pharisee associated with him, stirred up the People to Rebellion, telling that this Tax was a Confession of their Servitude, and exhorting the People to maintain their Liberty. This is the same Judas of whom Gamaliel speaks, Acts, v. 37. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him. He also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. Tho' Judas and his Followers perished, yet both City and Country in Judea were full of Seditions, Murders and Robberies. The Publicans, who were employed by the Romans in gathering the Taxes, were abhorred by the Jews, who look'd on their Employment not only as hurtful to their Estates, but as contrary to their Law, and a constant Badge of their Slavery; and therefore the Pharisees, in the Days of the Gospel, debated against paying Tribute to Cæsar, and reproached our Saviour for conversing with Publicans and Sinners, tho' it was in order to convert them.

At the same time that Cyrenius was in Judea settling the Tax, he deposed Joazar the Son of Boethus from being High-priest (b), and appointed Ananus, or Annas, the Son of Seth to succeed him in that Office, in which he continued several Years.

§ 90. OUR Saviour being twelve Years of Age, went with his Parents to the Passover, and there appeared (as a Prelude of his exercising the prophetic (c) Office) sitting in the temple in the midst of the doctors, both bearing, and asking them questions: and all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. Thus our Lord came to the Temple, and made the glory of the latter house greater (d) than that of the former, which was more fully accomplished in the Course of his Life. At the same Passover, when the Priests opened the Gates of the Temple about Midnight, some Samaritans who had secretly entred into Jerusalem, as soon as the Temple was open, spread the Bones of dead Men amidst the Porches, and all over the House, which obliged the Priests (e) to keep a more diligent Watch than they had done before.

A. D. 16. After this Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius succeeded him in the Government of Judea (f). In his Time Salome the Sister of Herod the Great died at Rome, bequeathing to Livia, the Wife of Augustus, Jamnia with the Territory thereof, Phasaelis in the Plain, and Arubelais, where are many Palm-trees bearing excellent Fruit. Ambivius being recalled, Annus Rufus was made Procurator of Judea in his room. In the Time of his Go-

A. D. 17. vernment died the Emperor Augustus Cæsar, at Nola in Campania, on the nineteenth Day of August (g), having lived seventy six Years wanting thirty five Days, and governed fifty six after the Murder of Julius Cæsar, from the Victory at Actium forty four Years. He had his Exit in the same Room in which his Father Octavius had long before expired. Scarce any Roman Emperor after him enjoyed so long a Reign, or so great outward Prosperity. His Grandchildren, Caius and Lucius, by Agrippa, and Julia his Daughter, had been cut off before this Time; and Dion Cassius (h) insinuates, that this Emperor's Death was hastned by the Contrivance of Livia his Wife, to make way for the Succession of her Son.

Tiberius, the Son of Livia by her former Husband, who had been Partner with Augustus in the Command of the Provinces and Armies before, had now the whole Empire devolved upon him. He was fifty five Years of Age when advanced to this Dignity, and reigned twenty two Years, seven Months, seven Days (i). He sent Valerius Gratus into Judea to be Procurator of that Province, who removed Ananus, and made Ishmael the Son of Fabius (k) High-priest in his stead; who was soon changed to make room for Eleazar the Son of Ananus, and he again was removed, and the Office bestowed upon Simon the Son of Camith. But Gratus himself continued in his Government eleven Years.

A. D. 20. About this Time Jairus, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had an only Daughter, whom twelve Years after this Christ restored to Life, Luke, viii. 41, — 56. And a Woman began to be distressed with an Issue of Blood, whom after the same Number of Years our Lord healed, Mark, v. 22, — 42.

A. D. 27. Valerius Gratus made still more Changes; for he removed Simon the Son of Camith (l), and made Cajaphas Son-in-law to Annas to be High-priest. Gratus being recalled, Pontius Pilate was sent by the Emperor Tiberius to be Procurator of Judea in his stead, a Man thoroughly prepared for all manner of Iniquity. Philo Judæus (m) charges him of Rapines, Injuries, Murders, unjust Tormenting, putting Men arbitrarily to Death without Process or Sentence of Law, selling Justice, giving any Decree for Money, and of excessive Cruelty through his whole Administration; by which wicked Temper he was qualified for giving a most unjust Sentence against the Prince of Life.

The Egyptian and Jewish Rites were about this Time both forbidden by the Emperor Tiberius

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1. (b) Ibid. cap. 3. (c) Luke, ii. 41, — 49. (d) Mal. iii. 1. Hagg, ii. 6, — 9. (e) Joseph. ibid. (f) Ibid. cap. 3. (g) Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 100. V. Patern. lib. 2. cap. 123. Tacitus, Annal. lib. 1. cap. 6. (h) Lib. 56. p. m. 675. (i) Dion Cassius, lib. 58. in fine, p. m. 733. (k) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. (l) Ibid. (m) In legatione ad Caium.

Tiberius at *Rome* (a), upon this Occasion : A young Man called *Decius Mundus* had a mighty Passion to enjoy one *Paulina* a Roman Lady of Quality. She refused to gratify him for Price, Prayer or Reward. Whereupon he found Means to bribe the Priest of the Temple of *Isis*, who persuaded the Lady, she being addicted to the *Egyptian* Rites, that the God *Anubis* would that Night feast her in the Temple, and lie with her. She thinking herself highly honoured with this Offer of a Deity, consented to the Proposal. But *Mundus* being concealed in the Temple, when the Lights were put out addressed the Lady by the Name of *Anubis*, and had his Design. Three Days after this, *Mundus* told the Story to *Paulina*; which she was mightily offended with, and threatened Revenge. The Emperor being informed of what had happened, and having found out the Truth by a narrow Examination of the Priests, he condemned them all to be hanged, the Temple to be demolished, the Statue of *Anubis* to be cast into the *Tyber*, and *Mundus* to be banished (b). As to the *Jews*, A certain Fellow, for the Breach of the Laws in his own Country having fled from it to escape Punishment, came and lived at *Rome*, where he set up for an Interpreter of *Moses's* Law, associating with some others who were no better than himself, persuaded *Fulvia*, a noble Roman Lady, to be their Scholar, and prevailed with her to send Gold and Silver to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which after they had received, they converted it all to their own Use. *Tiberius* being informed of this by *Saturnine* the Husband of *Fulvia*, commanded all *Jews* (c) to depart out of *Rome*. Of these the Consuls chose out four thousand Men, whom they sent into *Sardinia*, and punished divers of them who refused to take the military Oath for fear of transgressing the Laws of their own Country. Thus, says *Josephus* (d), by reason of the loose Behaviour of a few wicked Persons, all the *Jews* were driven out of *Rome*.

About the same time there were among the *Jews* at *Babylon* two Brethren very famous, called *Asinæus* and *Anilæus*, dwelling at the City *Neerda*, which is surrounded with the Waters of the *Euphrates*, where the *Jews* kept a School of great Renown. These Brethren having made the whole Country tributary to them, and defeated an Army of one of the Princes of *Babylon*, *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians* (e) mightily desired to see them; and having given them considerable Gifts, and committed to them the Protection of the Province of *Babylon*, *Anilæus* continued in this Authority fifteen Years, having all *Mesopotamia* at his Command. But at length having married a *Parthian* Woman, who poisoned his Brother *Asinæus*, his Power began to decline, and he with fifty thousand *Jews* were defeated and killed by the *Babylonians*.

§ 91. *JOHN* the Baptist, the Messenger who prepared the Way of our Lord (f), did A. D. 12: now appear in the Spirit and Power of *Elijah*, *Mal. iv. 5. Luke, i. 17.* It is not sufficient for the *Jews* to alledge, *That Elias is not yet come* : Because, *When the Jews sent priests and Levites to John, to ask him, Who art thou? he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ.* Being again asked, *What then? art thou Elias?* he said, *I am not* : But told, *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias,* *John, i. 19, — 23.* For here the Baptist opposeth a wrong Notion of the *Jews*, That *Elias* the *Tishbite* would come in Person before the *Messias*. Now *John* was not *Elias* the *Tishbite*, nor was there any Need for his coming. But there was a great Likeness between *John* and *Elias*. *Elias* was a great Prophet; so was *John* the Baptist, being filled from the womb with the holy Ghost. *Elias* was a Man of great Fervour and Zeal; so was *John*. *Elias* had a Girdle of Leather about his Loins; so had *John*. If the one had a hairy Garment, the other had a Garment of Camels Hair. If the one was bold in rebuking Vice in *Ahab*; so did the other in *Herod*. And if the one was hated by *Jezabel*, so was the other by *Herodias*. In a word, they were both burning and shining Lights, Contemners of sensual Pleasures, who called Men to Reformation to prevent their Ruin. Besides, *John* the Baptist exactly fulfilled the Prediction of *Malachi*, being sent before the great and terrible day of the Lord, to turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest the Lord come and smite the earth with a curse. For he came to turn the *Israelites* from Sin to God by Repentance, to bring them off from Rebellion to Obedience, *Matth. iii. 1, — 9. Luke, i. 16, 17.* to prepare their Way and lead them in to our Saviour, that if possible the great and terrible Day of the Lord, when he should smite their Earth with a Curse, by the Destruction of their City *Jerusalem*, their Temple and *Jewish* State; when the unfruitful Tree was cut up, and the Chaff burnt in the Fire (g), yea and also that their eternal Ruin might be prevented.

§ 92. Our Saviour being now about thirty Years of Age, *Luke, iii. 23.* came out of his Solitude, and was baptized by *John*, the Holy Ghost in a visible Shape descending upon him, and God by an audible Voice testifying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,* *Matth. iii. 13, — 17.* The learned Primate *Usher* (h) remarks, that the thirtieth and last Jubilee

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(a) Sueton. in *Tiberio*, cap. 36. Seneca, epist. 108. Tacitus; Annal. lib. 2. cap. 85. (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 4. (c) Ibid. cap. 5. (d) Ibid. cap. 12. (e) Ibid. (f) *Mal. iii. 1.* (g) See Dr. Kidder's Demonstration of the *Messias*, Part 2. p. 457, — 504. (h) *Annales*, p. m. 586. edit. Genev. 1722.

did coincide with the first Year wherein our Lord began to preach the Gospel, and open the Door of Salvation to both Jew and Gentile, *to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.* I shall not descend into all the Particulars in each Year of our Lord's publick Ministry, which may be had in many Commentators, and others who wrote the Harmony of the Gospels: But I humbly conceive it will not be unacceptable in a Work of this Kind, to notice the most memorable. We may then observe, That our blessed Saviour, who always went about doing good, in the first Year of his Ministry (which was also the first Year of the seventieth or last of *Daniel's Weeks*, *Dan. ix. 27.* wherein *he confirmed the covenant with many*) entring into the Temple, scourged the Buyers and Sellers out of it; and to establish his Hearers in the Faith of this great Article, *That he was the true Messias*, declared, *That his body was the temple of God, which he would raise up in three days*, *John, ii. 13,—25.* He conversed with *Nicodemus* upon the Mystery of Regeneration and saving Faith, *John, iii. 1,—21.* Then leaving *Jerusalem*, he came into *Judea*, and baptized many, *John, iii. 22.* *John the Baptist* being cast into Prison, for his faithful reproving *Herod* the Tetrarch for his incestuous and adulterous Marriage with his Brother *Philip's* Wife, *Mark, vi. 17,—20. Matth. xiv. 3,—5.* our Lord leaves *Judea* to go into *Galilee*, and in his Way converts the *Samaritan Woman* and others at *Sychar*, *John, iv. 1,—42.* Then he returns to *Galilee*, where he healed the Son of a Nobleman who was lying dangerously sick, *John, iv. 46,—54.* Coming to *Nazareth*, he preached an excellent Sermon, *Luke, iv. 15,—30.* proving that he himself was the promised *Messiah* from *Isaiah, lxi. 1,—4.* Leaving *Nazareth*, he came down to *Capernaum*, where he taught on the Sabbath-days; and they were astonished at his Doctrine, for *his word was with power*, *Luke, iv. 31, 32.* There he cast out an unclean Spirit, healed *Simon's* Wife's Mother of a Fever, and cured many of divers Diseases, *Luke, iv. 33,—42.* When the People pressed upon him to hear the Word at the Lake of *Gennesareth*, he entred into *Simon's* Ship, and preached to the Multitude on the Shore, *Luke, v. 1,—4.* When he had left off speaking, he ordered *Simon* to launch out into the Deep, and let down his Net; which being done, they inclosed a great Multitude of Fishes. His Disciples being astonished at this, he promiseth to make them Fishers of Men, *Luke, v. 4,—11.* He cured a Man full of the Leprosy, so that his Fame went through all the Country, and Multitudes came to hear him, and he healed many, *Luke, v. 11,—16. Matth. viii. 1,—4.* And again entring into *Capernaum*, he healed a Man sick of the Palsy, called *Matthew* from the Receipt of Custom, and vindicated his eating with Publicans, *Luke, v. 16,—39. Matth. ix. 1,—13. Mark, ii. 1,—18.*

§ 93. IN the second Year of our Redeemer's publick Ministry at *Jerusalem*, he healed a Man who had laboured under an Infirmary thirty eight Years, and had lien long at the Pool of *Bethesda*, and yet was not cured, and vindicated this good Work done on the Sabbath Day. He cureth inveterate Diseases, healing our Souls that have sinned, as well as our Body that is diseased, *John v. 1,—47.* Leaving *Jerusalem*, he entred into another Synagogue and taught, healing also a Man whose right Hand was withered, *Luke vi. 6,—11. Mark iii. 1,—6. Matth. xii. 9,—14.* He went into a Mountain to pray, called unto him his Disciples, and out of them chose Twelve, whom he named *Apostles*, *Luke vi. 12,—16. Mark iii. 13,—19.* Coming down from the Mountain into the Plain, he healed many distressed People, *Luke vi. 17,—19.* And seeing still Multitudes resort to him, he went into a Mountain and taught, declaring the Characters of those who are truly blessed; and particularly explained the moral Law, restoring it to its just Authority, and redeeming it from those corrupt Interpretations which the Masters of the *Jewish* Church had put upon it, not contradicting the Law of *Moses*, but opening the extent and spiritual Meaning thereof; where there is more of solid Morality, than in all the Books of Heathen Philosophers, *Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20,—49.* When he had ended this Sermon, he cleansed the Leper; and entring into *Capernaum*, cured the Centurion's Servant, who was lying sick of the Palsy, *Matth. viii. 5,—13. Luke vii. 1,—10.* And at *Naim* he restored the only Son of a Widow Woman to Life, as he was carried out to be buried, *Luke vii. 11,—17.* *John the Baptist* being all this Time detained in Prison, and hearing of the great Fame of our Saviour's Actions, sendeth his Disciples to him, to whom he gives a clear Proof that he was the *Messias*. And after they were gone, our Lord commends *John*, and reproveth the Cities who would not receive the Offers of Salvation, *Matth. xi. 2,—30. Luke vii. 18,—35.* While he sat at Meat in the House of a *Pharisee*, a Woman washed his Feet with her Tears, and wiped them with the Hairs of her Head; whose Practice he vindicated. *She loved much, for much was forgiven her*, *Luke vii. 36,—50.* As he journeyed through several Villages, there was brought to him one possessed with a Devil, whom he healed, and vindicated himself from the insolent Calumnies of the *Pharisees*, *Luke viii. 1,—3. Matth. xii. 22,—37. Mark iii. 22,—30.* When the Scribes and *Pharisees* asked of him a Sign, he told them there should none be given them but the Sign of the Prophet *Jonas*, typifying his Resurrection on the third Day, *Matth. xii. 38,—45.* And when they spoke to him of his Mother and Brethren, or of his near Relations, he said, *Whosoever doth the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my mother, sister and brother*, *Matth. xii. 46,—50.* The same Day *Jesus* went out of the

the House, and late by the Sea-side, great Multitudes resorting to him, he went into a Ship, and taught the People standing on the Shore, explaining to them the excellent Parable of the Sower of Seed, and several others, *Luke viii. 4,—18. Matth. xiii. 1,—53. Mark iv. 1,—34.* Then passing to the other Side, he rebuked the stormy Wind, and saved his Disciples, *Luke viii. 22,—25. Mark iv. 35,—41. Matth. viii. 23,—27.* When they had arrived in the Country of the *Gaderenes*, which is over against *Galilee*, there met him a Demoniac, who wore no Clothes, out of whom Christ ejected the Devils, and permitted them to enter into a Herd of Swine, *Luke viii. 26,—36. Mark v. 1,—16. Matth. viii. 28,—33.* The *Jews* ought not to accuse our Lord for doing an Injury to the Possessors, since they abhor Swines Flesh, it was prohibited by the Law of *Moses*, and disallowed either for Sacrifice or Food: Yea, with them, a Nourisher of Swine (tho' that was practised in latter Times for Sale to the *Romans* and other *Gentiles*) was of an ill Name. And their *Talmud* (a) reckons it an Infamy like Drunkenness or Ufury. Besides our Lord only did the good Work to cure the Demoniac. The Devils destroyed the Herd of Swine; and *Jesus* did not think these unclean Creatures worthy his Care. We do not accuse *Elijah* for Severity in destroying a Captain and his fifty Men at a Time; and why should they blame our Lord for permitting Satan to destroy these ugly Swine? To proceed; upon this the *Gaderenes* desired *Jesus* to depart out of their Coasts, and he returned to his own City *Capernaum*, where he answered *John's* Disciples, shewing why his Disciples did not keep frequent Fasts, *Matth. ix. 14,—17.* restored *Fairus's* Daughter to Life, and cured a Woman diseased with an Issue of Blood for twelve Years, *Matth. ix. 18,—26. Luke viii. 41,—56. Mark v. 22,—43.* On *Jesus* departing thence, two blind Men followed him, and he healed them, *Matth. ix. 27,—31.* and went about all the Cities and Villages, teaching in their Synagogues, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every Disease and Sicknefs among the People, *Matth. ix. 35,* and sent forth his Apostles to preach the Kingdom of God, and heal the Sick, *Luke ix. 1,—5. Matth. x. 1,—42.*

About this Time *Sejanus* the Prime Minister at Rome, under the Emperor *Tiberius*, being put to Death (b), the Emperor understanding that the Crimes which had been alledged against the *Jews* (c) were forged, he therefore ordered that the Governors of the Provinces should spare these People, and allow them to live according to their own Rites, which did not (d) disturb the publick Peace.

To proceed with our Lords publick Ministry. *John the Baptist* being beheaded by *Herod* the Tetrarch, to please the infamous *Herodias*, *Matth. xiv. 6,—11.* *Jesus* went up into a Mountain, where he sat with his Disciples and taught them, and the Passover the Feast of the *Jews* was nigh; there he fed five thousand People with five Loaves, and two small Fishes; and they did all eat, and were filled; and they took up of the Fragments that remained twelve Baskets full, *John vi. 1,—21. Matth. xiv. 15,—22. Mark vi. 35,—45. Luke ix. 12,—17.* Next Day passing over to the other Side, he preached at *Capernaum* an excellent Sermon concerning the Bread of Life, *John vi. 22,—71.*

§ 94. IN the third Year of Christ's Ministry, being the thirty third of his Age, and the third Year of the last of *Daniel's* seventy Weeks, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* complaining that Christ's Disciples did eat with unwashen Hands, our Lord told these Complainers, *That they rejected the Commands of God to keep their own Traditions*, *Mark, vii. 1,—23. Matth. xv. 1,—20.* Then departing into the Borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he did cast the Devil out of the Daughter of the *Syro-Phœnician* Woman, *Mark, vii. 24,—30. Matth. xv. 21,—28.* At *Decapolis* he made the Deaf to hear and the Dumb to speak, *Mark, vii. 31,—37.* A great Multitude having staid with him three Days in the Desert, he fed four thousand with seven Loaves and a few small Fishes, and they took up of the broken Meat seven Baskets, *Mark, viii. 1,—9. Matth. xv. 32,—38.* At *Bethesda* he cured a blind Man, by touching him, and putting a little Spittle on his Eyes, *Mark, viii. 22,—26.* After this we have the remarkable History of his Transfiguration, where we have a View of his Glory, *Matth. xvii. 1,—13. Mark, ix. 1,—13. Luke, ix. 28,—36.* And his Sermon at the Feast of Tabernacles, *John, vii.* with another wherein he proveth himself to be the Light of the World, *John viii.* As he passed by, he observed a Man who was blind from his Birth. *Jesus* having Compassion, restored him to his Sight, and the poor Man was so in Love with our blessed Saviour, as neither the Reproaches, nor Persecutions of the *Jews* could hinder him from worshipping and following him, *John, ix.* He recommends himself as the true Shepherd of the Sheep, *John x.* He directs the Lawyer what to do to inherit eternal Life, and how to know who is his Neighbour; and commended *Mary* for chusing the better Part, which should not be taken away from her, *Luke, x. 25,—42.* He directs his Disciples how to pray, *Luke xi. 1,—13.* exhorts to Repentance, cures a Woman who was bowed with a Spirit of Infirmity eighteen Years, and perswades all Men to enter in at the Strait Gate, *Luke,*

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(a) Talmud Hierosolymmitanum Shekalim. (b) Tacitus annal. lib. 6. cap. 25. (c) Above p. 485. (d) Philo in Legatione ad Caium.

xiii. He heals a Man sick of the Dropsy on the Sabbath Day, defending the Practice. He explains the Parable of those who are called to the Wedding, and sheweth the Necessity of bearing our Cross, *Luke*, xiv. By the Parables of the lost Sheep, the lost Groat, and the Prodigal Son, he declareth the Riches of the free Grace of God to miserable lost Sinners, *Luke*, xv. By the Parable of the unjust Steward, he exciteth all to use the World so as not to abuse it. And by the Parable of the rich Man and poor *Lazarus*, he directs us to take the Warning given us by the written Word, that we come not into the Place of Torment, *Luke*, xvi. He teacheth his Disciples to take Head of giving Offence, to forgive Injuries; to pray for increasing their Faith, and to be humble under whatever Service they have done to God. He cleanseth ten Lepers, of which only one *Samaritan* returns to give Thanks; and declareth to his Disciples when and how the Kingdom of God shall appear, *Luke*, xvii. He exhorteth his Disciples to Frequency and Fervency in Prayer, by the Parable of the importunate Widow. He teaches Humility by the Example of the *Pharisee* and the *Publican*, *Luke*, xviii. 1, --- 14. He ascends to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of the Dedication in the Winter Season, and there proveth himself to be the true *Messias* and the Son of God; upon which the *Jews* attempted to stone him, but he escaped out of their Hands, *John*, x. 22, --- 42. He healed many in *Judea*, beyond *Jordan* disputeth with the *Pharisees*, and explains in what Cases Divorce may be lawful, *Matth* xix. 1, --- 12. *Mark*, x. 1, --- 12. He allows little Children to come to him; declares what we ought to do to inherit eternal Life, with the Difficulty that these who possess Riches have to enter into the Kingdom of God, *Luke*, xviii. 15, --- 30. *Mark*, x. 13, --- 21. *Matth*. xix. 13, --- 29.

Under the Parable of the Labourers, he declareth the rejecting of the *Jews* and the calling of the *Gentiles*, that the first shall be last, and the last first, *Matth*. xix. 30. xx. 1, --- 16. He raiseth *Lazarus* out of his Grave at *Bethany*, and restoreth him to Life, *John*. xi. In his Way to *Jerusalem*, he foretold his own Death and Sufferings, *Luke*, xviii. 31, --- 34. And went before them all, from a cheerful Desire to see the Salvation of Sinners accomplished by his Death, *Mark*, x. 32. *Matth*. xx. 17, --- 20. He reproveth the ambitious Desire of the Mother of *Zebedee's* Children, *Matth*. xx. 20, --- 28. *Mark*, x. 35, --- 45. He restored a blind Man to his Sight, who sat at *Jericho* by the Way Side begging, *Luke*, xviii. 35, --- 43. As he went out of *Jericho*, he opened the Eyes of two blind Men, one of them was called *Bartimæus* the Son of *Timæus*, *Matth*. xx. 29, --- 34. *Mark*, x. 46, --- 52. He converted *Zaccheus*, calling him to come down from the Sycamore Tree, for Salvation was come to his House, *Luke*, xix. 1, --- 10. When his Disciples heard of the great Things he had done, and of his coming nigh to *Jerusalem*, they expected the Kingdom of God should immediately appear: But he declared to them by the Parable of the Pounds, the great Work that their Master had committed to them to do, and the Account that they must make of the same, *Luke*, xix. 11, --- 27. The Passover of the *Jews* being near, many went up out of the Country to *Jerusalem* to purify themselves, *John*, xi. 55, --- 57. Six Days before the Feast, *Jesus* came to *Bethany*, where he was entertained at Supper by *Lazarus*, *Martba* and *Mary*, *John*, xii. 1, --- 11. He went up to *Jerusalem* in a Kind of Triumph, riding upon a Colt the Foal of an Ass, the Multitude crying *Hosanna*, *blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*, *Matth*. xxi. 1, --- 11. *Mark*, xi. 1, --- 11. *Luke*, xix. 28, --- 40. *John*, xii. 12, --- 18. When he came within View of the City, he wept at the Foresight of its approaching Desolation, which he plainly foretold, *Luke*, xix. 41, --- 44. Coming to *Jerusalem*, he went into the Temple, where he cast out them who bought and sold, *Luke*, xix. 45, 46. and overthrew the Tables of the Money Changers, and the Seats of them who sold Doves, and the blind and lame came to him in the Temple and he healed them, *Matth*. xxi. 12, --- 15. There being certain *Greeks* among them who came to worship at the Feast who desired to see *Jesus*, our Lord discoursed to them of his Sufferings and of his Glory, *John*, xii. 20, --- 50. On the Morrow as he returned from *Bethany* into the City, he was a hungred, and coming to a Fig-tree he saw no Fruit thereon, and he said, *Let no Man eat Fruit of thee hereafter*, *Mark*, xi. 13, 14, 19. *Matth*. xxi. 17, --- 20. There is nothing in that Objection, that the Cursing of the Fig-tree was unreasonable, since the Time of Figs was not yet, for that is only, the Time of gathering them was not yet; besides, by this Curse is signified the approaching Rejection of the *Jews* for their Barrenness under the Means of Grace. Upon one of these Days; when the *Jewish* Scribes and Elders endeavoured to ensnare him in the Temple by captious Questions, he gave them such pointed Answers, as intirely disappointed their Design; particularly by the Parable of the Vineyard, whereby he declared, that tho' he had given the *Jews* very great Privileges, yet by abusing the same they had provoked God to cast off their Church and take in that of the *Gentiles*, *Matth*. xxi. 23, --- 45. *Luke*, xx. 1, --- 19. When they perceived that he spake of them, they sought to lay Hands on him, but feared the Multitude, because they took him for a Prophet, *Matth*. xxi. 46. Then he spake to them another Parable of the Marriage Supper, also pointing out the Rejection of the *Jews* and the calling of the *Gentiles*, *Matth*. xxii. 1, --- 15. The *Pharisees* again seeking to ensnare him, asked, *Is it lawful to give*

give Tribute to Cæsar? To whom he answered, *Render unto Cæsar, the Things that are Cæsar's: to God, the Things that are God's*, *Matth. xxii. 15, --- 22. Luke, xx. 20, --- 26. Mark, xii. 13, --- 17.* He also reasoned against the ensnaring Questions of the *Sadducees*, to convince them of the Resurrection, *Matth. xxii. 23, --- 32. Luke, xx. 27, --- 38.* Finding that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* were not reclaimed by all his Speeches and Warnings, he denounced many Woes against them, and foretold the Defolation of *Jerusalem*, *Matth. xxiii.* He commended a Widow's Charity in casting in two Mites into the Treasury, *Luke, xxi. 1, --- 4.* Coming out of the Temple, admiring this noble Structure, as adorned with goodly Stones (a) and Gifts, he prophetically foretold its Ruin, *Luke, xxi. 5, --- 19. Matth. xxiv. 1, --- 51. Mark, xiii. 1, --- 37.* And in the twenty fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, he gives his Disciples a noble Sermon, warning them by three Parables to make ready for his second Coming.

§ 95. IN the fourth Year of his Ministry, being the Year wherein he was crucified, and in the middle of the seventieth Week foretold by *Daniel*, ix. 27. in the first Day of unleavened Bread, when they had killed the Passover, our Lord told his Disciples, that with Desire he had desired to eat this Passover with them before he suffered, and then instituted the Lord's Supper, *Luke, xxii. 14, --- 20. Matth. xxvi. 17, --- 20. Mark, xiv. 12, --- 16.* Judas's Treachery being foretold, he went out in order to accomplish it, and Supper being ended, *Jesus* rose, laid aside his Garments, took a Towel, girded himself, washed his Disciples Feet, and taught them both by Precept and Example the great Doctrines of Humility and Brotherly Love, *John, xiii.* Then preached a Sermon full of Consolation to Saints, *John xiv, xv, xvi.* which he concluded with an excellent and mediatorial Prayer, *John, xvii.* The rest of his Sufferings are so particularly recorded by the Evangelists that I need not here enlarge upon them. There we find how he wrestled in an Agony, shed great Drops of Blood in the Garden, surrendered himself Prisoner, was abused and spit upon in the High-priest's Court, prosecuted before *Pilate*, and had *Barabbas* a Robber preferred to him. As also, there we have Account of the Sentence most unjustly given against him; of his being scourged; of his carrying his Cross, the Title over his Head, the Parting of his Garments; the Piercing of his Side, his Tasting Vinegar and Gall, his dying Words, his finishing our Redemption, and giving up the Ghost, all fully narrated: For the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Lord thought no Shame of their Lord and Master's Sufferings; his Cross is our Glory, and the Price whereby our Salvation was purchased.

§ 96. THE Faith of this History concerning our Saviour is not only secured by the Records of the Evangelic Historians, justified by authentic Witnesses, the Evidence of Miracles, and the Consent of all Ages; but as to the Substance, is also confirmed by the plain Confession of Heathens and *Jews*, Enemies to Christianity, as I have in another Essay (b) demonstrated, and shall not here repete, but rather remit the Reader to what hath been there advanced. The third Day after our Lord's Burial he rose again, appeared to, and conversed with his Disciples and Followers, and after he had comforted and instructed his People, taken care of his Church, and given a fuller Commission and larger Instructions to his Apostles, he blessed them, and took his Leave of them, visibly ascending up into Heaven, where he (c) sat down on the right Hand of God, as Head over all things to the Church, Angels, Principalities and Powers being made subject to him. What the Apostles did and suffered to propagate Christianity over the World, and with what Success this Work was advanced, I have also elsewhere (d) declared.

I might here consider several Objections raised by the *Jews* and others against the History of the Evangelists: But many of them are trifling, others have been already obviated and removed, in several Places of this Work (e); and such as are curious to see particular and (I hope) satisfying Answers given to those Difficulties, may consult the learned *Spanheim* (f), and the learned *Dr. Kidder* (g), who have considered many of them at a great Length. There is only one Head of Objections, I mean those concerning our Lord's Genealogy, that I think my self briefly obliged to notice, because they appear at first View to be of some Moment, and also because having considered the Difficulties in the *Old Testament* Chronology (h), it seems proper to consider those of the same Kind in the Gospel; and I shall have further Occasion to discourse of the Controversies with the *Jews* near the End of this Work.

Since the *Messias* was to proceed, not only of the Tribe of *Judah*, but also of the Family of *David*, the Evangelists found it necessary to prove this Point: But tho' there should be Difficulties on this Head, these afford no Ground to question the Truth of the Christian Religion; for our Lord hath given sufficient Demonstrations that he is Christ the Son of God; by the mighty Works which he did, and by his glorious Resurrection from the Dead. There are many thorny Questions in the old Testament, particularly in the Chronology, and yet both *Jews* and Christians receive the Books thereof with great Veneration; and the Difficulties in

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(a) See above, p. 474. (b) Hist. Propagat. Christianity, Vol. I. p. 210, --- 215. (c) Ibid. p. 408, --- 410. (d) Ibid. p. 409, --- 465. (e) Above, p. 473, 485, 487, 488, & passim. (f) *Dubia Evangelica*. (g) Demonstration of the *Messias*, Part 2 and 3. (h) Above, Chap. I. & passim.

this Genealogy are not so great but the same may be easily removed. The Evangelist *Matthew*, Chap. i. represents the Pedigree of our Lord as Man, in three remarkable Portions of Time, each of which contain fourteen Generations. The first of them is bounded within the lower and growing Condition of the *Israelites*, in the Age of the Patriarchs and Judges, till the Temple was built; the second contains their exalted State under Kings, and the third their declining State after the *Babylonish* Captivity. This leads me to the first Exception, *That though St. Matthew reckons fourteen Generations in each of these three Tesseradecades, yet in the third there are only thirteen.* To this it is answered, That if it be granted, that *Jeconias* named by *Matthew*, i. 11. is a distinct Person from *Jeconias* in *Ver.* 12. the first the Son, and the second the Grandson of King *Josiah*, the Difficulty will be entirely removed. Now, it is reasonable to own that it is so: For we find in 2 *Kings*, xxiv. 6, 8, 15. a particular Account of this younger *Jeconias*, called also *Jebojachin the son of Jebojakim*; and there is no Reason to think that he is omitted in the Genealogy. Besides, the Evangelist seems to distinguish them; for in *Matth.* i. 11. 'tis said, *Josias begat Jeconias and his brethren*: Now, the younger *Jeconias* or *Jebojachin* had no Brethren. In the old Translation of our *English Bibles*, and in the Margin of some of our present Bibles, it reads, *Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jeconias*. This was long ago the Opinion of *Jerom* (a); and the younger *Jeconias* being put at the Head of the third Class in the Genealogy, there is no Difficulty to own him to be a distinct Generation. And thus in each Tesseradecade there are fourteen Generations (b).

A second Exception is, *That the Evangelist Matthew, i. 12. says Jeconias begat Salathiel, which is alledged not to agree with Jerem. xxii. 30. where the Prophet declareth that Coniah should be childless.* To this I answer, There is no Disagreement at all; for it is said expressly, 1 *Chron.* iii. 17. that *Jeconiah* begat *Salathiel*. As for the Words of *Jeremiah*, the Sense of them is plainly given by the Prophet himself in the Text cited, *Write ye this man childless; no man of his seed shall prosper sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah*: That is, His Children shall not succeed him in his Throne and Dignity.

Thirdly, It is excepted, *That Matthew says Salathiel begat Zerubabel, whereas it appears that Zerubabel was the Grandson of Salathiel, 1 Chron. iii. 19. by Pedaiab his immediate Father.* But it is very usual in Scripture for Grandchildren to be called Sons or Daughters to their Grandfathers. Thus, in *Genes.* xxxi. 28. *Laban* says to *Jacob*, *Thou hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters*; that is, my Grandchildren.

Fourthly, It is excepted, *That the Evangelist Matthew, i. 13. says Zerubabel begat Abiud, though in 1 Chron. iii. 19. where the Sons of Zerubabel are reckoned up, there is no such Person as Abiud named.* There is no Difficulty in what is here alledged: For it is very well known, that many Persons have different Names given them upon various Occasions in the *Old Testament*, as, *Dan.* i. 6, 7. And we may safely suppose, that *Abiud* in 1 *Chron.* iii. 19. is mentioned under the Name of *Mesbullam*.

Fifthly, It is advanced, *That whereas St. Matthew, i. 8. tells Joram begat Ozias, this cannot be; for it appears from the Old Testament, that there were three Kings between Joram and Ozias, viz. Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah, which will make more than fourteen Descents in that Interval.* Answer, The Evangelist doth not say that there were only fourteen Descents from *David* to the *Babylonish* Captivity; for in *Matth.* i. 17. he says, *All [ᾠγεναι] the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations*; but when he comes to the second Interval, from *David* till the carrying away into *Babylon*, he omits the Word ᾠγεναι, all, and says only, *There are fourteen generations.* But further, the Omission of these three Kings does no way disagree with the Design of the Apostle, which is, to shew that Christ was descended of the Seed of *David* by *Solomon* and the rest of the Kings of *Judah* of that Race, down to the Captivity: In order to make his three Classes agree together, it was necessary that some should be omitted; and it was as proper to leave out these three of the Posterity of *Joram*, who had married a Daughter of the House of *Abah*, 2 *Kings*, viii. 18. 2 *Chron.* xxi. 6, 7. and brought in Idolatry into the Kingdom of *Judah*, as any other.

Sixthly, It is excepted, *How comes the Exangelist Luke, iii. 36. to insert a second Cainan between Sala and Arphaxad, when in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament there is no such Person in that Part of the Genealogy?* See *Genes.* x. 24. and xi. 12. Answer, As to this Point we need only observe, that the seventy Interpreters, who before our Saviour's Time translated the *Old Testament* into *Greek*, for Reasons best known to themselves, inserted that *Cainan*; and *St. Luke* writing among the *Hellenist Jews* and Gentiles, who understood the *Greek Language*, was obliged to make use of that Translation which they had among their Hands, and therefore took it as he found it, citing the Words of those Translators without any Observation or Remarks upon them. Some Authors (d) add, That the Evangelist doth not oblige the wary Reader to conclude that this *Cainan* was really the Son of *Arphaxad*; for pro-

(a) Hieronymus in Danielem, cap. 1. (b) Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah. See Part 2. p. 346. (c) Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, Part 2. p. 364, 365.

pounding to himself to set down our Saviour's Ancestors, were they really so, or commonly so reputed, he begins thus, speaking of *Jesus*, *Luke*, iii. 23. *being, as was supposed, [ὡς ἐνομίζετο] the son of Joseph, of Eli, &c.* But I have spoken of this more fully in a former Part (a) of this Work.

Seventhly, It is excepted, *That the Genealogy of our Lord in Matthew and in Luke do not agree together.* But the Reason of any Differences that can be pretended, is, that *Matthew* goes no higher than *Abraham*, but *Luke* brings the Genealogy as high as *Adam*. The former designed to shew, that Christ was the Son of *Abraham*, the promised Seed, in whom all the families of the earth are blessed, and that he was Heir to the Throne of *David*; and therefore he begins with *Abraham*, and carries down the Pedigree to *Jacob*, who was the Father of *Joseph*, an Heir-male of the House of *David*: But the latter, designing to shew that Christ was the seed of the woman, that should break the serpent's head, traceth his Pedigree as Man upwards as high as *Adam*, beginning with *Eli*, who was the Father, not of *Joseph*, but of the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of our Lord. One reckons from *Solomon* to Christ, and the other keeps in the Family of *Nathan*, another of *David's* Sons, and Brother of *Solomon*: So that by not keeping the same Line there is a pleasant Diversity, but no Contrariety between the Evangelists. If it be further urged, *That what the Evangelists have done on this Head is nothing to the purpose, because they give us only the Descent of Joseph, who was not the real, but only the reputed Father of Jesus, as all Christians grant,* I answer, That it was fit that *Matthew* should give us the Genealogy of *Joseph*, who was look'd upon by the *Jews* as the Father of *Jesus*; and therefore it was necessary that *Joseph* should be acknowledged to be of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Family of *David*, that the *Jews* might have no Pretence to reject our Lord: For he being born of the Wife of *Joseph*, even while her Husband was living, without the Assistance of any other Man, the Privileges that belonged to *Joseph* did redound to him: And this was also necessary because the *Jews* were not wont to draw Genealogies by the Mother-side. But besides, it is evident that the blessed Virgin was of the Family of *David*; for the Evangelist *Luke*, i. 26, 27. tells us, *That the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David, and the virgin's name was Mary. And Joseph went up from Galilee unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be taxed, with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child,* *Luke*, ii. 4, 5. Thus our Lord, both by his real Mother and reputed Father, was of the Tribe of *Judah* and Seed of *David*; and these Difficulties concerning his Genealogy do all disappear, nor have the *Jews* any Ground to triumph on that Account. But I proceed with our History.

§ 97. THAT which I have now in my View, is to carry on an Account of the *Jews*, whereby it will appear that the Predictions of our Lord in *Matth.* xxiv. and *Luke* xix., and the Desolation spoken of by *Daniel* ix. v. last, the Threatnings of the Law of *Moses*, and the Vengeance they did imprecate upon themselves, when at crucifying our Saviour, they cried, *Matth.* xxvii. 25. *His blood be on us and on our children,* were all signally accomplished in the Destruction of their City, Temple and Nation. But before I come to these Calamities, it will be proper to notice the Affairs of the *Jews* after the Death of our Lord.

Philip the Son of *Herod* the Great, who for thirty seven Years had been Tetrarch of *Tra-* A. D. 35: *chonitis*, *Gaulonitis*, and *Batanea*, on the East Side of *Jordan*, died in the twentieth Year of *Tiberius's* Reign (b). During all the Time of his Government he behaved himself very peaceably, having his ordinary Residence within his own Province, far from publick Business. He expired at *Julias*, where he was buried with Magnificence in a Sepulchre which himself had caused to be built. Leaving no Male-Heirs behind him, the Emperor seized his Estate, and annexed it to the Government of *Syria*.

L. Vitellius, who had been the preceeding Year Consul at *Rome*, being sent this Year to be Pro-consul in *Syria*, came up to *Jerusalem* in the Time of the Passover, where being magnificently entertained, that he might gain the Favour of the *Jews*, he forgave them all the Tribute due upon the Fruits that had been sold (c); and allowed the Robes and other Ornaments of the High-priests to be kept by the Priests in the Temple, which before had been in the Custody of the Roman Captain who commanded in the Tower of *Antonia*; and having deposed *Joseph* surnamed *Caiaphas*, he made *Jonathan* the Son of *Annas* High-priest in his Room, and returned to *Antioch*.

§ 98. *HEROD AGRIPPA*, who is mentioned in the New Testament (d), makes a more early Appearance in the *Jewish* History, than in the sacred. He was Grandson to *Herod* the Great, by *Aristobulus* the Son of *Mariamne*; and thus by his Grandmother was descended of the Royal Race of the *Asmonæans*. His Father had married *Berenice*, Daughter to *Salome* his Aunt, who was so wicked as to contrive and effectuate the Death of her Son in Law, because he had spoke to her Disadvantage (e). Upon his Father's Death *Agrippa* was left a Minor,

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under

(a) Above, p. 43, 44. (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.* (c) *Idem, ibid.* (d) *Acts* xii. 2. (e) Above, p. 478.

under the Tuition of his Mother, who educated him at *Rome*, whither she had gone with her Mother *Salome* (a), to maintain her Son's Right before the Emperor *Augustus*; who having an Esteem for her, and she having there contracted a Friendship with *Antonia* the Wife of *Drusus*, this gave Rise afterwards to her Son's Promotion. *Agrippa* after his Mother's Death came to *Judea*, where he married *Cypros* his Cousin; but by his prodigal Way of living, by great Gifts to the Emperor's freed Men at *Rome*, and by great Expences in *Judea*, he had run himself into great Debts; for which being attacked by his Creditors, he retired to the Castle of *Mala-tha* (b) in *Idumea*, thinking there to cut himself off: But *Cypros* his Wife did contribute as far as she was able to relieve him in his Straits, and to prevent any bad Designs. In order to this she wrote to *Herodias* the Wife of *Herod* the Tetrarch, entreating her Assistance, who by her Interest with her Husband got a Lodging assigned to her Brother *Agrippa* in the City *Tiberias*, with a small Revenue for his Support, and the Honour of being Magistrate in that Town. While *Agrippa* was at an Entertainment in *Tyre*, the Tetrarch spoke of his Poverty, and living at his Charge, in such Terms, as the former not being able to bear it, he retired from the Tetrarch's Territories, and put himself under the Protection of *Flaccus*, then President of *Syria*, with whom he had been acquainted at *Rome*. But losing his Favour, he went to *Ptolemais*, where he obliged *Marfyas* his freed Man, to lend him 20000 *Attick* Drachms, with which he resolved to go to *Rome*: But when he was to take Ship at *Antbedon*, *Herennius Capito*, the Procurator of *Jamnia*, there attacked him for 300000 Drachms he owed to *Cæsar's* Treasurer. He promised Payment, but not being able to perform, in the Night Time he sailed off to *Alexandria*, where he applied himself to *Alexander* the *Alabarcha* for the Loan of a considerable Sum, who out of Regard to his Wife gave him five Talents in ready Money, promising him Credit for a greater Sum at *Puteoli*.

A. D. 36. *Agrippa* leaving his Wife and Children in *Judea*, sailed to *Italy*, where *Antonia*, the Mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* who was afterwards Emperor, lent him 300000 Drachms, with which he paid the Debt that he owed to *Herennius Capito*; and by her Interest he was also admitted into Favour with the Emperor *Tiberius*, then leading a wretched lustful Life in the Isle *Caprea*. Being admitted into the Friendship of *Caius Caligula* afterwards Emperor, he lent him 1000000 Drachms, with which he paid the Sum he owed to *Antonia*, and lived merrily upon the Remainder. But one Day being in Coach, *Agrippa* said rashly, that he wished *Tiberius* would surrender the Empire to *Caius* as the better Man. This being told to the old Emperor by one *Eutychus*, *Agrippa* was bound with Chains, and made Prisoner for six Months, under the Custody of one *Macron*. *Antonia*, tho' she could not procure his Release, yet had such Interest with his Keeper, as to make his Prison easy; and we shall hear of him afterwards.

Mean Time *Herod* the Tetrarch having offended *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petraea*, by putting away his Daughter, who for several Years had been his Wife, and making an incestuous Match with *Herodias*, his Brother *Philip's* Wife; and there being a Contention between them about the Limits of their Dominions, the Controversy came to be decided by a War; wherein *Herod's* Army was entirely overthrown. *Josephus* tells us (c), That *Herod's* Overthrow was in the Opinion of several Jews, the just Vengeance of God punishing him for the Execution which he had caused to be done on *John* surnamed the Baptist, who being a good Man, excited the People to study the Virtues of Piety and Righteousness, exhorting them to be baptised; and telling them, That if they would please God, they must abstain from all Iniquity, and purify their Soul and Body for his Service. And whereas many flocked to hear his Doctrine, *Herod* fearing a Revolt, thought it better to prevent Mischief, by putting him to Death, than to wait for some Commotion, which he might afterwards repent of.

A. D. 37. § 99. WHILE *Agrippa* was in Prison the Emperor *Tiberius* died on the 26th of March, in the 78th Year of his Age, after he had reigned from the Death of *Augustus* twenty two Years seven Months (d), seven Days.

Caius Caligula being advanced to govern the Empire (e) a few Days after his Accession sent for *Agrippa* out of Prison to his own House, ordering him to be trimmed, and his Garments changed; he set a Diadem upon his Head (f), causing him to be made King of *Philip's* Tetrarchy, to which that of *Lysanias* was annexed, and changed his Chain of Iron into one of Gold of the same Weight, and sent *Marullus* to be Procurator of *Judea*. In the same Year, being the first of *Caligula's* Reign, *Josephus* the Jewish Historian, Son of *Mattathias* the Priest (g), was born.

A. D. 38. Next Year *Cypros* the Wife of King *Herod Agrippa* did bear him a Daughter named *Drusilla*, who was afterwards married to *Felix*, Acts xxiv. 24. She was only six (h) Years old when her Father died.

In

(a) Above, p. 482. (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8.* (c) *Ibid. cap. 7.* (d) *Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 73. Dion Cassius, lib. 58. in fine.* (e) *Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 734.* (f) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. Euseb. in Chronico. Vide etiam Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 741.* (g) *Joseph. de vitâ suâ.* (h) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 7. & lib. 19. cap. ultimo.*

In the same Year, being the second of *Caligula*, *Agrippa* asked leave to go to *Judea*, to give necessary Orders concerning his Kingdom, promising to return again as soon as he had dispatched some important Affairs; which being granted, he came home to his own Country, where he was saluted King (a), which few People in the Time of his Affliction ever expected to have seen.

Flaccus, at that Time Roman Governor in *Egypt*, having endeavoured to set up Statues and Images of the Emperor in the *Jewish* Synagogues and *Proseuchæ*, of which they had a great Number at *Alexandria*, and over the whole Kingdom, thereby occasioned a great Commotion; wherein many of these Synagogues were burnt up (b) or pulled down. Complaints of *Flaccus's* Insolence were sent to King *Agrippa*, and by him to *Rome*: But more Noise of this Affair, and of another of the like Nature in *Judea* it self will offer next Year.

§ 100. *HERODIAS* the Wife of *Herod* the Tetrarch, and Sister of *Agrippa*, could not bear it that her Brother, who had been under such Debt and Poverty, as to be supported for some Time at her Husband's Charges, should now return from *Rome* honoured with the Dignity and Power of a King, while her Husband, the Son of *Herod* the Great, was only a Tetrarch; and therefore she importuned her Husband Night and Day to provide Money to go to *Rome* with, and there to sollicite for the same Dignity that *Agrippa* had obtained: Which he at last consented to do (c), thinking he had as good a Claim for such a Favour as any other could pretend to, having built Cities, even *Tiberias* and *Julias*, in Honour of the Emperor's Family; and having entertained Roman Generals at his own Charges. *Agrippa* understanding the whole Project, sent *Fortunatus* one of his freed Men to *Rome*, with Letters and Presents for the Emperor. He having had a lucky Passage, landed at *Puteoli*, at the same Time with the Tetrarch and his Retinue, and had Audience of the Emperor soon after him. *Agrippa's* Letters contained Accusations against *Herod*, That there had been a Conspiracy between him and *Sejanus* since the beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, and that at present he favoured *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, in Prejudice of the Emperor *Caligula*, and had laid up Arms in the Arsenals for seventy thousand Men. The Tetrarch being examined upon this Charge, was not able to answer. Whereupon the Emperor deprived him of his Tetrarchy, annexing it to *Agrippa's* Kingdom, on whom he bestowed *Herod's* Estate, banished the Tetrarch out of *Judea* for ever, and confined him to *Lions* in *France*. As to *Herodias*, she being *Agrippa's* Sister, the Emperor offered her Liberty to enjoy what belonged to her in *Judea*: But she declining to forsake her Husband in his Misfortunes, which indeed she had brought upon him, her Estate was also confiscated and given to King *Agrippa*. Thus *Herod* the Tetrarch with his Wife *Herodias* were for ever banished their native Country, to which they never returned; and this was a just Punishment for beheading *John the Baptist*, eight Years before this, because he faithfully reproved them for their incestuous Adultery, *Matth.* xiv. 1,--12. and for mocking our Lord and Saviour amidst his sore Sufferings, about six Years before, *Luke* xxiii. 11.

Pontius Pilate, who had condemned our Lord against his own Conscience, declaring, *I find no fault in him*, *John* xix. 4. and had caused great Commotions and Bloodshed among the *Jews*, by bringing in *Cæsar's* Statues and Standarts into the City contrary to their Law, by making Water Conduits by the Help of the Money in their sacred Treasury, and by murdering such with his Soldiers as stood in the Way of these Projects (d), was this Year by the Emperor *Caligula* redacted to such Distress, and was under such Torments of Body and Mind, that to rid himself of the same in a present Life, he became his own Executioner, as *Eusebius* (e) and *Orosius* (f) declare.

§ 101. THE Emperor *Caligula* in the Beginning of his Reign seemed pretty moderate, but he continued not long at that rate; for his Cruelty furnishing him with Pretexts to punish the Innocent, he employed himself almost wholly in shedding of Blood, defiling his Hands with the Massacres of the most famous Men in the Empire and Senate even of his own Kindred, wishing that all the People of *Rome* had only one Neck (g), that he might cut it off at one Blow. He dishonoured himself by committing Incest with his own Sisters; and soon lavished away the Treasure that *Tiberius* had heaped up for many Years, and then made no Scruple of the most horrid Injustice to get Money. One of his chief Follies was, That he would pass for a God (h), and would have the Heads taken off the Statues of the Deities, to put up his own in their Place. He called on the Moon to lie with him, when she was full, and boasted that he had enjoyed her, and conferred the Order of the Priesthood on his Horse.

Among other of his Follies, he had an ardent Desire to have his Statue put up in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, because he knew that the *Jews* would be most unwilling to render him an Honour which their Law forbade them to do. To this End, having ordered *Petronius* to succeed *Vitellius* in the Government of *Syria*, he charged him to Place his Statue in the Temple

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. in fine. (b) Philo. in Flaccum, & in Legatione ad Caium. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 10. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 9. (d) Ibid. cap. 4. (e) Euseb. in Chronico, fol. m. 72. & in Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 7. (f) Orosius, lib. 7. cap. 5. (g) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 30. Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 746. (h) Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 759.

at Jerusalem, and if the Jews refused, to oblige them by armed Force to submit (a). *Petronius* directed most excellent Artists to prepare the Image at *Sidon*; and having gathered an Army, he wintered at *Ptolemais*, intending next Spring to invade *Judea*, and compel the People to receive the Statue, as he signified to the Emperor by Letters. Mean time there assembled several thousands of the Jews, beseeching *Petronius* not to constrain them to comply with what was so contrary to their Laws; which they would rather suffer the most violent Death than disobey. A Controversy at that Time arising between the Greeks and Jews at *Alexandria* about an Affair of the like Nature (b), the latter sent to *Caius* five Ambassadors, of whom *Philo* was the chief, who hath left us a Relation of the Embassy; but they received no favourable Audience. *Petronius* calling the principal Jews, told them of the Emperor's Orders to have his Statue dedicated in their Temple, and beseeching them as they would prevent the Ruin of their Country and Bloodshed of their Friends, to comply; for a strong Army in *Syria* was ready to compel them to do it. All this did not make them change their Purpose; they fell down at *Petronius's* Feet in a weeping Posture, tearing their Cloaths, pulling the Hair out of their Heads and Beards; yea offering their Necks to be cut off, rather than yield to what was proposed. *Petronius* being a little moved with their Case, wrote to the Emperor that he was ready to execute his Orders, only the Artists had not as yet finished the Statue, and till the Forage was ready the Army could not take the Field. King *Agrippa* being then at *Rome*, did very zealously intercede for Mercy to his People. But *Caligula* being soon after this assassinated at *Rome* by *Cheræas* (c) and other Conspirators, after a Reign of three Years ten Months and eight Days, this put an effectual Stop to the Calamities that were then like to come on the Jews.

A. D. 40.

A. D. 41.

§ 102. *AGRIPPA* being at *Rome* when *Caius* was killed, he contributed very much to a right Settlement of Matters between the Senate (d) and the succeeding Emperor; and therefore *Claudius*, the Son of *Drusus*, Grandchild to *Livia* the Wife of *Augustus*, being advanced to the Empire in the fiftieth Year of his Age (e), shewed great Kindness to this Jewish King; for he not only confirmed him in the Possession of his Kingdom, which he had under *Caligula*, but also added the Dominions that his Grand-father *Herod* the Great enjoyed in *Judea* and *Samarina*, annexing to these *Abylene* and the Country about Mount *Lebanon*, that had belonged to *Lysanias*. To *Herod*, Brother to King *Agrippa*, he gave the Kingdom of *Chalcis*: He freed the Jews at *Alexandria* of their Grievances; and in favours of those in *Palestine* and in other Parts he gave the following Edict (f): *Tiberius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, High-priest, Tribune of the People, elected Consul the second Time. Since the Kings Agrippa and Herod, my well beloved Friends, have desired of me that I might permit the Jews living in my Empire, to use their own Laws as they did heretofore, and as We have granted to the Jews who live at Alexandria; We willingly grant their Desire, not only in favours of those who petition for it, but because we think them worthy of such a Privilege, in regard of the Fidelity and Friendship which they have always expressed to the Roman People: We judge it therefore just that no Græcian City should deny them the Use of their Law, which hath been preserved ever since the Reign of Augustus: And that it shall be lawful in all Time coming, to the Jews who live scattered in any Part of our Empire, to use the Customs of their Fathers; and ordain that they use Our Clemency moderately, not contemning other Religions, they being allowed to use their own. And Our Will is, that this present Ordinance be published by the Magistrates of Cities, Colonies and Countries of Italy, and be sent unto Kings and foreign Princes within thirty Days at least, to be in such a Manner posted up, as the same may be read by any Person standing on the Ground. This Edict being cut out in Brass, was hung up in the (g) Capitol.*

The Decree being sent to *Alexandria* and other Places, *Agrippa* took his Leave of the Emperor, that he might return and govern his own Kingdom in *Judea*, the Emperor giving him Letters of Recommendation to all the Presidents and Lieutenants of Provinces thro' which he was to pass. As soon as he came to *Jerusalem*, he offered Sacrifices and performed his Vows; caused *Nazarites* to be consecrated conform to the Law (h); and gifted the Golden Chain, which the Emperor *Caligula* had complimented him with, as of equal Weight to that of Iron whereby he was fettered in Prison, to be hung up in the Treasury Room in the Temple, as a Memorial of the changeable Condition even of great Men in this World. He put *Theophilus* the Son of *Ananias* from the High-priesthood, and bestowed that Honour on *Simon* surnamed *Canthara*, the Son of *Boethus*; and created *Silas*, who had been his Companion in many Dangers, General of his Army.

Soon after this, some young Men in *Dora*, placed in one of their Synagogues the Image of *Cæsar*; with which Action *Agrippa* was exceedingly displeased, fearing it would occasion some Insurrection among the People: To prevent this, he complained of the Folly of these young Men

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 11. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 9. Philo ad Caium. (b) Above, p. præced. (c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 1. Suetonius in Caligula, cap. 59. Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 762. (d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 2, 3. (e) Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 764. (f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 4. (g) Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 18. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 5.

Men to *Petronius* President of *Syria*; who was no less offended with it, as he declared in his Letter to the Magistrates of *Dora* (a); where he ordained the young Men who had done this contrary to the Emperor's late Order, to be sent to him Prisoners, and commanded that no Person attempt the like in Time to come.

§ 103. Next Year *Agrippa* removed *Simon Cantbara* from the High-priesthood, and offered to confer that Office upon *Jonathan* the Son of *Ananus*, which he modestly declined, in regard he had worn that sacred Habit once before, but recommended *Matthias* his Brother, on whom the King bestowed it (b). *Vibius Marsus* was sent to be President of *Syria* in the Room of *Petronius*. A. D. 42.

Silas, the Captain General of *Agrippa's* Army carrying too insolently to his Master, and at every Occasion extolling his past Services, the King sent him Prisoner to his own Country; but after a little Time minding his old Friendship, he sent for him to celebrate his Birth-day; which Offer *Silas* refusing (c), he was continued in Prison. *Agrippa* now being at Ease, and abounding in Riches, set about surrounding the new Town of *Jerusalem* with a strong Wall, which he would have made impregnable; but *Marsus* President of *Syria* having sent Account thereof to the Emperor *Claudius*, he fearing lest the Jews were preparing for some Commotion, wrote to *Agrippa* to desist from that Work, which he complied with. Being thus interrupted in rebuilding the Walls of *Jerusalem*, he bestowed great Charges at the City *Berytus*, where he erected a fine Theatre and Amphitheatre, with Baths and Porches, which were dedicated with great Expence and Magnificence, exhibiting on the Theatre, Shews, Musick, and all Kind of Recreations; and on the Amphitheatre he made Tournaments and Fights; at one Time he gathered all the Malefactors he could get, making two Companies of seven hundred a Piece, who fought and killed one another. From *Berytus* he proceeded to *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, where resorted to him *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, *Sampsigeran* King of the *Emesenes*, *Cotys* King of *Armenia* the Lesser, and *Polemon* King of *Pontus*, with his Brother *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, whom he entertained all very magnificently: But *Marsus* fearing so many Princes might hatch something in prejudice of the Roman Interest, ordered them all to go home to their own Countries, which was immediately done, tho' *Agrippa* was not pleased with the Orders. He took the High-priesthood from *Matthias*, and gave it to *Elionæus* the Son of *Cithæus*. A. D. 43.

§ 104. PERSECUTION seems hereditary to the Family of the *Herods*, as in the Distich at the Foot of the Page (d), and *Agrippa* followed their Footsteps: For the inspired Writer tells us, *Herod the king stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church: he killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also*, Acts, xii. 1, — 3. Divine Vengeance suffered not this long; for the same Writer assures us, that upon a set day, *Herod arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration to them: and the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten with worms, and gave up the ghost*, Acts, xii. 21, — 23. *Josephus* the Jewish Historian, who might himself remember it, being then a Youth of seven Years of Age, sets down the Story with these Circumstances (e): *Herod removed to Cæsarea, having ended the third Year of his Government over all Judea. While there, he proclaimed solemn Fights and festival Entertainments in honour of Cæsar; to which flocked many of the Nobility, and a Crowd of People. On the second Day he came with great State to the Theatre, to make an Oration to the People, clothed in a Robe curiously wrought over with Silver; which encountering with the Beams of the rising Sun, reflected such a Lustre as begat some Veneration in the Multitude; who cried out, as prompted by Flatterers, that it was some Deity they beheld: Which impious Applause Agrippa received without any Dislike. But a sudden Accident changed the Scene. Looking up, he saw an Owl sitting on a Rope over his Head; which he presently owned to be a fatal Messenger of his Death, as before it had been of his good Success (f). A deep Melancholy seized his Mind, and exquisite Torments came on his Body. "Behold (says he) the Deity you admired! I am commanded to die! A fatal Necessity convinceth you of Flattery and Falshood. He whom you saluted as immortal, is hurried to Death."* Being removed to his Palace, his Pains increased on him: Though the People prayed for his Life and Health, yet his acute Torments prevailed; and after five Days put a Period to his Life. Thus died King *Agrippa*, in the fifty fourth Year of his Age, and seventh of his Reign, reckoning it from the Time that *Caligula* brought him out of Prison and put a Diadem on his Head. Before his Death was known among the People, *Herod* Prince of *Chalcis* his Brother, and *Chelcias* his Lieutenant, sent *Aristo* to kill *Sylas* in Prison, because they judged him to be their Enemy, pretending they had been commanded to do so by the King.

§ 105. *AGRIPPA* left behind him one Son of his own Name, then seventeen Years of Age,

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 6. (b) Joseph. Ibid. (c) Ibid. cap. 7. (d) Ascalonita necat pueros, Antipa Joannem, Agrippa Jacobum, mittitque in carcere Petrum. (e) Antiq. lib. 19. cap. ult. (f) Ibid. lib. 18. cap. 8.

Age, living at *Rome*, where he had been educated by the Emperor *Claudius*. The Romans did not think fit to give him his Father's Kingdom; but making it a Province of the Empire
A. D. 44. under the President of *Syria* (a), sent *Cuspius Fadus* to be Procurator of *Judea*, ordering him to punish the People of *Cæsarea* and *Sebaste*, who had offered some Outrages to *Agrippa's* Memory (b): And the Emperor appointed *Cassius Longinus* to succeed *Marsus* in the Government of *Syria*, whom he displaced because *Agrippa* while in Life had often desired it. *Cuspius Fadus* being come into *Judea*, found that the *Jews* on the other Side of *Jordan* had taken Arms without Consent of their Magistrates, and had killed several *Philadelphians* contending about the Limits of a Village called *Nia*, full of valiant Men. *Fadus* was offended that they had not reserved the Cause to his hearing, but had revenged themselves at their own Hand: Having therefore apprehended three of those who had been Authors of the Sedition, he executed one of them called *Annibas*, and banished the other two, whose Names were *Amram* and *Eleazar*. He also punished with Death *Tolomæus*, a great Robber, who had done many Injuries in *Idumæa* and *Arabia*; and cleared all the Country of Thieves.

A. D. 45. *Cassius Longinus* President of *Syria* and *Cuspius Fadus* meeting at *Jerusalem*, ordered the Priests to deliver up the High-priest's Robes, to be kept by the Romans in the Castle of *Antonia*, where they had been formerly deposited. The *Jews* durst not expressly refuse those Commands, but desired Time to consider on the Matter, till they sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, and obtained his Answer; and upon Delivery of their Sons as Hostages, this was granted. When the Ambassadors came to *Rome*, at the Intercession of the young *Agrippa* the Emperor *Claudius* granted them a Rescript, whereby he allowed the Robes and Mitre of the High-priest to remain in the Custody of the Petitioners, as *Vitellius* had before ordained; and this he did in regard of his own Piety, and to gratify *Herod* King of *Chalcis* and young *Aristobulus*. At the same time *Herod* of *Chalcis* got the Care of the Temple and of those Vestments committed to him, with the Power of chusing the High-priest; who accordingly deposed *Canthara* from that Office, and gave it to *Joseph* (c) the Son of *Camis* or *Cornidas*.

A Magician called *Theudas* persuaded many *Jews* to follow him to *Jordan*, telling that he was a Prophet, who would divide the River into two Parts. *Fadus* would not permit the People to go on in this Folly, but sent a Troop of Horse after them, who slew a great many, and took others Prisoners, among whom was *Theudas* himself (d), whose Head was stricken off, and carried to *Jerusalem*.

A. D. 46. § 106. *TIBERIUS ALEXANDER* being sent to succeed *Cuspius Fadus* as Procurator of *Judea*, a Famine then ravaged the Country, which seems to be that foretold by *Agabus*, *Acts*, xi. 28. who signified by the Spirit that there should be a great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of *Claudius Cæsar*. And this is spoken of both by *Josephus* (e) and *Dion Cassius* (f). *Helena* Queen of *Adiabena* being then at *Jerusalem*, she sent a great Sum of Money into *Egypt* to buy Corn, and to *Cyprus* for Figs; and when the Effects returned, she distributed the same among the Poor. *Josephus* (g) represents this Queen and her Children as Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion; that her Son *Izates*, the Heir of her Crown, was circumcised, and that he being touched with the Case of the Poor, sent a considerable Sum to the Governor at *Jerusalem* for their Relief (h).

A. D. 47. *Herod* King of *Chalcis* removed *Joseph* the Son of *Camidas* from the High-priesthood, and put *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus* in his room (i).

A. D. 48. § 107. *VENTIDIUS CUMANUS* succeeded *Tiberius Alexander* as Procurator of *Judea* (k). *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, the Brother of King *Agrippa I.* died in the eighth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, leaving behind him three Sons, *Aristobulus* by his first Wife *Mariamne*, and *Bernicianus* and *Hyrchanus* by *Berenice* his Brother's Daughter. *Agrippa II.* Son to the former, was made King of *Chalcis* in his Uncle's room (l). The Sons did not then succeed the Father, but all things were managed according to the Will of the Romans.

In the Time of *Cumanus's* Administration many Tumults happened in *Judea*. One of these was in the Time of the Paschal Solemnity. The Roman Soldiers standing at the Porch of the Temple according to their Custom to prevent Commotions, one of them taking up his Coat, turned his bare Buttocks towards some of the *Jews* Faces, with Words as unseemly as his Posture. At which the Multitude began to murmur (m), and flock about *Cumanus*, desiring him to punish the Soldier for this Insolence; and some of them reviled the Fellow, and threw Stones at him. Whereupon *Cumanus*, fearing the Multitude of the *Jews* would violently rush upon him, called his Soldiers to Arms to the Porch of the Temple. The *Jews* being in great Fear fled and left the Temple, and there was such a Throng, that above ten thousand People were pressed and trode to Death, whereby the Feast was turned into woful Mourning. This Calamity was increased by another: For near *Bethoron*, one *Stephanus*, Servant to *Cæsar*, as he carried

(a) Tacitus, Annal. lib. 12. p. m. 249. *Syriæ Judæa addita.* (b) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. ult. & lib. 20. cap. 1. (c) Ibid. (d) Ibid. cap. 2. in fine. (e) Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2, 3. (f) Lib. 60. p. 772. (g) Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2, 3. (h) See also Ganz Tsemach David, p. m. 90. (i) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 3. (k) Ibid. (l) Ibid. & De bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 11. (m) Idem, Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 4. De bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 11.

carried some household Stuff, the Thieves took it away. To resent this Injury, *Cumanus* sent off some Soldiers to punish the People of those Villages, and put them in Bonds, because they had not seized the Thieves; allowing also his Soldiers to pillage. In one of the Villages a *Roman* insolently took the Book of the Law, and tore it in Pieces, with Blasphemies against the Law, and base Reflexions on the whole Nation of the *Jews*. Whereupon the People assembled in great Numbers, making loud Complaints of this Insolence to *Cumanus* then in *Cæsarea*; who fearing a second Uproar, cut off the Soldier's Head who had done the Fact, and thus quashed the Commotion.

Josephus the *Jewish* Historian being now about fourteen Years of Age (a), made so great A. D. 50. Proficiency in all kinds of Learning, having a good Memory and quick Apprehension, that he was highly esteem'd; and the Priests and best People among the *Jews* assembled about him to receive Instructions concerning the Ordinances of the Law.

§ 108. IN the last Year of *Cumanus*'s Administration, there happened a Tumult between A. D. 52. the *Jews* and *Samaritans* on this Occasion. The People of *Galilee* who resorted to *Jerusalem* at the solemn Feasts, being obliged to pass through *Samaria*, *John* iv. 3, 4. a Quarrel arose between the Inhabitants of *Nais* and the Passengers, wherein a great Number of the *Galileans* were murdered. The Magistrates of *Galilee* having notice of this, they resorted to *Cumanus* for Justice on those who had murdered their Countrymen: But he being corrupted by Money from the *Samaritans* took no Care of the Complainers. The *Galileans* being thus provoked, persuaded the *Jews* to take Arms to assert their Liberty, telling (b), That Servitude in any Case is uneasy, but when accompanied with Outrages 'tis intolerable. Their Governors studied to pacify them, but to no Purpose; for the Multitude having chosen *Eleazar* the Son of *Dinaus*, a great Robber, and one *Alexander* to be their Captains, leaving the Solemnity, went to *Samaria*, and there killed every Body they met with, sparing no Sex nor Age, and burnt some Villages. Upon notice of this *Cumanus* taking a Troop of Horse out of these at *Sebaste*, and four Cohorts of Foot, marched against them. Having armed also the *Samaritans*, he killed many of *Eleazar*'s Followers, and took more of them Prisoners. The chief Men at *Jerusalem* fearing that Calamities might come upon their Country by this Uproar, put on Sackcloth and Ashes, and entreated the *Jews* to lay down their Arms, with which the most part complied: But the Robbers went to the Mountains. And from this Time the whole Country was oppressed by Theft and Rapine. The chief of the *Samaritans* repaired to *Numidicus Quadratus*, President of *Syria*, then staying at *Tyre*, to whom also the Leaders of the *Jews* made their Address, with *Jonathan* the Son of *Ananus* the High-priest at their Head; but he delayed to judge their Cause till he came to their Country, as he promised soon to do. *Quadratus* according to his Promise coming to *Cæsarea*, caused crucify these whom *Cumanus* had taken Prisoners. At *Lydda* he beheaded eighteen of the *Samaritans*, who had been accessory to the first Murder; and then ordered the rest of the Complainers, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to go to *Rome*, and have their Cause judged by the Emperor himself, and that *Cumanus* the Procurator of *Judea* and *Celer* his Lieutenant, who had been very active in this Affair should go with them. Upon their Arrival at *Rome*, *Agrippa* II. being then at Court used all his Interest in favours of the *Jews*; and the Emperor finding that the *Samaritans* had begun the Quarrel, commanded three of their Nobility to be put to Death, *Cumanus* to be banished, and that *Celer* should be sent to *Jerusalem*, where the *Jews* should draw him about the City, and then cut off his Head.

This being done, the Emperor sent *Claudius Felix*, Brother to *Pallas*, to govern *Judea*, *Samaria* and *Galilee* (c), in the Room of *Cumanus*. To *Agrippa* he gave *Philip's* Tetrarchy, with A. D. 53. *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis* and *Abila*, which in Time past had pertained to *Lysanias*, taking from him the Province of *Chalcis*, which he had governed for the Space of four Years (d).

Felix, Procurator of *Judea*, having seen *Drusilla* the Sister of *Agrippa* was so smitten with A. D. 54. her Beauty, that he sent *Simon* his Friend, a *Jew* born in *Cyprus*, called a Magician, who persuaded her to leave her Husband *Ariszus* King of the *Emesenes*, and marry *Felix*, promising her all Happiness by this Match; which she agreed to, that she might be free of the Envy of her Sister *Berenice* (e), who hated her for her Beauty, yea she consented to forsake the *Jewish* Religion, that there might be no Impediment to her marrying *Felix*, to whom she bore a Son called *Agrippa*.

§ 109. THE Emperor *Claudius*, after he had reigned 13 Years, eight Months, 20 Days, died in the 13th of *October* of this Year, not without Suspicion of Poison (f), given by his Wife *Agrippina*, in order to advance her Son *Nero* to the Throne. Here ends the sixtieth and last Book that now remains of *Dion Cassius*; of the rest we have only Compendis done by *Xiphilin*.

The Character of *Nero* is well known, that he was a Prince of extravagant Manners, of un-
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(a) *Joseph. de vita sua.* (b) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 11.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5.* (d) *Joseph. ibid.* (e) *Ibid.* (f) *Idem, ibid. Sueton in Claudio cap. 45. Dion. Cassius lib. 60. p. 791.*

bounded Pride, Ambition, Drunkenness, Luxury, guilty of all Manner of Debauchery, yea of Sodomy and Incest, which he attempted to commit with his own Mother: But Cruelty was his predominant. He dispatched most part of the Senate, put to Death his own Tutor *Seneca*, *Lucan* the Poet, and many others; nay violated the Laws of Nature, being privy to, if not guilty of the Death of his Step-father *Claudius*: He killed his two Wives *Octavia* and *Poppea*, poisoned his Brother *Britannicus*, sent an Assassin to dispatch his Mother *Agrippina*; and to complete all persecuted the Christians. But I am only now to consider what happened to the *Jews* in his Reign.

A. D. 55. In the Beginning thereof *Judea* was full of Robbers, and of Magicians Deceivers of the People. *Felix* apprehended many of them daily, and caused them to be put to Death (a). He invited *Eleazar* the Son of *Dina*, Captain of these Thieves, promising that he should be in no Danger; yet upon his Submission he sent him Prisoner to *Rome*. He contrived the Death of *Jonathan* the High-priest, for freely admonishing him to take better Care of the Government; for he bribed one *Dora*, born in *Jerusalem*, to bring in certain Thieves to kill him, who being willing to gratify the Governor came to the Temple, with their Swords under their Garments, and murdered *Jonathan*. These Villains being connived at, came to the City on every Feast Day, and for a small Sum of Money slew any Body as they were desired, not only in the Town, but even in the Temple itself. Thus was the Place filled with Thefts and Murders, on which *Josephus* hath this Remark (b), *For my part, says he, I think God hath destroyed this our City in Detestation of such Impiety; accounting the Temple impure he hath sent in the Romans to purify it by Fire, and to make us with our Wives and Children Slaves, that we might learn Wisdom by our Miseries.* As to the Magicians and Deceivers, they persuaded the People to follow them into the Desert, promising to shew Signs and Miracles: But they suffered for their Folly, for *Felix* recalled and punished them. At the same Time an *Egyptian* came to *Jerusalem*, who calling himself a Prophet, excited the common People to follow him near to *Mount Olivet*, telling them, that thence he would make them see the Walls of the City fall to the Ground. This being told to *Felix*, he marched a part of his Army against them, and slew four hundred of the People, and took two hundred Prisoners. As for the *Egyptian*, he escaped, and no Man knew what (c) became of him. This seems to be the same *Egyptian*, of whom the chief Captain spoke to the Apostle *Paul*, saying, *Art thou that Egyptian, who before these days made an Uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers, Acts xxi. 38.*

A. D. 56. *Josephus* the Jewish Historian having spent with one *Banus* three Years in the Desert, returned to *Jerusalem*, and being nineteen Years of Age began to intermeddle with publick Affairs (d), following the Sect of the *Pharisees*, which near resembleth that of the *Stoics* among the *Greeks*.

A. D. 57. The Magicians and Thieves still gathered together, threatening Death to those who obeyed the *Romans*; and being dispersed over all the Country, robbed and plundered the Houses of rich Men, killing such as opposed them, and burning the Villages.

A. D. 58. A Tumult arose at *Cæsarea* between the *Jews* and the *Syrians*. The former challenged the City as theirs, being founded and adorned by *Herod* the Great; but the latter alledged it belonged to the *Gentiles*, because of the Statues and Shrines placed in (e) it. The Contention became so hot, that several of them were slain, and others wounded; yet had the *Jews* the upper Hand. *Felix* fearing this might breed a War, required the *Jews* to desist, commanding his Soldiers to beat down those who refused to obey. In the Scuffle many were killed, and others taken Prisoners; and the Soldiers took Liberty to rob rich Men's Houses. *Agrippa* gave the High-priesthood to *Ismael* the Son of *Fabi*. A Difference arose between the High-priest and the inferior Priests, which came to such a Height, that both Parties went to Blows, contending about their Tithes so violently that some Priests died for want of Necessaries; for all things were so far out of Order, as if there had been no Magistrate to make a Regulation. Thus did the Violence of Seditions prevail above what Law and Right required.

A. D. 59. Before *Felix* the Apostle *Paul*, being then a Prisoner, reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, so as *Felix* trembled, and said, *Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee.* He hoped also that money should have been given him of *Paul*, that he might loose him; wherefore he sent for him the oftner, and communed with him, Acts xxiv. 24,—27. Being disappointed in these Expectations, he continued the Apostle a Prisoner two Years.

A. D. 61. § 110. *Felix* not finding the Quarrel at *Cæsarea* pacified, sent the chief of the contending Parties on both Sides to plead their Cause at *Rome*; and being himself recalled, and *Porcius Festus* sent in his Room, as Procurator of *Judea*, other Inhabitants of *Cæsarea* went to *Rome* to accuse him; and he had without Doubt been punished for the Oppressions he had been guilty of in *Judea*, if *Nero* had not pardoned him upon the Intercession of his Brother *Pallas*, then a

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.* (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Ibid.* (d) *Joseph. de vitâ suâ.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.*

Favourite at Court (a). Upon *Festus's* succeeding Governor of the Province, the *Jews* renewed their Accusation against *Paul*, *Acts* xxv. but were not able to bring any Proof: However *Festus*, to oblige the *Jews*, enquired if the Prisoner would go and be tried at *Jerusalem*? The Apostle understanding the Consequence of that Proposal, pleaded that being a *Roman Citizen*, he ought to be judged by their Laws, and made formally his Appeal to *Cæsar*; which *Festus* received. *Agrippa* being come with his Sister *Bernice* to visit this new Governor, and desiring to hear and see *Paul*, at *Festus's* Command he was brought forth. Being permitted to speak, he made an excellent Apology, for himself and the Christian Religion, *Acts* xxvi. which almost persuaded *Agrippa* to be a Christian. But it being finally determined that *Paul*, with some other Prisoners of Note should go to *Rome*, he proceeded on his Voyage; the Particulars whereof, as not pertaining to the History of the *Jews*, I here omit.

In the Time of *Festus's* Government, *Judea* was sadly afflicted with Robberies, so as the lower Country was spoiled with Fire and Sword. The Thieves daily encreased, and were called by the *Romans* *Sicarii*, from short Swords they wore under their Garments, with which they killed many in *Jerusalem* at the solemn Feasts, and destroyed Villages in the Country. A Seducer had carried off a considerable Number of *Jews* after him to the Desert, upon Promises of Liberty and Freedom from Trouble; but *Festus* (b) sent a Party of Soldiers after him, who killed both the Deceiver and the deceived.

King *Agrippa* erected a stately Building at *Jerusalem*, within the Palace near the Porch. A. D. 63. The House was situated on a high Ground, whence one might behold the whole City, and every Thing that was done in the Temple. But the Ringleaders of the *Jews* were offended, because their Customs did not permit that any should see their Sacrifices and Oblations (c); and therefore they erected a high Wall, which shut up the View of the Royal Chamber, at which *Agrippa* and *Festus* the *Roman* Governor were very displeased, and ordered to put down the Wall. But the *Jews* entreated them to allow Ambassadors to be sent to *Nero* before these Orders were executed: For they pretended they could not live if any Part of the Temple was beaten down. Whereupon ten of their chief People were allowed to go to *Rome*, among whom were *Ismael* the High-priest, and *Chelcias* the Treasurer of the Temple. *Nero* no sooner heard their Suit but he pardoned them, not only for what they had done, but also ordered the Wall to remain as it was: All which he did in Favours of his Wife *Poppæa*, a devout Woman, who interceded for them. She dismissed the Ambassadors, but kept *Chelcias* and *Ismael* with her. *Agrippa* understanding how Things had gone, gave the High-priesthood to *Joseph* surnamed *Cabi*, whose Father *Simon* had formerly enjoyed that Office.

Josephus the *Jewish* Historian, being at this Time twenty six Years old, made a Voyage to *Rome*. Some *Jewish* Priests having been sent thither Prisoners by the Orders of *Felix*, and being still in Bonds, he inclined to do as far as he was able for their Liberty. In his Passage he suffered Shipwreck; but having swummed all Night, by break of Day he with eighty others outswimming the rest were taken up by a *Cyrenian* Ship they had in View in the *Adriatick*. At *Puteoli* he became acquainted with *Aliturus* a *Jew*, by whose Means he was introduced to *Poppæa Nero's* Wife (d). By her Interest he obtained Liberty for the Priests, and being gratified by her Liberality he returned to *Judea*.

§ III. *FESTUS* having died in his Province, *Nero* sent *Albinus* to be Procurator of *Judea* in his Room. He deposed from the High-priesthood *Joseph Cabi*, and advanced in his stead *Ananus* the Son of *Ananus*, whose five Sons all enjoyed that Office. This *Ananus* was of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, who are severe Justiciaries; and he thought he had got a proper Time, when *Festus* was dead, and *Albinus* on his Journey, to call a Council of the Judges; where *James* the Brother of *Jesus Christ*, and some others, were condemned as guilty of Impiety and stoned to Death, which displeased all good Men (e). *Eusebius* hath the Story more fully out of *Egesippus* (f), as I have in another Essay related it (g). This Fact, says *Josephus*, (b) displeased all good Men and Observers of the Law, who sent to *Agrippa*, to desire him not to commit such Offences in Time coming. Some also represented to *Albinus* then at *Alexandria*, that it was not lawful for *Ananus* to assemble the Council without his Licence. On which Representation *Albinus* wrote an angry Letter to the High-priest, threatening him with Punishment; and *Agrippa* turned him out of his Office, after he had possessed it three Months, and established in his stead *Jesus* the Son of *Damianus*. *Albinus* being arrived at *Jerusalem*, punished Thieves and Robbers.

Ananias the Priest, by Reason of his Liberality, encreased in Honour and Reputation among the People: But he had very wicked Servants, who with their Associates went from Place to Place, taking up Tithes that belonged to the Priests, and beating those who refused to comply; whereby many poor Priests died for Want of Victuals. The Robbers broke in upon the City in the Night Time, and carried off a Son of *Ananias*, Secretary to Captain *Eleazar*

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.* (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7.* (d) *Joseph. de vitâ suâ.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (f) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 23.* (g) *Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 452, 453.* (h) *Joseph. ibid.*

azar (a), sending *Ananias* Word they would deliver up his Son, providing *Albinus* would liberate ten of their Companions then his Prisoners. Which *Ananias* perswaded the Procurator to do; but the Thieves grew more insolent, still doing one Injury after another. About this Time *Agrippa* enlarged the City *Cæsarea*, calling it *Neronias*. He also erected a large Theatre at *Berytus*; where every Year he spent a great deal of Money in exhibiting Shews to the People, and adorned that City with Statues, transporting Ornaments thither out of the rest of the Kingdom, which procured him Envy and Hatred from the People.

Four Years before the War, which is the Year of which we are now writing, one *Ananus* a common Countryman coming up to the Feast of Tabernacles, cried out, *Wo from the East, wo from the West, wo from the four Winds (b), wo against Jerusalem and the Temple, wo against Men and Women newly married, wo against all this People!* This he cried Night and Day about all the Streets of the City. Some of the Nobility took him and scourged him, but he continued crying as before. Yea, tho' he was brought before the Roman Deputy, and beaten till his Bones appeared, he never wept, but still cried, *Wo, wo unto Jerusalem!* Thus he did continually, especially on Holy Days, for the Space of seven (some Copies of *Josephus* have it six) Years and five Months. His Voice never waxed hoarse nor weary, till in the Time of the Siege beholding what he had foretold accomplished, he ceased; but on observing the Roman Engines playing against the City, he cried once more, *Wo, wo to the City, Temple and People, and wo, wo to my self;* upon speaking of which Words, a Stone shot out of a Machine smote him and he died.

A. D. 64. § 112. KING *Agrippa* conferred the High-priesthood on *Jesus* the Son of *Gamaliel*, turning out *Jesus* the Son of *Damneus*, but the latter did not willingly yield to the former. Whereupon a Contest arose, and the Parties proceeded from bitter Words to Stones and Blows. *Ananias*, by his Wealth and Liberality (c), gained many Associates; *Costobarus* and *Saul* being of the Blood Royal, by Alliance with *Agrippa*, gathered a Band of Rascals and desperate Men, who spoiled the weaker Sort, and from this Time the State of the City grew desperate; daily abounding in Wickedness. *Albinus* the Procurator forced away Men's Goods under the Colour of Justice, burdened the whole Nation with heavy Tributes, and set Malefactors and Robbers out of Prison, if either they or their Friends would give him a Piece of Money (d), conniving at all the Injuries they did to the People, and detaining only the poor in Custody who could give nothing for their Ransom. These who desired Changes in *Jerusalem*, began to grow insolent; and these who were rich gave *Albinus* Money for a Licence to carry on their seditious Practices: The common People joined the more powerful, and each had a Company of Thieves after them: The Levitical Law was violated (e). The Procurator himself, especially when he heard of a Successor coming to him, became the chief of the Robbers, permitting his own Guard to plunder Houses, and no Man durst trust one another: These Things were the Beginning of Sorrows.

For *Gessius Florus*, who came in the Room of *Albinus*, exceeded his Predecessor. He was a *Clazomenian* born, and married to one *Cleopatra*, a Woman as wicked as himself; but being a Favourite of *Poppæa Nero's* Wife (f), she obtained this Province for her Husband. He behaved himself with such Violence in the Government, that the *Jews* praised his Predecessor, as if he had been their Benefactor. *Albinus* had concealed his Wickedness; but *Florus* openly declared his, omitting neither Rapine nor Injustice; punishing the innocent as much as the guilty: For he was covetous without Pity, and not ashamed to be Partaker with Thieves; which made many go into that Profession; being assured of Safety when the Procurator was their Associate. His Oppression was such, as it forced some to leave their Native Country, and take a more commodious Place among Strangers; and made the Body of the Nation take Arms against the Romans. The Outworks of the Temple being about this Time finished (g), eighteen thousand Workmen were paid off and made idle; who helped on these fatal Commotions. With these Things *Josephus* concludes the twentieth and last Book of his Antiquities.

§ 113. HAVING thus deduced the History of the *Jews* to the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Nero*, when the War began which rendred their Country desolate; I shall now observe a few Things, which in divine Providence concurred to help on the Ruin of that Nation, and conclude this Chapter (which a Multitude of Matters has rendred too long) with a short Narrative of the Events of the War; and of the Desolation of that Country which thereon ensued.

First, We may observe that the Royal Dignity was much decayed in *Judea*, the Princes in that Country, ever since *Pompey* conquered *Jerusalem*, being Vassals to the Romans; who set them up or pull'd them down at pleasure, or as it was judged for the Roman Interest. *Herod* the Great began his Reign thirty seven Years before the Birth of Christ, and his Posterity enjoyed some Shadow of Power to the Time of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and even after that, there were two Branches of the Family remaining in *Armenia*: For *Herod* the Great had two

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (b) *Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 12.* (c) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (d) *Joseph. de bello, lib. 2. cap. 13.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (f) *Ibid. cap. 9.* (g) *Ibid. cap. 8.*

two Sons by the beheaded *Mariamne* ; *Aristobulus* the younger of the two, from whom *Agrippa I.* and *Herod King of Chalcis* descended ; and *Alexander* the elder, married to *Glaphyra* Daughter to *Archelaus King of Cappadocia (a)*, who by her had two Sons, *Tigranes King of Armenia* killed by *Tiberius*, and *Alexander* who left *Tigranes II.* named by *Nero* to succeed his Uncle. But this Branch had two Misfortunes ; one, that they forsook the Religion of their Ancestors, and being mixed with the Heathens embraced their Religion ; and the other, that it made a dismal End, young *Tigranes* being beaten by *Tiridates*, and forced to quit the Throne : And, as *Josephus (b)* observes, tho' *Herod's* Posterity was very numerous, yet they were all extinguished in the Space of one hundred Years. The *Herods* were by Descent *Idumæans*, but by Religion *Jews* born in the Country. *Herod the Great* was a King dependent upon and tributary to the *Romans*, and died soon after our Saviour was born. But during our Redeemer's Life upon Earth there was no King in *Judea* : *Archelaus* the Son of *Herod the Great* was but only an Ethnarch, and after he had enjoyed this nine or ten Years was banished, leaving *Jerusalem* and all *Judea* under the Government of the *Romans*, in which Condition it remained at our Saviour's Death. The other Sons of *Herod* were only Tetrarchs in *Iturea* and *Galilee*, having no Authority in the Territories of *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*. *Agrippa I.* became a great Man, but did not reign over *Judea* and *Samaria* till the Reign of *Claudius* ; and our Lord died in the Reign of *Tiberius*, several Years before this Reign of *Agrippa* commenced. Kings disappeared at *Jerusalem* while our Lord made his Entry into the World, and the *Jews* ought to have been sensible, that *the sceptre was then departed from Judah*. Besides, the Reign of the *Herods* was disadvantageous to the *Jewish* Nation ; for having only a Shadow of Authority, always depending upon the *Roman* Empire, they became obliged to keep the People in a servile Dependence, and were the Leeches that suck'd the Blood of that poor Nation to enrich their Master's Favourites. They were bound to build Cities and Castles in honour of their Benefactors, and to soften by Presents and vast Sums such as seemed exasperated, to contribute to their Pleasures and Expences, to bear the Burden of the Crown without enjoying the Advantage thereof, since they still groaned under the *Roman* Yoke.

§ 114. 2dly, THE same Decay is to be observed in the Priesthood. This sacred Dignity was weakned by degrees, till it was entirely abolished, being at the Beck either of the *Romans* or ruling Princes. The *Jewish* Church, which for a great many Ages saw but one High-priest deposed, had now a new Head almost every Year. The High-priests were deprived of their Office, others who bought it were put into their room, and even these who kept it longest had so little Power, that they could not suppress the Disorders of the Robbers and Zealots. Thus the Church as well as the State by degrees went to Destruction. To recount all the Changes in the High-priesthood, even from the Time of *Herod the Great*, would be to transcribe the History we have already wrote. I shall then only give a short Catalogue of the High-priests who lived, were deposed, restored or killed, from the Reign of *Herod the Great* to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and we shall find them twenty nine in Number, viz. 1. *Annanelus*, brought from *Babylon* ; 2. *Aristobulus* the *Asmonæan*, drowned ; 3. *Annanelus* restored, and deposed a second Time ; 4. *Jesus* the Son of *Phæbes*, deposed ; 5. *Simon Boëthus* *Herod's* Father-in-law, deposed ; 6. *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus*, deposed a few Days before *Herod's* Death. By *Archelaus*, 7. *Joazar* Son of *Simon*, Uncle to *Mariamne II.* deposed ; 8. *Eleazar* Brother to *Joazar* ; 9. *Jesus* the Son of *Sie*, turned out by *Quirinius* and *Coponius*, to make way for *Joazar*, who was restored, and at the same time deposed by the People's Request ; 10. *Ananus* the Son of *Seth*, turned out by *Gratus* ; 11. *Ismael* Son of *Fabi* ; 12. *Eleazar* Son of *Annas* ; 13. *Simon* Son of *Camith* ; 14. *Joseph* surnamed *Cajaphas*, turned out by *Vitellius* ; 15. *Jonathas* the Son of *Annas*. By *Agrippa I.* 16. *Theophilus* Son of *Jonathas* ; 17. *Simon Canthara*, Son to *Simon I.* 18. *Matthias* Son of *Annas* ; 19. *Elionæus*. By *Herod King of Chalcis*, 20. *Simon Canthara*, Successor to *Elionæus*, deposed for a second Time ; 21. *Joseph* the Son of *Camydas*. By *Agrippa II.* 22. *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus*, turned out ; 23. *Ismael* the Son of *Fabi* ; 24. *Joseph Cabi*, Son of *Simon I.* 25. *Annas* or *Ananus*, the Murderer of *St. James (c)*, who seems to be the same Man who commanded those who stood by the Apostle *Paul* to smite him on the mouth, who prophetically told him, *God shall smite thee, thou whited wall*, *Acts*, xxiii. 2, 3. Accordingly we find in *Josephus (d)*, that *Ananias* the High-priest was taken in one of the Water-conduits of the King's Palace, with his Brother *Ezekias*, and killed by the Thieves. The 26th in this List was *Jesus* the Son of *Damnæus*. But his Predecessor being unwilling to resign, the Matter came to Blows (e). Thus Ecclesiastics were in Arms to fight for an Office which God only could give. The 27th was *Jesus* the Son of *Gamaliel* : And he with the rest of the Combatants being turned out, the Priesthood was given, 28. to *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus* : And he being killed in the War (f), the 29th and last High-priest was one *Phanus* or *Phanias*, a stupid ignorant Fellow,

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not

(a) See above, p. 474 & 476. (b) *Antiq. lib.* 18. cap. 7. (c) Above, p. 499. (d) *Joseph. de bello Judaico*, lib. 3. cap. 18. ab initio. (e) Above, p. 500. (f) *Joseph. de bello Judaico*, lib. 6. cap. 15.

not of the sacerdotal Race (*a*), in whom ended the High-priesthood, God having no more Occasion for this Office when his own Son was come to be an *high priest over the house of God*. Thus we see so many Changes in the High-priesthood without any Regard to the Family of *Aaron*, as *Josephus* (*b*) observes, but only to the Interest of the reigning Party, and that in a short Time of one hundred and ten Years: Whereas from the Time of *Moses* to the building of *Solomon's Temple*, which was 480 Years, there were only thirteen High-priests. But now so great and remarkable was the Decay of the *Jewish Church*, as a Forerunner of its approaching Ruin in the just Judgment of God, that the Authority of this sacred Office seem'd to be abolished even in those who enjoyed it; for they were the Game of Inconstancy and Caprice, of Humour and Faction, so given to Covetousness, that they robbed the inferior Priests of their usual Food, minding nothing but to provide Money to bribe the *Roman* Governors, whose Protection they wanted; and when this failed, they stirred up the People to rebell and enter into a War, which proved their Ruin.

§ 115. ANOTHER Step that advanced the Calamities of the *Jews*, was the Disorders and different Factions of the People, to which we may add the Oppressions of the *Roman* Soldiers and Governors. This is so evident from the History, that I need not now enlarge upon it. By the Division of the *Assyrians*, and the Exigency of *Herod's* Affairs, the *Romans* were called in to his Assistance, or rather to the Government of *Judea*; and Religion suffered very much by such Auxiliary Troops and hard Masters. The *Jews* had so great an Aversion to Images, that the *Roman* Eagles on their Standarts put the People in an Uproar; yet *Herod* the Great, to compliment the *Romans*, set up a golden Eagle on the Gate of the Temple: The Zealots being persuaded that this ought not to be suffered, hewed down the Image. The old King, tho' lying on his Death-bed, had Malice enough to cause those who advised this Action to be burnt alive (*c*), and the rest to be beheaded. The People looked on them as Martyrs, and asked Justice of his Son *Archelaus*: But he was so far from condemning what his Father had done, that he caused three thousand *Jews* who complained to be murdered (*d*) in the Temple. He was afraid if he forgave the Affront done to the Eagle, *Augustus* would think that he suffered the Majesty of the Empire to be trampled upon. Thus every thing was sacrificed to the *Romans*. Publick Shews and Games, unknown in *Judea*, were celebrated to the Emperor's Honour. By a Tumult raised on Occasion of one of the Soldiers shewing his bare Breech to the *Jews*, ten thousand of the People were killed or crushed to Death, and several other Tumults raised by the Impiety of these military Men, have been already noticed. The *Roman* Governors did more Harm than the Soldiers; most of them were like so many Banditi, who studied nothing else but how to enrich themselves by the Spoils of the Government. There were fourteen of these Procurators one after another sent to *Judea*, viz. 1. *Coponius*. 2. *Marcus Ambivius*. 3. *Annius Rufus*. 4. *Valerius Gratus*. 5. *Pontius Pilate*. 6. *Marcellus*. 7. *Marullus*. 8. *Crispius Fadus*. 9. *Tiberius Alexander*. 10. *Ventidius Cumanus*. 11. *Claudius Felix*. 12. *Porcius Festus*. 13. *Albinus*. 14. *Gessius Florus*. The succeeding one was still worse than he who had gone before him; and the two last by their Oppressions, Exactions and Severities turned the *Jews* quite mad, to venture, contrary to all Sense and Reason, upon a Rebellion against the *Roman* Empire that had conquered the World. The Robbers in *Judea*, the Magicians, Impostors, Zealots, and the various Sects, of whom we have noticed several Things already, and may in the Progress of this Work give a further View of them; all these helped to hasten on the Calamities which the Sins of this guilty People deserved.

§ 116. BUT I proceed now to give a short Narrative of the Rise and Events of the War between the *Jews* and the *Romans*, and of the Desolation of the Country that thereon ensued. The *Jews* impatiently resented the Tyranny of the *Roman* Yoke; which seemed heavier to their Necks than to other Nations, because they looked on themselves as a more free-born People, and were proud of these great Immunities which Heaven had conferred upon them. Being no longer able to endure the Tyranny of *Gessius Florus*, upon *Cestius Gallus* President of *Syria's* coming to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of the Passover, a Multitude of *Jews*, to the Number of *A. D. 66.* about three Millions, entreated him to help their afflicted Country, and banish *Florus*, who was a Plague to their Nation (*e*). *Gallus* gave them fair Words, and returned to *Antioch*: But the Procurator laughing at their Complaints, every Day oppressed them with new Calamities. At *Cæsarea* some *Gentiles* offered to build Taverns near the Door of the *Jews* Synagogue; which vexing this People, they gave *Florus* eight Talents to hinder the Work: But he having got the Money, minded no more of the Matter. A *Gentile* having sacrificed some Birds at the Door of the Synagogue, this was counted a prophaning of the Place, which occasioned an Uproar, and made the *Jews* carry away the Book of the Law (*f*) from *Cæsarea*, for which the Procurator cast some of them in Irons. But his taking seventeen Talents out of the sacred Treasury at *Jerusalem* to carry on his Designs, made the *Jews* heartily to revile and curse him.

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(*a*) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.* (*b*) *Ibid.* (*c*) Above p. 481. (*d*) Above, p. 482. (*e*) *Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 13.* (*f*) *Ibid. cap. 14.*

Being informed of this, he marched with a Party of his Forces to *Jerusalem*, where he put six hundred and thirty Persons to the Sword, and ordered some of their best Quality to be whipped and crucified before his Tribunal. *Berenice* Sister to King *Agrippa* intreated *Florus* to moderate his Resentments against the *Jews*; but she was not only slighted, but also put in Danger of her Life. *Agrippa* beholding this melancholy Posture of Affairs, that the Procurator took all Methods to stir up the *Jews* to Rebellion, which they were ready to go into, called them to the Porch of the Temple, where he made a long Oration to them (a), setting forth the Power of the Roman Empire, the Folly of their rebelling, and exhorting them to obey *Florus*, till another was sent to supply his Room. At this the Multitude was so offended, that they reviled the King, threw Stones at him, and drove him out of the City.

The *Jews* being every where male-treated, ran to Arms, and suddenly seized the Castle of *Massada* (b), killing all the Romans in the Place, and setting there a Garrison of their own Party. In the Temple at *Jerusalem* *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananias* persuaded the *Jews* not to accept of the Cattle for Sacrifices which *Cæsar* had allowed, and set upon the Romans who were there, killing them on the Sabbath Day. This (says (c) *Josephus*) made Wrath hang over the City, tho' there had been no Danger from the Romans. The same Day the Gentiles in *Cæsarea* massacred all the *Jews* who dwelt among them, to the Number of twenty thousand Persons (d). *Florus* took these who had escaped and put them in Irons. This made the greater Part of the whole Nation desperate; so that dividing themselves in Companies, and marching through the Country, they destroyed many Places with Fire and Sword, as *Philadelphia*, *Gebonitis*, *Gerasa*, *Pella*, and several others. To revenge this the *Syrians* murdered the *Jews* dwelling among them, whom they hated on many Accounts. At *Scythopolis* there were thirteen thousand *Jews* killed, at *Ascalon* two thousand five hundred, and at *Ptolemais* two thousand (e). The *Egyptians* at *Alexandria* having an old Quarrel with the *Jews* in that Country; and having got the Assistance of *Tiberius Alexander* the Roman Governor of that Province, with two Legions under his Command, they fell upon them, and in one Day killed fifty thousand (f).

Cestius Gallus President of *Syria* being informed of these Commotions, thought fit to bestir himself; and therefore with the twelfth Legion, and some other Forces he gathered in the Country, and Auxiliaries from King *Agrippa* (g), he marched into the City *Babylon*, which being deserted by the Inhabitants, flying into the Mountains, he seized, plundered, and then set it on Fire. Having spoiled the rest of the open Country, he retired to *Ptolemais*, and thence to *Cæsarea*. From which Place he sent a Part of his Army against *Joppa*, who attacking that City by Sea and Land, took and set it on Fire, killing eight thousand four hundred Inhabitants. He sent *Cæfernius Gallus*, the Commander of the twelfth Legion into *Galilee*, where several Places submitted to him; but the Thieves and the Seditious retired to the Mountains, where they made some Resistance, but were soon defeated, with the Loss of two thousand of their Men (h). Having settled Peace in *Galilee*, *Cestius* marched towards *Jerusalem*, where the *Jews* were then observing the Feast of Tabernacles: But they left the Solemnity to fight with the Romans, over whom they had a small Victory, killing five hundred and fifteen Men. Notwithstanding this Loss *Cestius* proceeded to the City. King *Agrippa*, who was with him, thought to have persuaded the *Jews* to submit; but the Seditious killed *Phæbus*, one of his Ambassadors (i), without allowing him to speak a Word, and the other being wounded made his Escape. Then *Cestius* attacked *Jerusalem*, and reduced the lower Part of the City, with *Bethzæa* and *Cænopolis*, and might also have taken the upper Part with the Temple, where many inclined to submit to the Romans; only the Seditious opposed it. But at last *Cestius* fearing he would not be able to carry his Point, retired with his Army too indeliberately out of the City, and marched off to his own Country. In his Retreat he was often way-laid and attacked by the *Jews*, whereby he lost Abundance of his Men, with warlike Instruments and Provisions, which the Pursuers picked up. The Heathens in *Damascus* hearing of this, killed of the *Jews* ten thousand (k). But the Retreat of *Cestius* had many other Effects in *Judea*; for thereby *John* of *Giscala*, *Simon* of *Giora*, and others of the Seditious (l), were encouraged to raise new Commotions: And so fatal were their Factions, that they would have ruined themselves, if the Romans had not done it. *Josephus* the Historian was sent to command the upper and lower *Galilee*, *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananias* into *Idumæa*, and *Annas* the High-priest undertook to govern *Jerusalem*, the Temple, and the neighbouring Citadels.

§ 117. ON the other Hand, *Cestius* informed *Nero*, then in *Achaia*, of the bad State of his Affairs A. D. 67. in *Judea*; who presently dispatched *Vespasian*, a Man trained up in the Wars from his Infancy (m), who had commanded the Roman Armies in *Germany* and in *Britain*, and was judged to be the best Officer in his Time, to be General of the Army against the *Jews*. He carried with him his Son *Titus*, and two Roman Legions from *Achaia*. Marching into *Syria*, he caused

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(a) *Joseph. de bello Jud. cap. 15, 16.* (b) *Ibid. cap. 17.* (c) *Ibid. cap. 18.* (d) *Ibid. cap. 19.* (e) *Ibid. cap. 20.* (f) *Ibid. cap. 21.* (g) *Ibid. cap. 22.* (h) *Ibid. cap. 23.* (i) *Ibid. cap. 24.* (k) *Ibid. cap. 25.* (l) *Ibid. cap. 25.* (m) *Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 1.*

the *Roman* Forces in every Place with several Auxiliaries to join him, till he made up a formidable Army of sixty thousand Men (a), with which he marched into *Galilee*. In the mean time the *Jews* attacked *Ascalon*, but were repulsed with the Loss of ten thousand Men, among whom were two of their Leaders, *John* and (b) *Silas*. Tho' *Josephus* the *Jewish* Historian, who commanded in *Galilee*, had a numerous Army of Militia, yet he did not think proper to appear with them in the Field, especially after he heard that *Vespasian* had taken *Gadara* at the first Assault (c), but retired with them into *Jotapata*, which he fortified, to stop the Enemy for some time. The City was situated on a Rock, well provided with all Necessaries except Salt and Water, which were scarce; but *Josephus* husbanded them as well as possible. There he did all the Offices of a good Captain, except that he tells himself (d), when he saw the Place would be taken, he designed once to flee and leave it. This being prevented, he had several sharp Encounters with the *Romans*, who during the Siege (which continued seven Months) lost a World of Men, even *Vespasian* himself was slightly wounded: But being informed by a Deserter, that the Number of the besieged was reduced, and that they slept in the Night to refresh themselves to bear the Fatigue in the Day, the *Roman* General ordered his own Son *Titus*, with another of his Officers, to make an Attack early in the Morning, wherein he was so successful as to enter the Citadel before the *Jews* awaked; and as soon as the *Roman* Army came in, they committed a horrid Slaughter, sparing none save Women and Children. Forty thousand *Jews* perished, either during the Siege or at taking the City (e). *Josephus* was found in a Cave, and spared by *Vespasian*; to whom, 'tis said, he foretold that he should be Emperor (f). Upon the twenty fifth Day of *June* in the same Year *Trajan* and *Titus* took *Japha* in *Galilee*, where in a first and second Engagement fifteen thousand *Jews* were killed, and two thousand one hundred and thirty taken Prisoners (g). *Joppa* having been rebuilt by the Seditious after the same had been destroyed by *Cestius*, *Vespasian* understanding that the *Jews* from that Port designed to exercise Piracies, he sent a Part of his Army to attack the Place; and the Besieged finding that they were not able to defend it, betook themselves to their Ships. But next Morning a violent Tempest arising drove them against the Rocks, where they were all shipwreck'd and dash'd in Pieces, so as four thousand two hundred of their dead Bodies were found cast ashore next Day (h). *Tiberias* submitted, and obtained a Pardon (i). The Mutineers got together at *Tarrichæa*, and at first sallied against *Titus* when he came to attack them. But being beat back, *Titus* taking Advantage of their Disorder, entred the Town, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword, where and on the Lake six thousand five hundred were killed, twelve hundred killed going to *Tiberias* (k), six thousand sent to *Nero*, and thirty thousand four hundred fold.

Gamala made a vigorous Defence. The City, tho' situated on the other Side of *Jordan*, was reckoned a Part of *Galilee*. It held out a whole Month, and even after the *Romans* had entred it, they were driven out with considerable Loss. *Vespasian* was there wounded with a Sling. But at last the Town and Castle were both taken, and the Conqueror did not spare even the Children. Four thousand *Jews* were killed (l), and five thousand in an astonishing Despair threw themselves down from the Tops of Rocks. There was such a Slaughter of that Nation every where, and that even with such remarkable Circumstances, that there seem'd Reason to believe that God had a mind to extirpate them, and not even to spare their very Children. *Gisgala* was the last Place in *Galilee* that held out against the *Romans*. *Titus* summoned and intreated them to surrender: Which they all inclined to do; only *John* of *Gisgala*, a Magician, and a Ringleader of the Seditious, desired one Night's Time, it being the Sabbath, to consider the Proposal. This being granted, he with a Number of others made their Escape to *Jerusalem*. But while it was dark, *Gisgala* deserted his Followers, leaving them to the *Romans*; who came suddenly on, and destroyed two thousand of them (m); and the City submitted. Thus the whole of *Galilee* was reduced in the second Campaign, and *Vespasian* put his Army into Winter-quarters at *Cæsarea*, a City for most part inhabited by *Greeks*, where there had been always a *Roman* Garrison, and which was the usual Residence of the Governors of *Judea*.

In the mean time all the several Gangs of Mutineers, Assassines, Robbers and Zealots joined at *Jerusalem* to defend the Place against the *Romans*. The Zealots seized upon some of the Royal Family, whom they accused of a Design to betray the City to the Enemy; and notwithstanding their Quality and Innocence took away their Lives. When they observed the People stirred up by the High-priest's rising against them, they seized the Temple and the holy Place, which from this Time and forward became the Theatre of a cruel Civil War (n), till it was burnt down to the Ground. *John* of *Gisgala*, who had fled from the Place so named, joined with the Zealots at *Jerusalem*, to obtain the Honour of being their Commander, and persuaded them to call in the *Idumæans* to their Assistance, much against the Mind of

Ananus

(a) *Joseph. de bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 3. (b) *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 1. (c) *Ibid.* cap. 6. (d) *Ibid.* cap. 8. (e) *Ibid.* cap. 7, 8, 9, 10, 13. (f) *Ibid.* cap. 14. (g) *Ibid.* cap. 11. (h) *Ibid.* cap. 15. (i) *Ibid.* cap. 16. (k) *Ibid.* cap. 17, 19. (l) *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 1, 3. (m) *Ibid.* cap. 4. (n) *Ibid.* cap. 5, 6.

Ananus and other Priests. But one Day, while it rained and thundered prodigiously, the Zealots marched out of the Temple, and broke open with Instruments the Gates of the City, whereby they let in twenty thousand *Idumæans* (a), who filled *Jerusalem* with Blood and Slaughter: For at one Time they killed eight thousand five hundred People (b); at another Time they shut up in Prison the best Quality and Youths most fit for War, and because they refused to associate in their Gang, they barbarously murdered twelve thousand of them (c). Among others they killed *Ananus* the High-priest, to whom *Josephus* (d) gives a good Character, saying, *If he had been spared, he might have preserved the City.* *Zacharias* the Son of *Baruch* was another whom they put to Death with some Solemnity (e), by reason of his Merit and Worth. After these villanous Actions the *Idumæans* left *Jerusalem*. They being gone, the Zealots raged against the Citizens, killing many (f), and not allowing their Bodies to be buried.

Vespasian being informed by Deserters of these Disorders at *Jerusalem*, opened the third Campaign; but did not think fit straight to march to that City, but went to *Gadara*, the Metropolis of *Peræa*; that is, the Province beyond *Jordan*, which fell to the Share of the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*. *Dolseus*, one of the Inhabitants, introduced the Romans undiscovered: But the Inhabitants out of Revenge killed him (g), and then fled out of the Town. *Placidus* being sent on the Pursuit, overtook them at the Passage of *Jordan*, where he killed thirteen thousand of them, without reckoning a great many drowned in the River then swelled with Rain. He carried his Conquests as far as the *Dead Sea*, making himself Master of the whole Country. *Vespasian* then put himself on his March to *Jerusalem*, which he began to block up. He took *Lydda* and *Tamnia*, ravaged *Idumæa*, ten thousand People being killed in the Villages thereof. He put a Garrison into *Jericho* (h), and made a Legion encamp at *Emmaus*, three Leagues from *Jerusalem*.

§ 118. BUT the News of the Death of *Nero*, after a Reign of 13 Years eight Months, interrupted his Designs. *Vespasian* reckoned he was obliged to wait for Orders from the new Emperor, or rather to see the Event of that Revolution, in which he himself was concerned; and therefore he sent *Titus* his Son with King *Agrippa* the Jew towards *Rome*. But as they were passing by *Achaia*, they heard that *Galba* was killed (i), after a Reign of seven Months seven Days; and that *Otho* was advanced, who only continued three Months; whereupon *Titus* returned to his Father at *Cæsarea*. In the mean time *Geraza* was taken by the Romans at the first Assault, and a thousand Jews were there killed. *Simon*, a Captain of the Robbers, without the City *Jerusalem*, and *John* of *Giscala* within it, with the Zealots, committed horrid Disorders and Barbarities (k), and none were so safe as they who fled to the Roman Army.

Vespasian being informed of *Vitellius's* Advancement to the Roman Empire, who was a mere Epicure, and finding the Army resolute to salute himself Emperor (l), he complied with the Offer, promising to free the Empire of the Disorders and Scandals committed by these monthly Emperors. *Tiberius Alexander*, Governor of *Egypt*, being informed by Letters of this Revolution, took the Oath of Fidelity, and all the Army there followed his Example. *Vespasian* finding all *Egypt*, which was the Granary of *Rome*, firm to his Interest (m), caused break the Chains of *Josephus* the Historian, restoring him to Liberty who had foretold his Advancement; and having committed the Conduct of the Jewish War to his Son *Titus*, he proceeded from *Judea* to *Antioch*, and thence to *Rome*; where *Vitellius* was slain, after a Reign of eight Months five Days, and *Vespasian* was received Emperor to the great Joy of the City.

§ 119. *Titus* having gathered his Army together, invested *Jerusalem* when the Jews were preparing to celebrate the Passover. His Army consisted of four Roman Legions (n), whereof the Twelfth was very eager to be revenged on the Jews for the Disgrace they had sustained under *Cestius* (o). These made up a Body of twenty four thousand Foot and two thousand four hundred Horse. Five thousand Men were added to them, with twenty Regiments of Foot and eight of Horse of Auxiliaries, besides the Troops of *Agrippa*, *Sohemus* and *Antiochus*, with a Company of *Arabians*. All these made a considerable Army. The City was divided into Factions. *Simon*, whom they called in, possessed the upper Part of the City, with some of the lower; *John* with the Zealots had the Temple and the other Part of the lower Town. His Party was again divided into two. *Eleazar*, who had been the first Commander of the Zealots, taking it ill that *John* was preferred to him; he with his Associates seized the inner Part of the Temple; where by the Situation of the Place he had great Advantage: For thus *John*, who lodged his Party in the outer Courts of the Temple and the Porches, was obliged to fight against *Eleazar* and *Simon*. Their Battles were very frequently bloody, and in them they burnt the Stores of Corn and other Necessaries, which occasioned a grievous Famine in the Time of the Siege: For at the Feast of the Passover there used to be gathered together

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(a) *Joseph. de bello Judaico*, lib. 4. cap. 6. (b) *Ibid.* cap. 7. (c) *Ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 1. (d) *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 7. in fine. (e) *Ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 1. (f) *Ibid.* cap. 2. (g) *Ibid.* cap. 3. (h) *Ibid.* cap. 4. (i) *Ibid.* cap. 6. (k) *Ibid.* cap. 7, 9. (l) *Xiphilini Epitome Dionis*, p. 208. (m) *Joseph. de bello Judaico*, lib. 5. cap. 10, — 14. (n) *Ibid.* lib. 6. cap. 1. (o) Above, p. 503.

about two Millions seven hundred thousand Persons; a great many also had been driven thither by the Roman Conquests all over *Judea*, which made a multitude of Mouths; and when Provisions failed, this raised a prodigious Famine. *Titus* straitly blocked up all the Avenues leading to the Place, whereby he prevented all Possibility either of coming in or going out. Then was literally accomplished what our Lord foretold, *Luke*, xix. 41, — 44. when he wept over the City, saying, *If thou had known the things that belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* The City was very strong in Situation, and also by Art; for the Temple on Mount *Moriah*, the Citadel called *Antonia*, and the King's Palace, were not only beautiful Structures, but likewise strong Fortifications. A triple Wall (a), strengthened and adorned with one hundred and sixty four Towers of excellent Workmanship, inclosed the whole Mountain whereon the City stood. Besides, there were many subterranean Canals, through which the *Jews* did often pass into the Country, and surprised the Roman Foragers.

While *Titus* was encamping, the *Jews* sallied out with such Success, as to disorder his Army (b), and put the General himself oftner than once in Danger; but the Circumvallation and Entrenchments being soon finished, the Besieged were more closely pent up. Terms of Mercy were offered upon Surrender. *Titus* himself often exhorted them to it, even after he had taken the first and second Wall, and their Case was become desperate. He sent *Josephus* the Historian, their Countryman, who in a long Oration, and afterwards in a shorter Speech (c), in their own Language, used all Arguments possible to persuade them to a Submission. But all being scornfully rejected, the Romans were provoked to fall on with greater Vigour. Great Mounts were raised; many Mines, Machines and battering Rams used to shake and overthrow the Walls, which they did with Success. God and Man, Heaven and Earth seemed to fight against them; the Roman Army without, and irreconcilable Factions within. A Month after the Siege commenced, a Famine began, hastned by the vast Multitude of People in the City, and raged so horribly, that the Besieged took more Care to prey upon one another, and to plunder Provisions, than how to defend themselves against the common Enemy. Thousands starved for Want of Food, who died so fast, that they were not able to perform the last Offices of Humanity, but were forced to throw them on common Heaps. Nay they were reduced to that Extremity, that some offered Violence to all the Laws of Nature. *Mary*, the Daughter of *Eleazar*, being undone by the Soldiers, and no longer able to bear the Force of Hunger, boiled her own Son, a sucking Child, and eat him (d). So plainly were the Words of our Lord accomplished, *Luke* xxiii. 29. *The days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck.* Many killed themselves to avoid the Pain of Hunger and Famine. *Simon* killed *Matthias*, who had been High-priest (e), and many others of the Sacerdotal Order. From the fourteenth of *April*, to the first of *July* were carried out at one Gate 115080 dead Bodies; and a Nobleman flying to *Titus* reported, that there were dead in the City 600000 Poor, which they threw out at the Gates (f). Others who ventured out to the Roman Camp, were killed with Plenty. Another Accident encreased their Miseries; these who came out swallowed their Gold, which was observed by their scratching into their Excrements; and the Syrian and Arabian Soldiers were so cruel and covetous, that they ript open two thousand *Jews* in one Night, that they might come to the Metal (g). *Titus* caused punish some of those with Death who had been guilty of this Fact; but their Number and Avarice was so great, that they could not be all reached. To terrify the Besieged into a Submission, he caused crucify some of their Number who had fled into his Camp in their View. But they reviled him from the Walls, and nothing would alarm the Seditious and Zealots, who were hardened to their own Ruin.

At length *Titus* being very desirous to put an End to the Calamities of the *Jews*, which he often protested their own Obstinacy, and not he, had brought upon them. Having made himself Master of one of the Porches of the Temple, he attempted to scale the Walls: But the Besieged overset the Ladders when full of Soldiers, and carried away their Ensigns. He then took another Method, by setting the Gates on fire, so as the Silver Plates that covered them melting, the Flame took hold of the Galleries (h). The *Jews* astonished at the Conflagration, did not mind to extinguish it, or to defend themselves, as they had done formerly. *Titus* then caused put out the Fire, resolving next Day to give a general Assault; and, if possible, to spare the Temple. But a Soldier, who waited for no Command, being helped up by his Fellow, threw a flaming Firebrand into the golden Gate, which entred into the Rooms of the North-part of the Temple. The Flame presently rising, the *Jews* made a great Noise, and laboured to extinguish it. Mean Time the Roman Army entring, the Soldiers killed all their Enemies

(a) See *Josephus's Description of Jerusalem*, de bello Judaico, lib. 6. cap. 6. (b) *Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 6. cap. 2, 3.* (c) *Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 11. & lib. 7. cap. 4.* (d) *Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 8.* (e) *Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 15.* (f) *Ibid. cap. 16.* (g) *Ibid. cap. 15.* (h) *Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 9, 10, 11.*

Enemies who came into their Hands. 'Tho' the General ran, and commanded to put out the Flame, he could not be heard : And the Combustion was so fierce, that it threatned to pull up Mount Zion by the Roots. *Titus* only had Time to see the holy Place, and to admire the Riches thereof. Our Lord's Prediction must be accomplished, *That there should not be one stone left upon another, Luke xix. 44.* The Romans made a dreadful Slaughter of the Jews, so as the Stairs of the Temple ran with Blood. Some leaped into the Flames to prevent their Enemies, and a few escaped into the Town, which still held out. Thus was the Temple taken and ruined on the tenth of *August*. A few precious Things that were taken out of the Treasury-house and the holy Place were preserved, and afterwards brought to *Titus* ; as the Sacerdotal Robe, the precious Stones of the Ephod, with some other Spoils ; of which afterwards.

The Temple being taken, plundered and burnt to the Ground, the Army saluted their General by the Title of *Imperator*. He called the Seditious, who had fled into the upper part of the City, to meet him at the Bridge by which the Temple was joined to the Town, where he spoke to them by an Interpreter, exhorting them to Submission, upon Promise to spare their Lives. To which they answered, *That they would never receive any Pardon at his Hands, having vowed the contrary (a)* ; but desired Leave to pass by his Camp with their Wives and Children into the Wilderness, leaving the City to the Romans. *Titus* being enraged with this Answer, threatned all Extremities, most of which were executed ; for he caused burn the lower City and *Acra*, of which he was in Possession, and attacked the Palace and upper City so vigorously, that on the eight of *September*, being the Sabbath Day, he was Master of the whole (b). The Rebels, *Simon* and *John*, were still in Possession of three strong Towers, where they might have defended themselves : But being frightened and abandoned by their Troops, they only endeavoured to secure themselves, by flying into the subterranean Canals belonging to the City. The Victors spared no Body they found, the whole City was destroyed and levelled with the Ground, except three Towers called *Phasaëlus*, *Hippicos* and *Mariamne*, and a part of the Wall on the Westside, which *Titus* allowed to remain as a Monument to after-Ages of what the City had been. *John* the Ring-leader of the Seditious, wanting Provisions, came out of the Vaults, and surrendered to the Romans, being allowed to live as a perpetual Prisoner. *Simon* was concealed to the End of *October (c)*. He thought to have escaped in Disguise, but was seized, led in the Triumph at Rome, and there put to Death. His coming out of the common Shores awakned the Greediness of the Roman Soldiers to search these subterranean Vaults, where they found some Treasure ; and several Jews, who expected to have saved themselves there, had their Throats cut. During the whole Time of the Siege, *Josephus (d)* reckons 110000 dead and killed, and 97000 Jews taken Prisoners, whose Case was very miserable : For the best of their Youth were led in Captivity to adorn the Emperor's Triumph at Rome ; others of them were sent to labour in Metal Mines ; a great many were destroyed by wild Beasts and Gladiators in the publick Shows, and others sold for little or nothing.

§ 120. THUS was Jerusalem destroyed, a City remarkable for Wealth, Strength and Antiquity, having remained from the Time of *David* 1179 Years ; once famous for true Religion, and even since it became degenerate was by far the most eminent City, not of *Judea* only, but of the whole East, as even *Pliny (e)* confesseth. The Jews had desired that our Lord's Blood might be on them and on their Children, *Matth. xxvii. 25.* And this was a just Retribution of divine Vengeance, as hath been observed by *Prudentius*, as in the Verses at the Foot of the Page (f). This is the Abomination of Desolation spoken of by *Daniel* the Prophet, *Matth. xxiv. 15.* 'Tis memorable, that this fatal Siege began a little before the Passover, about the very Time of the Year that they so barbarously put to Death the Son of God : So exact a Proportion doth divine Justice sometimes observe in inflicting Punishments. This was not only foretold by our Lord and his Apostles, but also signified by immediate Prodigies and Signs from Heaven. A blazing Comet in the Fashion of a Sword hung directly over the City (g) for a whole Year together. In the Feast of unleavened Bread, a little before the breaking out of the War, a Light shined between the Altar and the Temple, as bright as at Noon-day. The East Gate of the Inner-Temple, all of massy *Corinthian* Brass, which twenty Men could hardly shut, after it had been fast locked and barred, was seen to open of its own Accord. Chariots and Armies were beheld in the Air, all in martial Postures, as preparing to surround the City. At *Pentecost*, when the Priests entred into the Inner-Temple, they perceived a Noise and Motion, and then heard a Voice saying, μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντὺθεν, *Let us depart hence.* Amidst these Calamities 'tis observable, that the Christians, by the Caution which our Lord gave them, *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, and the abomination of*

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(a) Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 13. (b) Ibid. cap. 14, 15, 16. Xiphil. Epit. Dionis in Vespasiano, p. m. 217. (c) Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 20. (d) Ibid. cap. 17. (e) Plin. nat. Hist. lib. 15. cap. 14. (f) Prudentius in Apotheosi contra Judæos, prope finem. — Judæus patria de sede revulsus, Supplicium pro cæde lui, Christianique negati Sanguine conspersus, commissa piacula solvit. In English, *The Jews, who from their own Land banished be, For killing and rejecting Christ may Vengeance see, His Blood demands their Punishment on him.* (g) Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 12. Corn. Tacitus, hist. lib. 5. cap. 12, 13.

desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place; then let them which are in Judea flee to the Mountains, Mark xiii. 14. Matth. xxiv. 15,—18. did betake themselves to a Place of Refuge. Epiphanius tells us (a), That they were commanded to do so by a particular Revelation communicated to some pious Men among them, and that this was done by the Ministry of an Angel (b), warning them to leave Jerusalem and go to Pella. Accordingly they universally withdrew, and retired thither as to a little Zoar, which being a Gentile City beyond Jordan, they were there saved from the Besom of Destruction, which swept away the Jews wherever it came: But the Christians seem to have remained in it till about the Time of Trajan. As to the Jews, Warnings did signify little with them, who were given up to an incurable Infatuation.

Titus having finished his Affairs at Jerusalem, rewarded his Soldiers, sacrificed for the Victory, and dismissed his Army, ordering the Tenth Legion to keep Guard in the desolated Place (c): And conceiving it was too late in the Year, in the Stormy Season, to undertake a Voyage to Rome, he made a Progress to Cæsarea, Berytus, and some other Places in Syria, where he celebrated the Birth-days of his Father and Brother, and diverted himself by exhibiting Shews of Sword-Players, with other Amusements, after the Roman Fashion. As he passed Jerusalem to go to Alexandria, he lamented with Tears the Overthrow of so noble a City (d), and cursed the Seditious who forced him to destroy it.

A. D. 71. § 121. UPON Titus's Return to Rome his Father and he were both joined in one magnificent Triumph for their Victory over Judea, the Ceremonies whereof I need not describe. But it deserves to be noticed; that the Spoils taken from the Temple at Jerusalem, particularly the Table of Gold, the golden Candlestick with its seven Lamps (in Honour of the seventh Day, says Josephus) and the Law of the Jews, were carried before them (e). The Triumphal Arch of Titus is yet remaining at Rome, where the Representation of the Table, the Candlestick with its Lamps, the Trumpets and Censers, are still to be seen, concerning which the learned Adrian Reland hath wrote an elaborate Treatise (f): But these precious Monuments are no where now to be found. Josephus indeed tells us (g), That Vespasian placed the Golden Vessels and the precious Instruments of the Jews, for which he had a high Esteem, in the Temple of Peace; but their Law and the Purple Vail of the Sanctuary he ordered to be kept in the Palace. This Temple of Peace was burnt to the Ground in the Reign of the Emperor Commodus (h), about the 187th Year of the Christian Æra; and the Question is, what is become of those Spoils now? Procopius informs us (i), That when Carcasso in Afric was besieged, it was said the Imperial Treasures were there, which Alarick the elder in the former Age had carried from Rome when it was taken; and there were the precious Rarities of Solomon King of the Hebrews, worthy to be noticed. We understand by Anastasius the Library Keeper (k), that these precious Monuments were carried from Rome into Africk, in the Year of our Lord 450, Gezerick, (says he) entred Rome without Resistance, the third Day after Maximus fled from it, and carried away all the Money and best Things of that City in Ships, among which were the Ecclesiastical Rarities of Gold, adorned with precious Stones, and the Jewish Vessels which Titus the Son of Vespasian brought to Rome after the Sacking of Jerusalem. In the Year 520, when Belisarius had overcome the Vandals, these Things were brought out of Africa into Europe. Procopius (l) speaks of them when he describes Belisarius's Triumph: Among these Trophies, says he; were the Vessels of the Jews, which Titus the Son of Vespasian, after the Destruction of Jerusalem, carried to Rome, which when a Jew saw, he said to one of the Emperor's Favourites, "It is not expedient to carry these Things into the Palace at Constantinople, for they cannot be preserved but where Solomon King of the Jews placed them; Gezerick took Rome because these were laid up among the Gentile Nations, and the Romans seized the Country of the Vandals." — When this was told to the Emperor, he was so struck with Fear, that he sent off these Spoils to the Temple of the Christians at Jerusalem. But what is become of them now, if they be extant, or if that Ship to which they were committed arrived in Palestine, we know not: Only they are not now to be seen at Jerusalem, nor, as far as we can learn, in any other Place.

We may also observe, that on the Occasion of this Triumph several Medals were struck, and Monuments erected. One Medal is common, having upon one Side Vespasian's Head and Titles, and upon the Reverse, a Prisoner lying at the Foot of a Palm Tree, with these Words; *Judæa capta*. A Marble was some Time ago dug up at Rome, with the Inscription (m) at the Foot of the Page; upon which we may observe with Mons. Basnage (n), that this is a plain

(a) Epiphan. Hær. 29. operum Tom. 1. p. 123. & Hær. 30. p. 126. (b) Idem, de mensuris & ponderibus, Tom. 2. p. 171. edit. Colon. 1682. Vide etiam Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 5. (c) Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 19. (d) Ibid. cap. 24. (e) Vide Villalpandum in Ezekielem, lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 587. (f) De Spoliis templi Hierosolymitani, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716. (g) Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 24. in fine. (h) Herodian. lib. 1. cap. 44. p. 38. (i) De bello Gothico, lib. 1. p. 343, edit. Regiæ. (k) Hist. Eccles. p. 43. edit. Regiæ, apud Relandum de Spoliis, cap. ult. (l) Procopius de bello Vandalico, lib. 2. cap. 9. (m) S. P. Q. R. Imp. Tito Cæsi. Divi Vespasiani filio, Vespasiano Aug. Pont. Max. T. Pot. X. Imp. XVII. Cos. VIII. P. P. Principi suo, qui præceptis Patris consilii et auspiciis gentem Judæorum domuit, & urbem Hierosolymam, omnibus ante se ducibus, Regibus, gentibus, aut suastra petitam, aut omnino intentatam delevit. (n) Basnage's History of the Jews, Book first. p. m. 58.

plain Demonstration that Princes were flattered even on Marble and in publick Inscriptions : For this affirms that *Jerusalem* was never taken but by *Titus*, and that all preceeding Kings and Generals either durst not attack it, or had done it to no Purpose. Was the History of *Jerusalem* so unknown at *Rome*, that they could alledge a Thing so false? Had they forgot *Pompey* who subdued this City, and made *Judea* Tributary to their Republick? Did they not know the various Revolutions it had undergone under the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, since *Alexander* the Great's Conquests? This flattering Monument teaches us, that palpable Falshoods are often set down in Inscriptions, and therefore these Arguments which are deduced from them to prove some Facts, are not always solid nor irrefragable.

§ 122. AFTER *Titus* had triumphed at *Rome*, *Lucilius Bassus* was sent into *Judea* to compleat the Conquest of that Country. There were three Castles which the Seditious yet maintained there, namely *Herodion*, *Machærus* and *Massada*. *Bassus* summoned *Herodion*, and immediately they within it submitted and were pardoned. *Machærus* was a Place much stronger by Art and Nature, and well provided, and therefore the Garrison adventured to make a Defence. But *Bassus* having caught *Eleazar* their Leader, threatened to crucify him before their Eyes, unless they submitted : Whereon they capitulated, and surrendered upon Conditions that they might have leave to depart with Safety, and have *Eleazar* restored to them. These Terms being agreed to, the besieged in the lower Part of the Castle fled away by Night ; of which *Bassus* being informed, he pursued and killed seventeen hundred (a) of them, making their Women and Children Slaves ; but kept his Promise to the rest of the Garrison, permitting them to go and *Eleazar* with them. Soon after this, *Bassus* engaged a Party of the *Jews* at *Jardes*, and killed three thousand of them (b). After this *Vespasian* wrote to *Liberius Maximus* and *Bassus* to put the Land of *Judea* to Sale : For he had resolved to build no City there, but to appropriate the whole Country to himself. He also imposed a Tribute upon all *Jews* in whatsoever Place they lived of two Drachms a Head to the Capitol, as in former Times they had been wont to pay to the Temple at *Jerusalem*. A. D. 72.

§ 123. *BASSUS* dying in *Judea* *Flavius Sylva* was named to succeed to his Command (c). *Eleazar* a Captain of the Robbers still held the Castle of *Massada*, a Place strong by Nature, which *Herod* the Great had also fortified, and laid up there a great Store of Arms and Provisions, a Part whereof remained to this Time. The *Romans* made regular Approaches, and summoned the Garrison to surrender ; but the besieged made an obstinate Resistance ; and there being no Access for battering Engines, because of the high Situation of the Castle, *Sylva* resolved to burn the Walls, being mostly of Wood ; which the Wind favouring him, he did with Success. Then *Eleazar* perceiving the Place would be taken next Day, exhorted the besieged to be so valiant as to kill themselves rather than fall into the Hands of the *Romans* ; which they at last did with great Inhumanity, murdering themselves with their Wives and Children ; so that the *Romans*, when they seized the Place, found only there nine hundred and sixty dead Bodies, with one old Wife and five Children, who having concealed themselves in a Vault from the Massacre, told the Conquerors how the Tragedy had been acted. Thus all *Judea* was subdued, and a great Part of it destroyed. A. D. 73.

§ 124. MANY of the *Jewish* Robbers having escaped into *Egypt*, there stirred up their Countrymen to a Revolt ; which being discovered, six hundred of them were apprehended (d) ; but tho' they were put to cruel Torments and Death, not one of them would call *Cæsar* Lord. The Governor of *Alexandria*, by Orders from *Rome*, shut up the Temple, which *Onias* had long ago (as hath been before observed (e)), built for the *Jews* in *Egypt*, leaving no Access for any Part of their Worship in that Place.

The *Jewish* *Sicarians*, like some infectious Disease, spread into the Towns about *Cyrene* (f). One *John* a Weaver perswaded a great many to follow him into the Wilderness, promising there to shew them Signs and Visions. *Catullus*, the *Roman* Deputy, sent his Soldiers against them, who easily surprised them being unarmed, killed many and brought in others Prisoners. *John* or *Jonathan* their Leader, tho' escaping at that Time, was afterwards seized, and to obtain a Reprieve to himself, accused many others, some of them unjustly : Upon which Information, *Catullus* put three thousand of them to Death, seized their Substance, and boasted that he had ended the *Jewish* War. After this *Catullus* brought *Jonathan* to *Rome*, where he accused *Josephus* the *Jewish* Historian and others ; but the Emperor discovering *Jonathan* to be an Impostor, caused first whip and then burn him alive. As to *Catullus*, tho' he escaped at that Time, yet he soon died of a tormenting Disease. Here *Josephus* puts an End to his History of the *Jewish* War.

§ 125. IT may be expected that I should here give an Abstract of the Numbers that were killed and destroyed in the seven Years of this consuming War ; and upon a short Review of what hath been already advanced, I humbly conceive the Account stands thus. In the Beginning

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(a) Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 25. (b) Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 26. (c) Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 28. (d) Ibid. cap. 29, 30. (e) Above, p. 364. (f) Joseph. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 31. & ult.

ning of the War, *Gessius Florus* killed at *Jerusalem* six hundred and thirty *Jews*; from the innate Hatred which the *Greeks* bore to that Nation, there were killed at *Cæsarea* twenty thousand; at *Scythopolis* thirteen thousand; at *Ascalon* in *Phœnicia* two thousand five hundred; at *Ptolemais*, two thousand; at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, fifty thousand; at *Damascus* ten thousand; at taking *Joppa* by *Gallus* eight thousand four hundred; by him in the Mountains two thousand; at the Attack of *Ascalon* ten thousand; destroyed by *Vespasian* at the Siege and taking of *Jotapata* forty thousand; at *Japha* in *Galilee* fifteen thousand killed, taken Captives two thousand one hundred and thirty; at *Joppa* drowned four thousand two hundred; at *Tarichæa* killed six thousand five hundred; destroyed in their Way to *Tiberias* twelve hundred; sent to *Nero* six thousand, besides others who were sold, whom I shall not take into the Account; at *Gamela* killed four thousand; at the same Place five thousand wilfully threw themselves over Rocks and were slain; *Giscala* being deserted, two thousand were killed in the Pursuit; killed at *Jerusalem* before the Siege, by letting in the *Idumæans*, eight thousand five hundred; and soon after that twelve thousand; at *Gadara* killed thirteen thousand; in the Villages of *Idumæa* ten thousand; during the Siege of *Jerusalem*, killed and died of Famine eleven hundred thousand; taken Prisoners ninety seven thousand; at *Machærus* killed seventeen hundred; at *Jardes* three thousand; at *Massada*, who wickedly killed themselves, nine hundred and sixty; killed by *Catullus* the President at *Cyrene* three thousand. The Total then destroyed in this War, is fourteen hundred fifty three thousand seven hundred and twenty *Jews*. We have seen the History of these Particulars confirmed by *Josephus* already; and yet there are many of their Calamities at this Time omitted in the Account; nor can all their Miseries by Famine, Banishment, and a thousand other Ways, be reckoned up, for these were innumerable. By their great Wickedness they had provoked a just God to inflict all this upon them; for since they crucified the Son of God our Saviour they never made one right Step; and there can be no Hope of their Recovery, till they look upon him whom they have pierced, and mourn. I shall only add one other Passage of *Josephus* (a), saying, *I will not cease to speak what Grief compelleth me: I verily think, that if the Romans had delayed to come against our People, either the Earth would have opened its Mouth and devoured the City, or it would have been destroyed by a Deluge, or by Fire and Lightning as Sodom, for it was more wicked than that Place; in short, by Iniquity and Obstinacy, the whole Nation was destroyed.*

A. D. 79. § 126. THE Calamities of the *Jews* did not end with *Vespasian's* Reign; for *Titus*, who ascended the Imperial Throne, after his Father's Death, in the Year of our Lord 79, continued upon this People the Taxation of two Drachms a Head, to be paid to the Capitol, which they counted a mighty Grievance, not merely for the Sum, but because it was a Badge of Servitude, and given for the Support of the heathenish Worship of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

A. D. 92. *Domitian* who succeeded his Brother *Titus*, raised a Persecution against the *Christians*, about the ninety second Year of the *Christian Era*, and did not spare the *Jews*; for he commanded all to be killed who were of the Stock of *David* in *Judea* (b), lest any of that Race should pretend to the Kingdom.

Cocceius Nerva, *Domitian's* Successor, was more favourable to the *Jews*, for he absolved all those who were accused of Impiety (c), and recalled the banished, which had a Respect both to the *Jews* and *Christians*. He forbade for the future the Subjects of the Empire to be tormented for the Sake of Religion, Impiety or *Judaism*; and he discharged the *Jews* of these Imposts by which *Domitian* had oppressed them. Hence on a Medal coined at that Time, these Words are engraven, *Calumnia fisci Judaici sublata*, which is not to be understood as if the Capitation Tax had been repealed; for the Didrachm was paid by every Head in *Origen's* Time (d), but the Calumny abolished, that is, the *Jews* were no longer oppressed by great Fines on false Pretences, as had been done in *Domitian's* Reign. About this Time lived the Poet *Ezekiel*, who composed the Departure from *Egypt* in *Greek Verse*: And at the same Time is placed the Author of the Will of the twelve Patriarchs; for he speaks of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; of some Actions of the *Messiah*, and of the Writings of the Evangelists; like one who had seen them.

§ 127. IN *Trajan's* Reign, which commenced with the Year of our Lord 100, and continued to 119, the Calamities of the *Jews* increased, or rather their Folly made them venture upon Mutiny and Sedition, and they could never have tim'd it worse than in the Reign of so brave and so warlike a Prince. In the last Year save one of *Trajan's* Reign, the Insurrection began in *Cyrene*, a City of *Libya*, where the *Jews* had a Settlement for many Ages. *Eusebius* (e) tells us, that in the first Conflict they had some Advantage over the Gentiles; but these who fled from them escaping to *Alexandria*, so alarmed that City, that the *Jews* who dwelt there were almost all destroyed. The *Cyrenian Jews*, being provoked by these Sufferings of their Countrymen, rose under the Conduct of one *Lucas*, and destroyed all their Neighbours. Of which the

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(a) *Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 6. cap. 16.* (b) *Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 19.* (c) *Orosius, lib. 7. cap. 10.* (d) *Xiphilini epitome Dionis in Nerva, p. m. 240.* (e) *Origen. ad Afric. p. 243.* (f) *Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 2.*

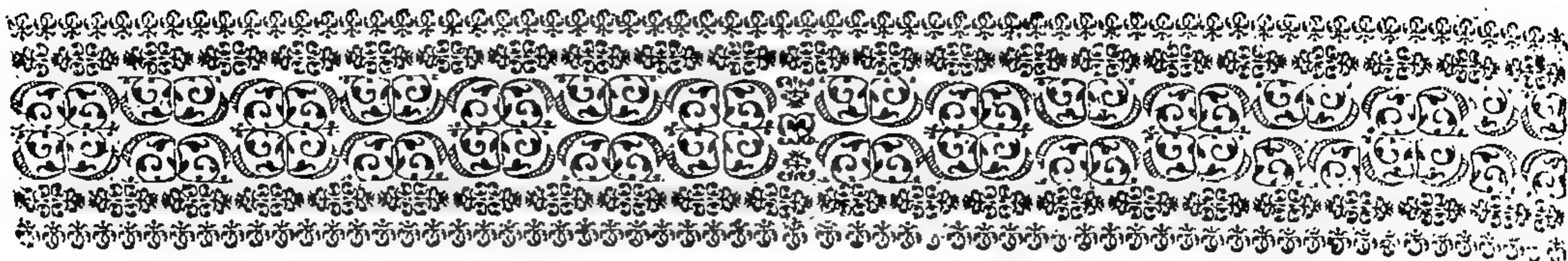
Emperor being informed, he sent Marcius Turbo against them with an Army by Sea and Land, who in several Batties killed several Myriads of the Jews who supported their King Lucas. The Emperor also fearing that the Jews in Mesopotamia would assist those in Afric, he commanded Lucius Quintius to drive them out of that Province; who destroyed a great multitude of them in Battle: For which Service the Emperor made him President of the Province. The Compendizer of Dion Cassius gives this Account of the Matter (a): The Jews who inhabite Cyrene under one Andreas their Captain, killed both the Romans and Greeks: They fed upon their Flesh, ate their Bowels, besmeared themselves with their Blood, wore their Skins, cut many asunder, threw others to wild Beasts, or made them fight with one another, (I follow a Heathen Author, whom I have cited; but do not affirm that the Jews were guilty of all these Barbarities) so as, our Author proceeds, they destroyed two hundred and twenty thousand People. Moreover in Egypt and in Cyprus, under one Artemion their Leader, there was a like Slaughter of the Cypriots, two hundred and forty thousand of them being destroyed. But the Emperor sent Lucius his Lieutenant, who defeated and destroyed the Jews in every Place, and no Jew was suffered any more to enter that Island, and if any was but driven ashore there by Tempest he was immediately to be killed. This Order being put in execution, few Jews in after Ages have been found in that Place.

§ 128. *ÆLIUS HADRIANUS*, the adopted Son of *Trajan*, succeeded him in the Empire. He completed the Miseries of the Jews, bringing them to such a wretched Poverty, that they were obliged to get their Bread by interpreting Dreams and telling of Fortunes (b). In this Prince's Reign, there was a great Insurrection of near two hundred thousand Jews. The Occasions of this Commotion are represented to have been, That the Emperor forbade them to be circumcised (c); that he sent a Colony to *Jerusalem*, and built a City upon its Ruins, calling it *Ælia* by his own Name (d), and consecrated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Finally, *Barchochebas*, a cunning Jewish Impostor, knew how to make his Advantage of the Disturbance which these things created in the Minds of the People, in order to excite them to War. Ever since the Jews rejected our blessed Lord *Jesus*, the true *Messiah*, they have been easily cheated by Impostors and Deceivers (e), of which several Instances have been given already, and others will come in our Way in the Progress of this Work. This Cheat called himself *Barcochabb*, a rising Star, alluding to *Numb. xxiv. 17*. But he was soon found to be *Barcosabb* or *Cosiba* (f), a Liar or false *Messiah*. The Jews dissembled their Resentments, till the Emperor had performed his Journey through *Egypt* and *Syria*, and returned to *Rome*; but then they gathered in great Numbers: Even their Rabbi *Akiba* followed *Barcosabb* with twenty four thousand Scholars (g), proclaiming him to be the true *Messiah*. The Romans at first did not mind the Commotion; but finding it like to draw to a Height, and that the World was shaken by it, the Emperor sent *Tinnius Rufus* against them, who was not acquainted with the Importance of the War; so that even after he had received considerable Reinforcements, he was often beaten. He therefore sent for *Julius Severus*, one of the greatest Captains of the Age, from *Britain*; who not daring to give Battle to the over numerous Jews, attacked them in Parties, straitned them in their Camp, cut off their Provisions, and by these Means becoming superior to them he laid Siege to *Bitber*, to which they had retired. The City was taken, and *Barchochebas* was killed. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have been slain in several Engagements (h), and the Number that perished by Famine, Misery, Fire and other Calamities, cannot be reckoned. Fifty famous Castles of the Jews were demolished, nine hundred and eighty five Villages were plundered, destroyed, and afterwards burnt; and thus almost all *Judea* was laid desolate. The Jews were banished out of the holy Land, and prohibited ever to return to it. This War is placed between the vulgar Year of our Lord 131 and 136; and this put on the Capstone to the Jews Calamities, and finished their Dispersion, and therefore I here put an End to this Chapter: Only it may be observed, that the Romans laying the Country desolate, and not furnishing it with Colonies, hath been of bad Consequence; for by this Door, first the *Persians*, next the *Saracens*, and then the *Turks* have entred, and driven the *Romans* out of the whole House.

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CHAP.

(a) Xiphilini Epitome Dionis, p. 234, 235. (b) Vide Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 542, — 547. (c) Spartianus in Hadriano. (d) Xiphilini Epitome Dionis, p. 262, 263. in Hadriano. Orosius, lib. 7. cap. 12. (e) Acts, v. 36, 37. (f) Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, cap. 36. p. m. 441. (g) Vide R. David Ganz in Tsemach, p. 97, 101, 102. (h) Xiphilin. ubi supra. Eusebii Chronicon ad annum Christi 135. Id. Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 6. Hieronymus in Daniel. cap. 9.



C H A P. V.

Of the Sects among the Jews that were in being in the Time of our Saviour, and at the Destruction of Jerusalem, viz. the Samaritans, Sadducees, Caraites, Pharisees, Essenes, and Herodians.

THE unhappy Divisions in *Judea* hastned its Ruin: The Way whereby God revenged the Death of our Redeemer did not make them unite, but while they should have joined their Forces against the common Enemy, they rather chose to perish by their own Differences. Most of the Sects yet subsist; and since the different Writers and Tenets among the *Jews* spring from them which we are to describe, as making up a considerable Part of this History, and interwoven with the whole, 'tis proper we should now give some Account of them.

§ 1. To begin with the *Samaritans*; I have already taken Notice of the erecting of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes (*a*), and of their separate Worship, which gave the first Occasion for this Party. We have observed the Differences which appeared between the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, after their Return from the (*b*) *Babylonish* Captivity, and have discoursed of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch (*c*), and of some other Disputes they had with the *Jews*, in the former Part of this Work, which I rather chuse to refer the Reader to, than here repete; and therefore shall only now consider the State of the *Samaritans* from our Saviour's coming into the World. From an inveterate Hatred to the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, in the seventh Year after our Lord's Birth, came secretly to *Jerusalem*, and threw the Bones of a dead Man near the Temple (*d*), to defile the House of God, and disturb the Devotion of the Festival which was then celebrated. About twenty five Years after this, Christ going through the Territory of the *Samaritans*, found a Woman drawing Water at *Jacob's Well*, of whom he asked Drink. She was surpris'd at it, because the *Jews* had no Correspondence with the *Samaritans* (*e*); Yet our Lord, who *was come to seek and save the lost Sheep of Israel*, converted this poor Woman, and by her Means several others. They had no Doubt a great Disadvantage in learning Christianity; for as they only admitted the Books of *Moses*, and rejected the Writings of the rest of the Prophets; they were deprived of these Oracles which did most plainly characterize the *Messiah*: However they might mind the Prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen. xlix. 10.* and many other Things in the *Mosaic* Writings, which did point him out. About the same Time this poor People were deceived by an Impostor, who promised to discover to them the holy Vessels which *Moses* hid in some Corner of Mount *Gerizzim*. *Moses* never set his Foot in the holy Land, only saw it afar off; so the Cheat was plain: However the Impostor drew the Mob after him (*f*), who seized a large Village, where they expected the rest of their Nation, to see the Discovery. *Pontius Pilate* then Procurator of *Judea* being informed of it, sent a Detachment against this Croud, who put them to the Rout, and the Ring-leaders of the Sedition were put to Death. *Vitellius*, President of *Syria*, to whom Complaints were made of *Pilate's* Cruelty, thought a popular Error did not deserve so severe a Punishment; and therefore sent *Pilate* to *Rome* there to answer for his Conduct: But he did not reach that City

(*a*) Above, chap. 1. p. 177. (*b*) Above, p. 233. (*c*) Above, p. 260, 261. (*d*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. (*e*) John iv. 9, — 24. (*f*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3.

City till the Death of *Tiberius*; and we have already heard what became of him (a) in *Caligula's* Reign. Another Misfortune happened them in the Reign of *Claudius*, while *Cumanus* was Procurator of *Judea*, about killing some *Jews*: But I have already (b) noticed this whole Story.

Samaria felt the sad Effects of the War, which the Nation maintained against *Nero* and *Vespasian*, being burnt at the Beginning of the Insurrection. The Inhabitants thereof afterwards retiring to Mount *Gerizzim*, it was believed that they designed to rise: Whereupon *Cerealis* a Tribune was sent to force them to lay down their Arms and submit. He attempted, but not being able to persuade them to comply, he blocked them up; and understanding that many of them died for Thirst (c), he advanced upon the Mountains, and attacked them so successfully, that 11600 were killed on the Spot. This Slaughter made them yield to *Nero*, yea to worship him as a God, who killed them as a cruel Man, which is proved by a Medal in the *French King's* Closet, published by Cardinal *Noris* (d), stamped for *Nero*, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign. On the Reverse is the Goddess *Astarte*, with a Tower on her Head, holding the Image of *Osiris* in one Hand, with a Motto, as at the Foot of the Page (e), signifying, *Samaria hath caused this Medal to be stamped for the august and great Gods*. After the War some new Inhabitants were sent thither to people and possess it again, who embraced the Religion and Interest of the Country, which exposed them as well as the *Jews* to *Hadrian's* Hatred. The *Samaritan Chronicle* says, *That after this Prince had demolished Jerusalem, he went to Napolouffe or Shechem, where he took away all their Books, not sparing even these which contained their Genealogy and History. They were forbid to circumcise their Children, yet they sent them as they came into the World by Maid-Servants into Caves, where they received the Seal of the Covenant; but they could not so easily avoid eating Swines Flesh, which the Romans mixed with their Meats. They were so hotly persecuted, that the Figure of a brazen Bird was set up on Mount Gerizzim, to hinder them from worshipping there, and some Forces were posted at the Foot of the Mount, to put all to Death who would attempt to go thither. Some escaping the Centinels went thither, but were discovered by the Bird, who spoke and named the Hebrews; whereupon the Soldiers awakening, fell upon those that ascended, and cut their Throats (f)*. If the *Samaritan Chronicle* be all of a Piece with this, we have no great Hopes of any solid Information by it. In *Commodus's* Reign, the *Samaritans*, to gain his Favour, complied with some Parts of Idolatrous Worship. When *Niger* revolted, they preserved their Loyalty, and sided with *Severus*; and therefore this Prince sent a Colony thither to people the Country. *Benjamin of Tudela*, who about the Year 1170 went thro' all the Synagogues of the *Jews* in most Places of the World, found but about a hundred *Samaritans* in a poor wretched Condition at *Shechem*, where they continued to offer Sacrifices.

As to their present State, there are yet some *Samaritans* at *Napolouffe*, which is old *Sichem*, situate between Mount *Ebal* and Mount *Gerizzim*. They observe the Law of *Moses* more exactly than the rest of the *Jews*. There they have the Tomb of *Joseph*, and the Bones of that Patriarch (as they think) that were brought out of *Egypt*, and some Priests of the House or Posterity of *Aaron*. They offer Sacrifices upon Mount *Gerizzim*, according to the ancient Rites, and have a High-priest who resides there, who appoints the Day of the Passover, and of all other Festivals to the *Samaritans* that are dispersed. In the Year 1686, they wrote to their Brethren in *England*, to give them Notice of the Death of their High-priest, and to ask Alms for their Poor, who are doubtless the greatest Part of that small Body. 'Tis remarkable, that they have maintained themselves in their native Country for so many Ages, notwithstanding the many Persecutions they have undergone since the Reign of *Jeroboam*. Mr. *Ludolf*, a Man profoundly skilled in the Oriental Languages, at the End of the last Century, kept a Correspondence with these *Sichemites*; and in the Year 1688, printed a Letter which he received from them. Their present State may be further known by Dr. *Huntington's* Letters printed at *London* in the Year 1704. This learned Gentleman tells us, That he had seen them at *Cairo* and *Napolouffe*, had corresponded with, and examined them upon several Things which common Travellers omit (g); That there are no *Samaritans* at *Damascus*; and tho' these at *Sichem* boast of their numerous Brethren at *Cairo*, yet he saw there only one *Samaritan* and his Wife, and these very poor. Their Synagogue is a little nasty obscure Chamber, where are kept two Copies of the Law, said to be five hundred Years old. They have a Form of Prayer, and the Book of *Joshua*, which contains a very short Chronicle from the Creation of the World to *Mahomet*. This false Prophet is cursed at the End of the Book: But that Word is written in *Samaritan*, that the *Arabians* may not understand it. Lastly, They keep in this Library some Commentaries on the Law, written in *Arabic*, which is the Language they commonly use, except when they quote any Passage of the Law, or write the

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Names

(a) Above, p. 493. (b) Above, p. 497. (c) Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 3. cap. 12. (d) *Noris de Epochis Syromaced. Diff. 5 p. 525.* (e) Θ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΩΝ ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ ΗΠΡ. L. ΙΔ. Decorum Augustorum magnorum, Samaria. (f) See the *Samaritan Chronicle* in actis eruditorum Lipsiæ, ad annum 1691, p. 167. (g) See *Huntington's Letters*, Smith vita *Huntington*.

Names of their High-priests, for then they use *Samaritan Letters*. These of *Sichem* or *Napoulusse* are for most part Farmers of the Customs, and Collectors of the Tribute at *Sichem*, *Gaza*, *Joppa*, or else Secretaries to the *Basha*, which gives them some small Business. They walk in the Streets well enough dressed, and are not so poor as in other Places. Their principal *Merchib ben Jacobs* wrote to Dr. Huntington at *Jerusalem*. The Letters were signed by eighteen Persons, which were almost all who were of any Consideration at *Sichem*. These *Samaritans* boast of a Copy of the Law written by the Hand of *Abisha* the Son of *Phinehas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, the Son of *Aaron* the High-priest. The Doctor in a second Journey to *Sichem*, examined the Copy with his own Eyes, but could not find any such Words; and the *Samaritans* confessed that they were not now in their Copy, some body had maliciously expunged them: And 'tis questioned if that Copy be ancient. The same Doctor, who was a Critick in Oriental Antiquities, has observed (a), upon examining many *Samaritan Copies*, that there is perhaps not any of them five hundred Years old. All the *Samaritans* mortally hate the *Jews*: They don't pronounce the Name *Jehovah*. Their Notions of the *Messiah* are very confused: But they always speak very honourably of him, and don't much declaim against those who worship him. 'Tis probable that their Hatred to the *Jews* makes them more moderate to the Christians. They formerly used the *Aera* of the *Seleucida*, as long as the *Grecian Empire* continued; but now that they are subject to the *Mahometans*, they count by the Years of the *Hegira*, and reckon 6130 Years from the Creation of the World to the Year 1690, when they wrote to our Author. They hardly understand the old *Samaritan Tongue*, and are obliged when they read it often to recur to a Paraphrast.

I shall only add the Confession of their Faith, which their High-priest *Eleazar* sent to *Scaliger* at his Desire, in Name of the Synagogue of *Sichem*; tho', not coming till after *Scaliger* was dead, it fell into *Monsieur Peiresc's* Hands; where they inform us (b), 1. *That the Samaritans observe the Sabbath with all the Exactness commanded; for never a one of them stirs out of the Place where he is on that Day, save only to go to the Synagogue, where they read in the Law, and sing Praises to God. On this Night they do not ly with their Wives, and they neither kindle any Fire themselves, nor employ any body to do it for them: Whereas the Jews break the Sabbath in all these Particulars; for they go out of Town, have Fire kindled for them, and ly with their Wives, without so much as washing themselves after they have touched them.* 2. *They look upon the Passover as the chief of all their Feasts; they begin it at Sun-set, with the Sacrifice appointed for it in Exodus; but they never sacrifice in any Place except Mount Gerizzim, where they read the Law and pray to God; after which the chief Priest gives a Blessing to the Congregation.* 3. *They keep also the Feast of Harvest seven Days: But they do not agree with the Jews as to the Day on which it ought to begin; for these reckon from the Day after the Solemnity of the Passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty Days to the Beginning of the Day before the Sabbath, which is the Week of unleavened Bread, and the Day after the seventh Sabbath following begins the Feast of Harvest.* 4. *They keep the Feast of Expiation on the tenth Day of the seventh Month. They spend the whole twenty four Hours in praying to God, and singing, without eating any thing; for, except the Children who are at the Breast, all the rest fast: Whereas the Jews excuse all from fasting that are under the Age of seven Years.* 5. *The fifteenth of the same Month they celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, upon the same Mount Gerizzim.* 6. *They never defer Circumcision beyond the eighth Day, as is commanded in Genesis; whereas the Jews do sometimes put it off longer.* 7. *They are obliged to wash themselves in the Morning after they have lien with their Wives, or if they have fallen into any Impurity by Night; and all sorts of Vessels which are capable of being defiled, become so when they touch them before they have washed themselves.* 8. *They take away the Fat of the Sacrifices, and give the Priests the Shoulder, the Cheeks and the Belly.* 9. *They do not marry their Wives, as the Jews do: And they have but one Wife, whereas the Jews have more.* 10. *They believe in God, in Moses and in Mount Gerizzim. "Whereas (they say) the Jews place their Confidence in the Commands of others, we do nothing but what is commanded in the Law of the Lord by the Ministry of Moses: "The Jews leave that which the Lord hath commanded in the Law, to follow the Inventions of "their Fathers and Doctors."* *Eleazar added, That they reckoned one hundred and twenty two High-priests from Aaron to their Time, of whom they have a Catalogue and Succession. They believe themselves to be of the Posterity of Joseph by Ephraim, and that all of their High-priests are descended from Phinehas; whereas the Jews have not one of that Family. They boast that they only have preserved the Hebrew Characters which God made use of to promulgate the Law; whereas (say they) the Jews have a Way of writing from Ezra, which is cursed for ever. Many Attempts have been made to convert them, but they are stubbornly wedded to their Sect. They have been oppressed in stead of being made Christians, and are reduced to a small Number by Poverty and Misery.*

§ 2.

(a) See Huntington's Letters, Smith vita Huntington. (b) Leo of Modena, of the present Jews, p. 264 & seqq. Bafnage's History of the Jews, Book 2. Chap. 4. p. m. 93.

§ 2. I now go to the *Sadducees*, who seem to have taken their Rise in the Time of *Antigonus* of *Socbo*, President of the Sanhedrim at *Jerusalem* (a) about the Year before Christ 263, after the Creation of the World 3687; who having in his Lectures often inculcated upon his Scholars, *That they must not serve God in a servile Manner with respect to the Reward, but out of filial Love and Fear which they owed to him; Sadoc and Baithos* (b), two of his Disciples, inferred from thence, *That there were no Rewards at all after this Life*; and separating from the School of their Master, taught, *That there was no Resurrection, nor future State, but that all the Rewards God gave to those who served him were in this Life only*. Many being perverted by them to this Opinion, they began that Sect among the *Jews*, which from the Name of *Sadoc* were called *Sadducees*; who differed from *Epicurus* only in this, *That tho' they denied a future State, yet they allowed the Power of God to create the World, and his Providence to govern it; whereas Epicurus denied both the one and the other*. Some Authors are of opinion (c), that at first the *Sadducees* only differed from other *Jews* as to the Point of unwritten Traditions, which the others approved of, but they stuck to the written Word only; and while they went no further, they were in the right. When *John Hyrcanus* deserted the Sect of the *Pharisees*, and went over to the *Sadducees*, no other Alteration is mentioned (d) then to have been made by him, but his annulling all the traditional Constitutions of the *Pharisees*. Moreover *Hyrcanus* having the Character of a just and religious Prince (e), 'tis not likely that he would embrace so impious a Doctrine as that of denying a Resurrection and a future State, especially in the latter End of his Life, when this was done; and hence it may be supposed, that this Impiety had not then infected that Sect.

But at whatever precise Time these Opinions were introduced, 'tis certain that in the Time of our Saviour the *Sadducees* were a very impious Sect; for we find by the inspired Writings (f), that *they denied the resurrection, and said, There is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit*: The same is owned by *Josephus* (g). When Men come to lead wicked Lives, which they dare not avow before God, they are fond to embrace any Opinion that would seem to exempt them from his Punishment. This gave rise to the Impiety of *Epicurus*, of the *Sadducees*, and of the modern *Deists*. Under the *Asmonæan* Princes the *Jews* grew prosperous, powerful and rich: Their Wealth produced Luxury and Vice; and to free their Consciences from Fear of accounting for these Enormities, they introduced this Doctrine: And *Josephus* (h) tells us, that they were Men of Quality and Riches who were of this Sect. A second Point of the Heresy maintained by the *Sadducees*, was about free Will and Predestination: For whereas the *Essenes* held all things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable Concatenation of Causes, and the *Pharisees* allowed a free Will in conjunction with Predestination, the *Sadducees*, differing from both, denied all manner of Predestination whatsoever (i), their Doctrine being, *That God made Man absolute Master of all his Actions, with a full Freedom to do good or evil as he should please, without any Assistance as to the one, or Restraint as to the other*. A third Point is, That the *Sadducees* rejected all the written Word, except the five Books of *Moses*. But this is controverted. Dr. *Prideaux* (k) infers, from the Dispute that Christ had with the Leaders of this Sect in the Gospel (l), that there can be no Reason given why, while there are so many Texts in the *Psalms* and *Prophets* that plainly prove a future State and the Resurrection from the Dead, our Lord took his Argument by a Consequence from *Exod. iii. 6.* but that he knew that the *Sadducees* had rejected the *Prophets* and *Hagiographa*, and would admit no Argument but from the Law only. Other learned Men, particularly *Scaliger* (m) and *Banage* (n), are of opinion, that it doth not appear the *Sadducees* rejected any Part of the Canon of the Scriptures, but only opposed Tradition; for they taught and prayed in the Temple, where all the *Prophets* were read: And *Josephus* (o) plainly owns, that they received what was written. Others contend, That tho' the *Sadducees* did not absolutely reject these inspired Writings, yet they did not believe they were of the same Authority as the Law of *Moses*. I shall not take upon me to determine this Question: To be sure the former Errors, and this also of questioning the Authority of any Part of the sacred Writings, were very dangerous and hurtful.

The *Sadducees* were a powerful Sect before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Cajaphas*, who condemned our Lord was of their Number, *Acts, v. 17.* and many of them were cruel Persecutors: For we find another High-priest of that Party named *Ananus*, a bloody Man, who taking the Advantage of the Death of *Festus* and Absence of *Albinus*, he being on his Way to take Possession of the Government, put to Death *James* the Brother of our Lord, as hath been before (p) related. *Sadducism* triumphed while he was High-priest; but this was for a short Time. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* weakened this Sect extremely; their Number being al-

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(a) Above, p. 327. (b) *Liber Corin.* p. 240. *Ganz Ifemach*, p. m. 67. (c) *Prideaux's Connection*, Part 2. p. 335. (d) *Joseph*, *Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.* (e) *Idem*, *de bello Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 3. (f) *Matth. xxii. 23. Mark. xii. 18. Acts. xxiii. 8.* (g) *Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2.* (h) *Ibid.* & lib. 13. cap. 18. (i) *Idem*, *Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & de bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 7. (k) *Connection*, Part 2. p. 337. (l) *Matth. xxii. 32. Mark. xii. 26. Luke, xx. 37, 38.* (m) *Elench. trihæresum*, cap. 16. (n) *History of the Jews*, Book 2. c. 6. (o) *Locis modò citatis.* (p) Above, p. 499.

ways inferior to that of the *Pharisees*, they found Difficulty after this Calamity to appear again, or to make any considerable Figure in their Nation : Only we may find some few Footsteps of them. *Simonius*, who flourished in the fourth Century, is said to have seen them teaching in *Egypt* (a), and to have wrote against them. But the Works of this Author being lost, we dare not positively affirm this. 'Tis more certain that the Emperor *Justinian* in the sixth Century speaks of them in his Novels, while he banished them out of his Dominions, and commanded them who taught certain Tenets of Impiety and Atheism, denying the Resurrection and the last Judgment, to be put to Death (b). This Law was a new Calamity to the Party, already very weak : They were obliged to forsake the *Roman* Empire, which was of vast Extent, and found new Adversaries in other Places where the *Pharisees* were settled. A Jewish Historian (c) tells us of one *Annen* or *Ananus*, in the eighth Century, who was Head of the Academy of *Sora*, and declared for the *Sadducees*, confirming them in their Opinions, and protecting them as long as he lived. They are said to have had another powerful Patron in the twelfth Century, who asserted their Interest against the *Pharisees*, proving the Insignificancy of Traditions, which were multiplied without Number. But after all, except in some few Places of *Africa*, there are no *Sadducees* now found any where that meet in a Body together. Their small Number hath made them so contemptible among the rest of the *Jews*, that they are not now tolerated ; so as none but some loose Fellows and pretended Wits cherish those Errors in private to keep up a Succession of *Sadducism*.

§ 3. I proceed next to the *Caraites* : They agree with the *Sadducees* in nothing but in rejecting all Traditions, and adhering only to the written Word : Nor do they absolutely reject Traditions, but only refuse to allow them the same Authority that they do to the written Word. I shall not determine the precise Time when this Sect did arise : They were in Being in the Time of our Saviour, and are designed in the Gospel by the Name of *Νομικοι*, *Lawyers*, *Luke*, xi. 45. They ascribe to God some essential and inseparable Attributes, which are nothing else but God himself. They exact from the People an implicate Faith for the Holy Scriptures, and condemn all Doubts about the Divinity of the Law. They have no Phylacteries, nor Parchments with Sentences of the Law writ on them stuck to the Doors of their Houses. They call the *Jews* bridled Asses when they see them in the Synagogues with their Frontlets, and believe the Meaning of that Text in *Deuteronomy*, where these seem to be enjoined, to be that God should be remembered by us at our coming in or going out. They pretend to a great deal of Temperance and pure Morality ; are afraid to eat too much, or to be too nice about it : They have a great Respect to their Masters ; and their Doctors are charitable and teach for nothing. They are so nice against Tradition, that they do not allow the Intercalation of Months and Days to make the Lunar Year equal to the Solar. They worship no Idols, no Images, no Angel nor Planet, and quote the second Command against it ; and do not scruple, as other *Jews*, to name the Name of God. The Silence of *Josephus* ought not to be advanced as an Argument against the Being of this Sect. It is true this Historian reckons only three different Sects of the *Jews* ; thus he omits the *Herodians*, who appear too plain in the Gospel to be disputed : And the *Caraites* having no peculiar Tenets, only teaching the Law according to its literal Sense, and being still looked upon as Doctors of the Law, this Author could not distinguish them by the Name of a particular Sect.

But we have already heard of them in the Gospel, and we find several Footsteps of them in History. *Origen* puts the Difference between the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* upon this Point ; That the *Scribes* do not deviate from the Law (d) ; but the *Pharisees*, who thought themselves much holier, pretended to interpret it. *Jerom* (e) seems more full ; for speaking of *Schammai* and *Hillel*, as of two Heads of several Sects, he assures us, *That from thence sprung the Scribes and Pharisees, to whose School succeeded Ahibas, whom the Profelytes call the Master of Aquila, and after him Meir, to whom succeeded Johanan, the Son of Zachai, and to him Eliezer. Hillel and Schammai flourished in the first Year of Herod the Great, thirty seven Years before the Birth of Christ* (f). Now the *Scribes* were not Secretaries of State, nor Copyists of the Law, who had been a long Time before *Schammai*, whom *Jerom* represents as their Founder : But they were the same with the *Caraites*, who in his Time vigorously opposed Traditions. In Process of Time the *Jews*, who were fond of Traditions, gathered them into that voluminous Book called the *Talmud*, to which they required the same Veneration as to the holy Scriptures, founding all the Articles of Faith upon its Dictates, and pretending to regulate their Practice in all things according thereto. This Book was published in the sixth Century of the Christian *Æra* ; but when it came to be examined by Men of Sense among them, they not being able to conceive how such Trash, Nonsense and Fables, as they found heaped up therein, could come from God, were so shocked as they could not give up their Faith to it ; but reserving that wholly for the written Word of God, received the other only

(a) Essays of Literature 1704, p. 190. (b) Justinian. Authent. Collat. 9. c. 27. Novel 146. p. 614. (c) Ganz T'f mach David, p. 125. (d) Origines in Mathæum, cap. 13. v. 52. edit. Huetii, To 1. p. 218. (e) Hieronymus in Eusebium, cap. 8. v. 14. operum tom. 5. fol. m. 18. (f) Above, p. 459.

as a Work of humane Composure. For some Time their Dissent on this Point went on without any Breach or Schism among them, till about the Year of our Lord 750 *Anan* a Jew of *Babylonia*, and *Saul* his Son, both learned Men in their Way, having openly declared for the written Word only, and publicly disclaimed all Traditions, excepting such as agreed therewith; this produced a Rent and Schism among them (a), so as they became divided into two Parties, the one standing for the *Talmud* and its Traditions, and the other rejecting both, as containing in their Opinion the Inventions of Men, and not the Doctrines nor Commands of God. These who stood for the *Talmud* and its Traditions being chiefly the *Rabbins* and their Scholars, this Party had the Name of *Rabbinists*; and the others who were for the Scripture, were called *Caraites*, that is to say *Scripturarians*, from *Kara*, which in the *Babylonish* Tongue, signifies the Scripture. This Sect is still in Being: *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, in the twelfth Century, found at *Constantinople* five hundred of them (b), and others of them in other Places, to which he travelled. They are Men of the best Learning and Probity of all the *Jewish* Nation. There are few of them in the western Parts; most of them are to be found in *Poland*, *Russia*, and in the Eastern Countries. In the middle of the last Century there was an Account taken of their Numbers; whereby it appears that there were in *Poland* about two thousand of them (c); at *Casta* in *Tartaria Crimæa* twelve hundred; at *Cairo* three hundred, at *Damascus* two hundred, at *Jerusalem* thirty, in *Babylonia* one hundred, and in *Persia* six hundred. But all these put together make but a small Party in respect of the great Bulk of the *Jews* who are on the other Side. They read the Scriptures and their Liturgies every where publicly and privately, in the Language of the Country where they dwell. At *Constantinople* they have them in *Greek*, at *Casta* in *Turkish*, in *Persia*, in the *Persian*, and in *Arabick* where that is the vulgar Tongue. The Hatred between them and the *Rabbinists* or *Traditionists* is implacable: There is no Correspondence nor Marriages between them; yea they imprecate Curses upon one another.

§ 4. But the *Pharisees* were the most numerous of all the Sects among the *Jews*; for they had not only the Scribes and all the learned Men of their Party, but also the Body of the (d) common People. I shall not be peremptory about the Time of their Origin; we have notice of them by *Josephus* (e) in the Time of *Jonathan*, one of the *Maccabees*, and ever after this they were a considerable Party. They differ from the *Samaritans* so far, that besides the Law, they received the Prophets, the *Hagiographa*, and the Traditions of the Elders; from the *Sadducees*, not only in these Particulars, but also in their Doctrines about a future State, the Resurrection of the Dead, Predestination, and Free-will. The inspired Writings tell us, *That whereas the Sadducees say there is no resurrection, neither Angel nor spirit, the Pharisees confess both* (f): that is, they own that there is a Resurrection, and they confess the Being of Angels and Spirits. But according to *Josephus* (g), this Resurrection of theirs is no more than a *Pythagorean* Transmigration; for he tells us, *That the Pharisees say that the Souls of all Men are incorruptible, but only the Souls of good Men go into other Bodies, and the Souls of wicked Men are sent into everlasting Punishment*. For their Opinion was, That the Souls of the Wicked, as soon as separated from their Bodies, were transmitted into a State of Misery; but as to lesser Crimes, they were punished in their Bodies, which the Souls of these that committed them were sent into. According to this Notion, Christ's Disciples asked him, concerning him that was born blind (h), *Who did sin, this man or his parents?* Which plainly supposes an antecedent State of Being, otherwise it cannot be conceived that a Man could sin before he was born. And when the Disciples told Christ, that some said *that he was Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the Prophets* (i), the Meaning is, that they thought he was come into the World with the Soul of *Elias* or *Jeremias*, or of some other of the old Prophets transmitted to him, and born with him. But when our Saviour came to bring Life and Immortality to Light, he taught the true Resurrection of the same Body to be united to the same Soul, and thereafter the *Jews* learned it from the Christians. As to what the *Pharisees* hold concerning Predestination and Free-will, *Josephus*, who was himself a *Pharisee* informs us (k), *That they ascribe all things to Fate, yet do not take away the Assent of Man's Will, saying God governs all things by his own Pleasure, yet so as Man hath a free Will to go into Virtue or Vice*. Still the main distinguishing Character of this Sect was *their zeal for the traditions of the elders* (l), which they derived from the same Fountain as the written Word it self, pretending both to have been delivered to *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*; and therefore they ascribed to both the same Authority (m) till at length their traditional Law swallowed up their written Law, and the Bulk of the *Jewish* Nation propagated it. This Zeal for Traditions, without depending on the written Word of God, hath ruined the Church upon several Occasions. Hence spring the innumerable

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(a) See of these Caraites, an ancient Jewish Book, called *Liber Cosri*, with Buxtorf's Translation and Note, from p. 191. to 239, edit. Basil. 1660. (b) *Itineraria Benjaminis*. p. m. 353. & alibi passim. (c) *Hottingeri Thesaurus Philolog. inter addenda*, p. 583. (d) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & lib. 17. cap. 3. lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello, lib. 2. cap. 7.* (e) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9.* (f) *Acts xxiii. 8.* (g) *Joseph de Bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7.* (h) *John ix. 2.* (i) *Matth. xvi. 14.* (k) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7.* (l) *Ibid.* (m) *Matth. xv. 1, — 6; Mark. vii. 3, 4. 7.*

Superstitions of the Church of Rome, and these dividing Ceremonies which break the Peace and Harmony of other Churches.

Some Authors derive the Name of a *Pharisee* from *Paras* a Reward (*a*), because they maintain'd against the *Sadducees* the Rewards of a future State: But others deduce their Name from the Word *Pharas* to separate (*b*). They were Separatists, and indeed separated from those whom they thought Sinners or profane, so as not to eat or drink with them (*c*). But their chiefest Separation was from the common People, whom they called *Am Haaretz*, the *People of the Earth*. This our Lord frequently chargeth them with, and of making the Law of none Effect by their Traditions (*d*), *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*. To go thro' all their Inventions, would be to transcribe the *Talmud*, a Book of twelve Volumes in *Folio*. The whole Subject whereof, is to dictate and explain these foolish and fabulous Inventions, which this Sect imposed. Yet this Party has devoured all the rest: For tho' they were weakened by the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, yet they have always subsisted: And most of the *Jewish* Doctors to this Day are *Pharisees*; and for many Ages they have had none to oppose them among that People, except these few *Caraites*, who have been before mentioned.

§ 5. THE *Essenes* originally were of the same Sect with the *Pharisees*, but did set up for a more severe, and perhaps for a more unblameable Rule of Life than the other. As to Fate and Free-will (*e*), they were for an absolute Sort of Predestination, without allowing Man any Liberty or Choise of his Actions. And as to a future State, they taught more clearly that the Souls of Men after their Death are transmitted to a State of Immortality, either of everlasting Happiness or Misery, as their Actions deserved, without returning either to their own or other Bodies for ever. It may be enquired why our Saviour, tho' he often censured the other Sects among the *Jews*, yet never mentions the *Essenes* thro' the whole New Testament? To this 'tis answered, his Silence might proceed from their retired Way of living. They abode mostly in the Country, and seldom came to Cities: Nor were they seen in the Temple, nor in any publick Assembly in our Saviour's Time; or they being an honest kind of People, without Hypocrisy, gave no Reason for that Censure which others deserved.

Their Way of Living was very peculiar and remarkable; of which we may give a View from the Writings of *Josephus* and *Philo*, the most ancient and only contemporary Authors who had seen this Sect: But I shall only give a Taste of what these Authors say concerning them. *Josephus* tells us (*f*), *The Essenes are Jews by Nation, a Society of Men friendly to each other beyond what is to be found among any other People; they have an Aversion to Pleasure in the same Manner as to that which is truly evil. To live continently and to keep their Passions in Subjection, they esteem a Virtue of the first Rate: Marriage they have in no Esteem; but taking other Mens Children while they are yet tender and susceptible of any Impression, they treat them as if they were their own Flesh and Blood, carefully breeding them up in the Institutions of their Sect: However they are not absolutely against Marriage in others; for that would take away the Succession and Race of Mankind; but being aware of the lasciviousness of Women, they are perswaded that none of them can keep true Faith to one Man: They have Riches in great Contempt, and Community of Goods is maintained among them in a very admirable Manner; for not any one of them is to be found possessing more than another, it being a fixed Rule in their Sect, that every one who enters into it, must give all his Goods into the publick Stock of the Society; so that among the whole Number, none may be found lower than another by Reason of his Poverty, or any on the other Side lifted up above the rest by his Riches; for every Man's Goods being cast into common, they are all enjoyed as if for one Man's Use. They look on it as a disparagement to make Use of Oil, so that if any one of them should happen to be anointed against his Will, they wipe it off immediately, and cleanse their Body from it; for not to be nice in the Care of themselves, they esteem as a commendable Thing: And they always go habited in white Garments.* *Josephus* further describes their Devotions, the Moderation of their Passions, their eating at a common Table, their Rules for admitting Intrants, their strict Observation of the Sabbath or seventh Day, and other Things among them.

Philo the *Jew* is another Author who writes concerning these *Essenes*. Indeed he is the first who hath left any Thing that is transmitted to us concerning them: For *Josephus* was born in the first Year of *Caligula* the Roman Emperor (*g*), in the Year of our Lord 37, at which Time *Philo* was a Man advanced in Years: For about two Years thereafter, he was sent by the *Alexandrian Jews* as the Head of an Embassy to that Emperor. *Josephus* living in *Judea*, was best qualified to give an exact Account of them in that Kingdom; and *Philo* was best acquainted with those of them who were among the dispersed *Jews* at *Alexandria*, and other Parts in *Egypt*. He distinguishes this Sect into these of *Judea* and *Syria*, whom he calls *Practical Essenes*, and these in *Egypt* and other Parts whom he calls *Therapeutic* or *Contemplative*; and proceeds thus, *Among the Jews who inhabit Palestine and Syria, there are some whom*

(*a*) Vitrunga, Obs. sacr. lib. 1. Bafnage Hist. of the Jews, p. m. 115. (*b*) Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 1851. Prideaux's Connexion, part 2. p. 342. (*c*) Matth. ix. 11. Luke v. 30. & cap. xv. 2. (*d*) Matth. xxiii. 13.—33. & xv. 5.—11. Luke xi. 39.—52. (*e*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & lib. 18. cap. 2. (*f*) De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7. (*g*) Joseph. de vitâ suâ.

whom they call Essæans, being in Number about four thousand Men; according to my Opinion, they have their Name by Reason of their Piety, from the Greek Word ἁγίος, which signifies Holy, tho' the Derivation from thence be not according to the exact Rules of Grammar: And whereas they are most religious Servers and Worshipers of God, they don't sacrifice to him any living Creature, but rather chuse to frame their Minds to be holy, to be an exact Offering to him. They chiefly live in Country Villages, avoiding Cities, by Reason of the Vices that are familiar among Citizens, being sensible that as breathing in a corrupt Air breeds Diseases, so conversing with evil Company often makes an incurable Impression upon the Souls of Men. Some of them labour in Husbandry, others follow Trades of Manufacture, confining themselves to the making such Things as are the Utensils of Peace, to benefit themselves and their Neighbours. — Merchandizing, Trafficking and Navigation, they never so much as dream of, rejecting them utterly as Incitements to Covetousness. — There is no such Thing as a Servant among them, but they all mutually help and serve each other. — As to Philosophy, they leave Logic to such as quarrel about Words, and do not meddle with Natural Philosophy, but about Ethicks or Moral Philosophy they are much conversant (a). The rest of his Account of them is too large to be here inserted, but may be seen by the curious in Philo himself: And as to these whom he calls contemplative Essenes, his Narrative may be seen in his Writings (b), or may be found translated by (c) Dr. Prideaux.

Baronius, Bellarmin, and some other Papists affirm, that these Essenes were Christian Monks formed into that Order by St. Mark, who founded the Christian Church at Alexandria. It is true Eusebius (d) hath said that the Essenes in Philo were Christian Monks; but he hath told several Things without Judgment or Truth, of which this is one. For these Therapeutæ or Essenes described by Philo were Jews and not Christians. They were a Sect of a long standing in Egypt, who had Hymns and Writings of ancient Date, composed by the Leaders of their Party, which could not be said of Christians in the Time of Philo, who was an old Man when he went on an Embassy to Rome from the Jews in Alexandria, in the Year of our Lord 39, six Years only after Christ's Death; and his Book *De vita contemplativa* concerning these Essenes was writ before this: So there was no Time for such Societies of Christians to be formed and settled in so regular a Manner, as Philo describes those of the Therapeutæ in Egypt, so soon after Christ's Death. Besides, if we more narrowly examine the Matter, Philo was born in the 723 Year of Rome, thirty Years before the Birth of Christ. He says that he was very young when he wrote his Book, and that his Studies were interrupted: So that according to this Calculation, Philo must have writ before the Birth of Christ, and long before there were any Christians at Alexandria. But if we suppose Philo forty Years of Age when he wrote, he was not then young, and yet Christ was but then ten Years old, and had not begun to teach; how then could there be Societies of Christians at Alexandria in that Time? Add to all this, that the Characters which both Philo and Josephus give to the Essenes, do agree to Jews, but not at all to Christians; as that the Essenes observed the seventh Day for their Sabbath, but Christians keep the first Day of the Week. The Essenes keep their Sabbath with such Rigour, as our Lord never enjoined. Josephus tells us (e), *They must not so much as kindle a Fire on that Day, nor move a Vessel out of its Place, nor so much as go to Stool to ease Nature.* Our Lord never required such Austerities; nay he tells us (f), *That the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath*; that is, the Sabbath is for the Benefit of Man, to ease him of his Labour and Toil, to give him Time to take Care of his Interest in the World to come. Philo plainly says, in his Introduction to his Book concerning these Therapeutæ, that they were Disciples of Moses; and Josephus in every Place where he speaks of them, calls them one of the three Sects of the Jews. They were then Jews not Christians. Monkism was not introduced into the Christian Church for some Ages after them.

The Infidels and Deists of this Age make another wrong Use of what Josephus and Philo record concerning the Essenes; for they would infer, that Christ and his Followers were no more than a Sect branched out of the Therapeutæ or Essenes. But let them turn all the Accounts we have about them as oft as they please; can any of the peculiar Doctrines of Christianity be found in any of them? Is there any thing of the Redemption of the World by the Messiah, or of the erecting of his spiritual Kingdom on Earth, or of the two Sacraments ever maintained by them? Tho' they did eat at common Tables, as the Apostles afterwards did, yet this was never made a Law of the Christian Religion, as among the Sect of the Essenes. It was only practised for a short While, in the first gathering of the Christian Church: But when the Church increased, that Custom was discontinued, as wholly impracticable. In those moral Duties which the Essenes practised, they agree with the Christians; and so do other Religions as far as regulated by the Law of Nature. Many Heathens carried moral Duties further than the Essenes: Will any therefore say that Christianity is a Religion made out of Heathenism? Besides, almost all the Rites peculiar to the Essenes are condemned by Christ and his

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Apostles,

(a) Philo Judæus in libro cui titulus Omnis probus liber p. 678. edit. Col. (b) Philo de vita contemplativa, p. 688 ibid. (c) Connection, Part. 2. p. 354, & seqq. (d) Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 17. (e) Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 7. (f) Mark. ii. 27. Matth. xii. 1, — 13.

Apostles, in the Censures that he and they pass upon the *Pharisees*; for when he condemns the lower Degree in the latter, he certainly disapproves the higher Degree in the former. Thus he condemns their superstitious Washings (a), their over rigorous Observance of the Sabbath (b), their abstaining from Meats which God created for Man's Use (c), their Will-worship, the neglecting and voluntarily afflicting the Body, and the like superstitious Customs which God never required. Moreover, contrary to the Laws of Christianity, they forbid Marriage, which God had ordained from the Beginning (d), and absolutely condemned Servitude, or being Servants, which the holy Scriptures (e) allow of: And they in effect denied the Resurrection of the Body, in which the Christian Hope consists, and absurdly placed the Felicity of a future Life in corporal Enjoyments of a temperate Air beyond the Western Ocean, where they allow the Soul no Body at all to partake of them, and further, pin down all Men to a fatal Necessity in all their Actions. Now, when the Institutions of this Sect carry with them so great a Distance and Disparity from those of Christ and his Apostles, how can the one spring from the other? I have done with the *Essenes*, if I had once noticed, that *Herod* the Great had a distinguishing Favour for them, because *Menahem*, one of their Number, had told him, when he was a Boy at School, that he should be King of the *Jews* (f). And the same *Menahem* living to see him advanced to the Throne, he sent to know of him if his Reign should be long. To which he answered, it might continue thirty Years. For this Prediction *Herod* favoured the *Essenes* as long as he lived. The *Romans*, on the contrary, hated them very much; but by no means could make them abandon their Sect. They are said to have subsisted to the Reign of *Justinian*, but now we have no Footsteps of them in any Place.

§ 6. THE last remarkable Sect among the *Jews* is that of the *Herodians*. They are twice mentioned in the Gospel. In *Matth.* xxii. 16, 17. they combined with the *Pharisees* to tempt our Saviour about a nice Point, *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cesar, or not?* In the other Passage our Lord charges his Disciples, *to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod*, *Mark*, viii. 15. that is, of their pernicious Doctrine. It is in vain to look to *Josephus* for explaining what this Sect was; for on all Occasions that he speaks on that Subject he mentions only three Sects of the *Jews*, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees* and *Essenes*. We have a Verse in *Persius* (g) that might seem to give some Light; but if we look into it, we may see that the Poet speaks not of the Sect of the *Herodians*, but of some Festival or other, observed probably for the Joy of *Herod Agrippa's* being promoted to the Throne in *Judea* by the Favour of the Emperor *Claudius*, as related in the former Chapter (h). But still the main Question remains, *What this Sect was?* and, *Why they are called Herodians?* 'Tis probable enough, that *Herod* the Great might give Occasion for this Sect. He was a Prince of insatiable Ambition; and his Flatterers might caress him with the Title of the *Messias*, or Deliverer of the *Jewish* Church, while he was alive: But after he was dead, the Hatred of the People broke out against him, for his intolerable Cruelties, even to his own Family, and against those who brake down the golden Eagle in the Temple, and other Enormities. *M. Bagnage* (i) is of opinion, that *Herod* the Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, who reigned in our Saviour's Time, might as probably give Rise to this Sect of the *Herodians*. He was a Prince who had great Projects, when he combined with *Sejanus*, and prepared an Arsenal with Arms for sixty thousand Men. He was also a very cunning Man; and therefore our Lord called him *that fox*, *Luke*, xiii. 32. For tho' he appeared zealous for gathering the Taxes for the Interest of the *Roman* Emperors, yet he seems to have had some secret Designs by his great Preparations to cast off the Yoke of the *Romans*, and to set up for himself as the Deliverer of the *Jews*; which Designs being discovered at *Rome*, he was banished to *Gaul*, as hath been before (k) related; and his Sect ended with him. But I am humbly of opinion, that what *Dr. Prideaux* advanceth, explains to as good purpose the *leaven of Herod*, or his pernicious Doctrine. He observes (l), that *Herod* the Great differed in Opinion from the rest of the *Jews*, in that he held it lawful to submit to the *Romans*, to pay them Taxes, and particularly to comply with them in their profane, heathenish, idolatrous Customs, many of which he promoted, as we have heard in the History of his Reign (m). Tho' *Herod* the Great was dead, yet some of his Domestics were alive who maintained his Opinion. Thus the ancient *Syriac* Version renders *Herodians* in *Matth.* xxii. 16. *the domestics of Herod*. Our Lord then might very justly warn his Disciples to beware of a vile Compliance with Heathens in their profane Games, theatrical Shews, with other superstitious, idolatrous and cruel Customs; and the rather, that the Princes of *Herod* the Great's Race, being from his Time and forward educated at *Rome*, inclined to introduce those abominable Practices into *Judea*. And the *Sadducees*, who denied a future State, seem to have come into the Opinions of this Sect; for the same Persons who promoted the *leaven of Herod* in *Mark*, viii. 15. are called *Sadducees* in *Matth.* xvi. 6. This Sect after our Saviour's Time evanished, and were no more heard of: And here I conclude this Chapter.

C H A P.

(a) *Matth.* xxiii. 25. *Mark*, vii. 1,---13. (b) *Matth.* xii. 1,---13. *Mark*, ii. 23,---27. (c) *1 Tim.* iv. 3, 4. (d) *Ibid.* & *Mal.* ii. 15. (e) *Philem.* v. 9,---21. (f) *Joseph.* *Antiq.* lib. 15. cap. 13. in fine. (g) *Herodis* venere dies, unctaque festi-
nestra, &c. *Sat.* 5. v. 180. (h) Above, p. 494. (i) *History of the Jews*, Book 2. cap. ult. (k) Above, p. 493. (l) *Connection*, Part 2. p. 367. (m) Above, p. 469, 473, 475 and 481.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Patriarchs who governed the Jews; of the Princes of the Captivity, and of the principal Orders of their Doctors since the Destruction of Jerusalem.

THE Jews who escaped the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Desolation of their Country in the Reign of *Hadrian*, sought a Retreat in other Parts of the World. One they found at *Babylon*, where many of their Nation had remained almost from the Time of the *Persian* Empire. Another Sanctuary they found in *Egypt*, where for a long Time there had been many Families of rich and powerful Jews, capable to support their Brethren now in Misery. But these Refugees carried with them a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, which became the Source of new Calamities. 'Tis easy to conceive that their Patriarchs could have no great Authority in so astonishing a Desolation. They were a Parcel of poor Fugitives, whose Misery made them to be slighted by the *Romans*. But their Power encreased as the People became more rich and numerous: For the Patriarch decided Cases of Conscience, and the important Affairs of their Nation: He presided over the Synagogues, levied Tribute to defray the Expences of his Visits, and had Officers under him, who executed his Orders in several Provinces. In a Word, the dispersed Jews were proud to acknowledge him as their Chief, and to depend on him, thereby to maintain some Shadow of Union. This Patriarch had several Names given to him upon several Occasions. He was called *Nasi*, as President of the Synagogue, *Αρχιμαλετάρχης*, Head or Prince of the Captivity, Head of the Fathers, and the Splendor of the Jewish Nation: Yet he was not of the House of *David*, but rather a Priest of the House of *Levi*. There are none of these Princes nor Patriarchs mentioned by sacred nor profane Writers, nor even by the Jewish Authors *Philo* or *Josephus* before the Destruction of Jerusalem; and we have little Regard to what the modern *Rabbins* have fancied concerning them. We must leave to the High-priests the Authority of governing the Church, while the Temple was standing, and own that there was neither Prince, nor Head of the Nation, nor Patriarch that presided over the Sanhedrim in a middle Order, between the High-priest and the King. I know a Jewish Book, called *Seder Olam Zuta*, or, the little Chronicle, now before me (a), hath a Catalogue of the Succession of forty Heads of the Captivity, from the Ruin of the first Temple by the *Chaldeans*, and downwards, as follows. 1. *Jechonias*, carried away by *Nebuchadnezzar*. 2. *Salathiel* his Son, under *Belsazzar*. 3. *Zerobabel* his Son, who brought back the People under *Cyrus*. 4. *Mesbullam* his Son, under whom Prophecy ceased. He died in the Time of the *Græcian* Empire. 5. *Hananias*, directed by the wise Men in the Reign of *Salmon*, *Alascan*, and *Mapparis*, Kings of *Grecia* (strange Names, unknown in the History of that Time.) 6. *Barachia* his Son. In his Time *Tolmai* wrote the Pentateuch in *Greek*. 7. *Hasadiah* his Son. In his Time *Israel* was under great Tribulation by *Nicanor* King of the *Greeks*. 8. *Isaiab* his Son. 9. *Obadiab* his Son, who died under *Herod* the Great. 10. *Schemaia*, who makes the tenth Generation after the Captivity. 11. *Ezekias* his Son, who was buried at *Arbeel*. 12. *Nathan* posthumous. 13. *Huna* his Son. 14. *Akob* his Son. 15. *Mabom* his Son. 16. *Jobanan* his Son. 17. *Saphat* his Son. 18. *Anam* or *Hona* his Son. *Samuel* the Lunatick was his Council. *Nabardea* was taken in his Time. He caused himself to be buried in *Judea* near *Chaja*. 19. *Nathan* his Son, with *Ezekiel* his Council, and *Rabschefescheth*. The *Persians* resolved to persecute the Jews in the Year 245 of the Ruin of

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(a) *Seder Olam Rabba & Zuta*, seu *Chronologia Judæorum major & minor*, cum *Translatione Genebrardi*, p. 140, — 150. *Basileæ* 1580. See also *Baſnage Hiſt. of the Jews*, Book 6. cap. 13. p. m. 535.

of the Temple. 20. *Nehemia* his Son, with his Counsellor *Schezebi*. 21. *Achabia* his Son, with *Raba*, and *Rabada* his Counsellors. The King of *Persia* subdued *Syria*. 22. *Mar Hona* his Brother, instructed by the wise Men, with the Doctors *Abai* and *Joseph* the Son of *Hama* his Counsellors. *Sapor* took *Nisibes*. 23. *Ocha* his Son, with *Raba* and *Rabana* his Counsellors, in the Year 416 of the Desolation of the Temple. 24. *Rab Chana* his Brother, and *Rab Saphra* his Brother. 25. *Rab Saphra* his Brother. 26. *Cabana* his Son, with *Rabana* his Counsellor. 27. *Hona* his Nephew. 28. *Hona*, Uncle to the preceeding. He married the Daughter of *Hanina* Head of the Academy. 29. He was the Ruin of the House of *David*; for having ill used *Hanina*, the Plague consumed all the Family, excepting 30. *Zutra* posthumous. *Isaac* Head of the Academy was killed in his Reign. *Mir* the Great appeared. He saw a Pillar of Fire. He rebelled against the *Persians*, acted as King for seven Years, was killed. *Zutra* also was hanged. 31. *Zutra* his Son was obliged to retire to *Judea*, and to desire the Presidency of some School. He was made President of the Senate 452 Years after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*. 32. *Guria* his Son. 33. *Zutra* his Son. 34. *Jacob* his Son. 35. *Jacob* his Son. 36. *Migas* his Son. 37. *Nehemiah* his Son. 38. *Abdim* his Son. 39. *Jacob*, *Phinehas*'s Son, Master of *Hatsub*. 40. *Azaria* his Brother, who made the eighty ninth Generation. Concerning this List, I shall only remark, that the first thirteen in it are fictitious; for there was no Patriarch that presided over the *Jews* but the High-priest or the King before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, as before observed; others are dubious, and their Chronology false or uncertain; and therefore 'tis proper to seek for an Account of these Patriarchs that presided over the *Jews* since the Destruction of *Jerusalem* from other Authors.

The Emperor *Hadrian* being in *Egypt* was informed (a), That a Patriarch sometimes came thither, and that some People importuned him to worship *Serapis*, others would have him to worship *Jesus Christ*. This Man was not a Heathen, since they would have forced him to worship *Serapis*; nor was he a Christian, since he refused to adore *Jesus Christ*: Therefore he seems to have been a Jew, and the Patriarch of that Nation, and the first who enjoyed that Office whom we can find. This was *Simeon III.* the Son of *Gamaliel*, who lived in the Time of *Hadrian*. He descended in a Right Line from *Hillel* the old: And this Dignity remained in his Family till the Year of our Lord 429, when it was abolished. His usual Residence was at *Tiberias*, a City situated on the Lake of *Galilee*, built by *Herod* the Tetrarch, who gave it this Name in Honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*; and its good Situation soon rendered it a considerable Place. The greatest Revenue of the Patriarchs was the Tribute or Impost which he levied upon all the Synagogues under his Jurisdiction. It was an antient Custom in that Nation to bring or send every Year a Didrachm to the Treasure of the Temple; which they founded upon the Law of *Moses*, *Exod.* xxx. 13. and it was paid almost to the Time of the Destruction of the Temple by all the *Jews*, of which we find frequent Instances in *Josephus*. This the Patriarch exacted of all Synagogues under his Jurisdiction. He also nominated the Rulers of the Synagogues, who frequently bought this Dignity of him; and by erecting new Assemblies, and judging of Differences among them, he encreased his Salary.

The Emperor *Theodosius II.* was obliged to set Bounds to their Power. He by a Law (b) forbade *Gamaliel*, then the Patriarch, to build new Synagogues, and commanded *Aurelian* to demolish those that were little frequented, and that the Patriarch should have no Power to judge Differences between Christians and Jews: These must be decided by the Governors of the Provinces. Nor must any Jew dishonour a Christian, whether he be a Slave or a free Man, with the Mark of Judaism, (that is, Circumcision) under the Pain of Punishment conform to Law. The Date of this Decree coincides with the Year of the Christian Era 415. The Fathers of the Christian Church seem to have had no great Notion of these Patriarchs. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* insulted their Extraction, and maintained it would be a Shame to search into the Baseness of their Race: He denied their Descent from *David*. *Chrysostom* would not allow them to be of the Race of *Aaron*. Others accused them of great Corruption in Manners, and insatiable Avarice. Their Power was mightily abridged by the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, in the Year of the Christian Era 399, who ordered (c), That the Money that used to be levied for the Use of those Jewish Patriarchs, by their Apostles and Missionaries, should in all Time coming be paid to the Exchequer; and let the Jews know, that this Office of Robbery or Exaction was taken away by Law. And the Emperors *Theodosius II.* and *Valentinian*, in the Year of our Lord 429, entirely abolished this Office (d).

The Lives of these Patriarchs are full of Rabbinical Fables, and therefore a short Account of them may be sufficient. We have already fixed their Origin in the Time of *Simeon III.* the Son of *Gamaliel*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Hadrian*. The modern *Jews* make him Head of the Academy, Successor to *Akiba*, and Collegue to *Meir*, with whom he had many Controversies. His Power extended over the *Jews* from the School of *Tiberias* unto *Egypt*.

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(a) Apud Vopiscum in Saturnino p. m. 307. (b) Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. de Judæis, lege 22. (c) Ibid. l. 14. (d) Ibid. l. 29.

Juda the Saint was *Simeon's* Son, and succeeded his Father. He lived under three Emperors, who persecuted the Christians, but were favourable to the Jews. viz. *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Aurelius* and *Commodus*. The first took Possession of the Empire in the Year of our Lord 138, and the last died in 194: So that *Juda's* Patriarchal Authority continued fifty six Years (a). He was born the same Day that *Akiba* died; and they imagine this was foretold by *Solomon*, saying, *The sun ariseth, and the sun goeth down*. He became venerable by the Repetition of the Law that he published, which is a Code of the Civil and Canon Institutes of the Jews called *Mishnah*; which he thought absolutely necessary, because his Nation being dispersed in so many Places, had forgot their Rites, and would have swerved from the Religion and Laws of their Ancestors, if they trusted them only to their Memory. He divided this Work into six Parts. The first runs upon the Distinction of Seeds in the Field, as Trees, Fruits, Tithes, &c. The second regulates the Observation of Feasts: The third treats of Women, and determines matrimonial Causes: The fourth turns upon the Suits that proceed from Commerce; to which is added a Tract concerning Idolatry, because it is one of the important Articles upon which Judgment depends: The fifth Part respects Oblations: And in the last is examined all that is necessary to Purification (b). This Work hath been translated into Latin by *Syrenbusius*, with *Maimonides* and *Bartenora's* Notes, printed at *Amsterdam*, in six Volumes in folio, 1702. Here are the oral Ordinances of *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*, as the modern Jews call them, which they receive with the same Respect as those on sacred Record, tho' there be no Proof that ever *Moses* was the Author of them: Here are the different Opinions about these, with the Maxims and Sentences of wise Men, called *the Hedges of the Law*; and here are antient Usages and Customs, imposing upon Posterity the Necessity of following them. It is probable that he wrote this Book about the 180 Year of the Christian *Ara*, being then forty four Years of Age, after that by long Experience he had learned to decide the Questions in the Law. By this Book he acquired such Reputation that he put himself above the Laws, exempted himself from all Censure, and disposed of all Offices. He carried this Pride to the Grave; for he ordered his Body to be carried with Pomp through the great Cities, and Lamentations to be every where made for him: And the Jews (c) tell us, that all the Cities ran to his Funeral; the Day was prolonged, and the Night retarded, till every one returned to his House, and had Time to light a Candle for the Sabbath. The Daughter of the Voice was heard pronounce, *That all who followed the Funeral Pomp should be saved, except one; who fell into Despair, and broke his Neck*.

Gamaliel was chosen by his Father to succeed as Patriarch. He confirmed the *Mishnah* which his Father had published, and died in the Year 229. His Son *Juda* succeeded him, and lived till towards the End of the third Century. *Hillel* II. the Son of *Juda* did three Things which have been thought advantageous to his Nation. First, he fixed the *Epocha* from the Creation of the World, reckoning the Years from thence, and abolishing the *Ara* of the *Seleucidae*, and others that had been formerly in use. By this Calculation our Redeemer was born in the Year from the Creation 3760, whereas we reckon 3950: This *Ara* of the Jews falls 190 Years short of it. Secondly, *Hillel* composed a Cycle of nineteen Years, by which he reconciled the Course of the Sun with that of the Moon by the Help of seven Intercalations (d). He reformed the *Tekuphas*, or the Reckoning of the Equinoxes and Solstices. He was a Man of good Sufficiency; for *Origen* consulted him upon important Occasions. His Conversion to the Gospel made him to be beloved of the Christians, but hated of the Jews, who speak nothing of this last Part of his Life. However, their Silence doth not make this Affair doubtful, since they have no historical Monuments of that Time remaining; and 'tis enough that *Epiphanius* relates the Fact in a Manner not to be contested; for he tells us (e), *That he had it from the Mouth of one of his Apostles, that the Patriarch Hillel was descended from Gamaliel, who had been also a Patriarch, and from that Gamaliel who soon after our Lord's Death advised the Jews to abstain from persecuting the Apostles. Perceiving his own Death to approach, he sent for the Bishop of Tiberias, under pretence of consulting him for his Disease as a skill'd Physician. The Domestics brought Water, and they being dismissed, the Patriarch earnestly desired to be baptized in the Name of Christ, which the Bishop immediately performed. This was done in the Reign of Constantine the Great, and probably about the Year of our Lord 310.*

Hillel left his Son a Minor under Tutors, who educated him in the Principles of the Jewish Religion. He became also Patriarch, and recompensed one of his Tutors named *Joseph* with Preferment. The Jews finding that he loved Christianity, and dissembled with them as his Father *Hillel* had done, treated him with that Violence, as obliged him to complain to the Emperor *Constantine*, by whom he was well received; and obtained the Privilege of building many Churches for the Christians. By this Undertaking he enriched himself, so that he was able

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(a) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 107. (b) Of the Subdivisions in the Mishnah, see Galamus de Arcanis, lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 14, — 20. (c) Bafnage's History of the Jews, Book 3. cap. 3. p. m. 157. (d) See Bartolacci's Tables Bibl. Rabbinnica, Tom. 2. p. 416, — 548. (e) Har. 30. operum Tom. 1. p. 128. edir. Colon. 1682.

to rear up fine Houses for his own Use at *Scythopolis*, where *Eusebius* of *Vercell* being then banished (for opposing the *Arians*) by the Emperor *Constantius*, with *Epiphanius* (a), went to see him. He was then an old Man, and he with another converted Jew maintained the Orthodox Faith in Opposition to *Arianism*. They had with them the Gospel of *John* and the Acts of the Apostles translated into *Hebrew*. *Juda* his Pupil, was Patriarch of the Jews in the Year 356; and by *Epiphanius*'s Account, seems to have been a Man of a lewd Conversation. After his Death *Julian* the Emperor, called the *Apostate*, writing to the Community of the Jews (b), speaks of another Patriarch named *Julius* or *Hillel*: This was in the Year of our Lord 363. This *Hillel* was the Son of *Juda*, and seems to have kept his Office to the Year 385 or thereby. Then appeared the last of the Western Patriarchs named *Gamaliel*: *Jerom* speaks of him about the Year 392, as a Man who then had long Controversies with *Hesychius* (c). He practised Medicine, for many of these Jewish Patriarchs, and also the Christian Bishops being then poor, could not well live on their Revenues, but were obliged to follow some other lawful Business. *Gamaliel* held this Dignity in the Year of our Lord 415: Then the Imperial Laws above named (d), lapt off a Part of his Authority, and the Office it self was abolished in the Year 429.

§ 2. THE dispersed Jews residing in the East about *Babylon*, had also some Heads of the Captivity. But the Jews themselves are ignorant of the Events that concern their Nation in those remote Parts of the World; and few Books have arrived from thence to instruct us. Refugees seldom desire to write the History of their own Calamities. The first Head of the Captivity who appears among them, was one *Huna*, about the End of the second, and Beginning of the third Century: The Tyranny of the *Parthians* in the East being broke under the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, this Office was erected, and *Huna* flourished till about the Year of our Lord 220. These Princes were installed with a great Deal of Pomp and Ceremony. They for some Time had their Residence at *Mabazia* (e), but it was translated to *Babylon* or *Bagdad*; there he is said to have had ten Courts of Justice over which he presided; and there were twenty eight Synagogues, of which one belonged to the Patriarch, supported with Marble Pillars of all Colours. Before the Chest, which contained the Law, was a Tribunal raised with ten Steps, on which was placed a Seat for this Head of the Captivity and his Family. His Power extended over all the dispersed Jews in *Assyria* and *Chaldaea*, and in the Kingdom of the *Parthians*. *Ejdras* commonly calls them *Oriental*s, in Opposition to those who lived in *Judea* and *Egypt*, who are often called *Occidental*s. He conferred Ordination on all the Heads of the Synagogues of the East, and received from them Contributions necessary to support his Dignity, and pay the Tribute exacted by the Kings of *Persia*. The Heads of the Academies did commonly partake with him in his Command. The Prince was to be of the House of *David*: But it would have been most difficult, if not impossible, to have observed this in a Place where there were so few of the Tribe of *Judah* and Little *Benjamin*. It was only imagined, that they might not be in any Thing inferior to those who were continued in *Judea*; where the Patriarchs descended from *Hillel* traced their Pedigree up to *David* to raise the Glory of their Nation. The Jews about *Babylon* subsisted in the eleventh Century; when they received a deadly Blow: Their famous Academies being shut up, the People and Disciples fled to the West, particularly to *France*; where they taught some Years with Reputation. The Heads of the Captivity lost their Power by the Desertions of their People, and the Oppression of the Infidels; only their Name remained till the twelfth Century, since *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled into those Parts found one still there; but we hear of no Footsteps of them since that Time. This is a general Idea of them: They'll afterwards come in our Way when we discourse of the Dispersions of the Jews in the East. Mean time I proceed to consider the Succession of the Doctors in *Israel*, and the different Orders of Masters, that we may the better know from what Fountain their present Religion, and many Ceremonies which they observe, do spring.

The Jews are persuaded that God gave two Sorts of Laws on Mount *Sinai*: One that *Moses* wrote in the inspired Books, and another which he trusted to his Memory, and was transmitted to Posterity by the Ministry of Doctors and Prophets. By the Help of this Imagination, they make God say what they please; and the People must obey whatever they fancy. It is not difficult to carry down these Traditions and Oral Laws from Mouth to Mouth, while there were Priests, Prophets and Writers on Scripture-Record; they can chuse in sacred History the Saints that best please them. But the Confusion is greater from *Ezra* to *Juda*, the Saint: However they have made up a kind of Succession, tho' they do not all agree in it: For they tell that after *Moses*'s Death, *Joshua* delivered the Oral Law to the Elders, and they to the Prophets till it came to *Jeremiab*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and he to *Ezra*, by whom it was handed down to the Men of the great Synagogue, the last of whom was *Simon* the just; by him it was delivered to *Antigonius* of *Sobo*, by him to *Jose* the Son of *Jobanan*, by him to *Jose*

(a) Epiphanius hæc. 30. operum Tom. 1. p. 128, — 137. (b) Julian. epistola. 25. operum, p. 396. (c) In *Isaiam* cap. 3. (d) Above, p. 522. (e) Solomon ben Virgæ hist. Judaic. p. 302.

Jose the Son of *Jozer* ; by him to *Nathan* the *Arbelite* and *Joshuah* the Son of *Perachiah* ; by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion* ; by them to *Hillel* ; by him to *Simeon* his Son, who is supposed to have been the same who took Christ in his Arms by this *Simeon* ; to *Gamaliel* his Son (at whose Feet *Paul* was brought up) ; by him to *Simeon* his Son ; by him to *Gamaliel* his Son (a) ; and by him to *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* his Son, who wrote it in a Book they call the *Mishnah* (b). But all this is meer Fiction, spun out of the fertile Invention of the Jewish Doctors without any Foundation either in Scripture or in any authentick History (c). But since they now firmly believe it, there is no understanding what their Religion at present is without it.

§ 3. AFTER the Death of *Simeon* the Just, there arose a Sort of Men whom they call *Tannaïtes* or *Mishnaical* Doctors, who made it their Business to descant upon Traditions, so as to make an intolerable Heap of them. The Jews call these *Tannaim*, the Preservers of Tradition ; and ascribe to them the Privilege of speaking to Angels, of commanding Devils, and restraining Sorcerers. They give them all Sorts of Elogies, boldly saying, that *R. Eliezer*, the Son of *Harsum*, had a (d) thousand Cities upon Land, and a thousand Ships on Sea : They tell that *Judah* the Saint was not so rich as his Master of Horse. These are shocking Hyberbole's, that contain a Spirit of Falshood, fit to introduce Error. Besides they stick not at gross Mistakes in History and Chronology in describing their Lives, as may be seen in the Jewish *Seder Olam* ; in *Abraham Zacuth's Juchasin*, who hath drawn Jewish Genealogies down to the Year of our Lord 1500 ; in *Ganz Tsemach David*, who hath carried down the History to 1583, and others of their Writers. To the *Tannaim* other Doctors succeeded : For *Judah Hakkadosh* or the Saint, had no sooner compleated his *Mishnah*, but another Rabbin, jealous of his Reputation, published before his Eyes quite contrary Traditions. A Collection was made of them under the Title of *Extravagants*, and they were inserted with the *Mishnah*, to compose one and the same Body of Law. Thus the Canon Law of the Romish and Jewish Church was formed after the same Manner ; both of them abound with ridiculous, insignificant, contrary Decisions, Extravagants and Traditions.

Tho' *Judah's* Collection in the *Mishnah* seem'd to be a complete Work, yet two considerable Faults were observed in it ; one, that it was very confused, reporting the Opinions of different Doctors, without naming them, and without determining which Opinion deserved the Preference ; next, that it was too short, and resolved only a small Part of the Doubts and Questions that began to be debated among the Jews. To remedy these Disorders, *Johanan*, with the Assistance of *Rab* and *Samuel*, two Disciples of *Judah* the Saint, wrote a Commentary upon their Master's Work, which is called, *The Jerusalem Talmud*, or Doctrine ; which could not be finished before the Reign of *Diocletian*, who is named in it ; consequently it was done about the Year of our Lord 300, or the Beginning of the fourth Century, and was published in one large Folio, where the *Mishnah* is the Text, the *Gemara* is the Comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. Still there was a Defect found in the *Jerusalem Talmud* ; for it reported the Opinions but of a small Number of Doctors, and besides was writ in a barbarous Language, such as was spoken in *Judea* when corrupted by a Mixture of strange Nations : For this Reason the *Amoraim* or Commentators began a new Explication of Traditions. *R. Asa*, who kept a School at *Sora* near *Babylon*, undertook the Work. After he had taught sixty Years, he produced this Commentary upon *Judah's Mishnah*. His Sons and Scholars put the last Hand to it ; and it is called the *Gemara* or *Talmud of Babylon*. It was first published about the Beginning of the sixth Century, in the Year of our Lord 505. Since the Invention of Printing several Editions have been made thereof ; the last published at *Amsterdam* is in twelve Folio's, in the Year 1644. It is now the *Alcoran* of the Jews, into which they have resolved all their Faith and Religion, tho' framed almost with the same Imposture as that of *Mahomet*, out of Doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from Heaven. Here are all Questions concerning their Traditions ; all their learned Men place their Studies in this Book ; and none can be a Master in their Schools nor in their Synagogues without some Skill both in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*, that is, in the Text and Commentaries.

Tho' the Jews do not pretend that the *Talmudists* were inspired, yet they prefer the *Talmud* to the holy Scriptures ; for they compare the Scripture to Water, and Tradition to excellent Wine (e) : The Law (say they) is the Salt, the Mishnah the Pepper, and the Talmud the excellent Spices. They maintain, That he who sins against the Law may be forgiven, but he who contradicts the Doctors deserves Death. But notwithstanding this Veneration these modern Jews have for the *Talmud*, it swarms with ridiculous Fables, Lies and Contradictions ; it is a Heap of Rubbish, Dirt and Trash. There 'tis told, That God, to pass the Time before the Creation of the Universe, when he was alone, busied himself with building divers Worlds, which he immediately destroyed, till by different Essays he had learned to make one so perfect as ours. They relate a Trick which a Rabbin put upon God and the Devil : For he intreated

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(a) Liber Cosri, p. 245. — 247. Ganz Tsemach David p. 214. Zacuth in Juchasin, j. c. Liber profapiarum. Buxtorffii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, 2611. (b) Above, p. 523. (c) Prideaux's Connect. Part 1. p. 325, 326. (d) Ganz Tsemach, p. m. 67. (e) Tractat. Sopherim, cap. 15.

the Devil to carry him to the Gate of Heaven, that having seen the Happiness of the Saints, he might die with more Tranquillity. The Devil granted the Rabbins's Request; who seeing the Gate of Heaven open, threw himself headlong in, swearing that he would never come out again: So that God, who would not suffer him to be guilty of Perjury, was obliged to leave him there; and the Devil being tricked, sneaked away in great Confusion. Adam here is not only made an Hermaphrodite, but 'tis maintained, That having tried to satisfy his Passion with all the Animals of the Earth, he found none but Eve would content him. There are sensible Contradictions found in it; and the Jews, instead of being at Pains to remove them, introduce a Voice from Heaven, crying out that both the one and the other, tho' directly opposite, proceed from Heaven. Their Method of Treatment appointed for the Christians is barbarous and cruel; For they think it lawful to rob them of their Goods, considering them as brute Beasts; to push them down a Precipice when they are seen upon the Brink; and do make some terrible Imprecations against them every Morning. Tho' the Hatred and Desire of Revenge the Jewish Masters are blinded with, had dictated such Lessons, yet 'tis strange they should have inserted in a Summary of Religion such Laws and Precepts as are not only opposite to Charity, but even to Wisdom, Sense and good Manners. These who desire to see Treatises concerning the *Talmud*, may consult the Authors named at the Foot of the Page (a). Tho' there be so many Fables and idle Trash in it, yet Dr. Lightfoot and other great Men skill'd in Oriental Learning, have digged out of it and other Jewish Authors many things that may tend to explain several Passages in the holy Scriptures: And it is but an idle Fancy to think that these Books, of which there are so many Editions and Copies, can be entirely burnt or destroyed; nor perhaps is it profitable to attempt to do so.

§ 5. THE *Talmud* was received with general Applause, if we believe the Jews; but there started up a new Order of Doctors who shocked its Authority by their Doubts. They were called *Saburæans* or Opiniators, and were look'd upon by the Jews as so many Sceptics, because they disputed without determining, finding only Probability on all Sides. R. Josi was a principal Man among these Doubters. He appeared about the 476th Year of the Christian *Æra*, and taught thirty eight Years (b). He had some Successors who became Heads of the Academies of *Sora* and *Pundebita*: But these being shut up by the King of *Persia*'s Order, this sort of doubting Doctors was extinct seventy four Years after their Establishment.

The Doubters were succeeded by other Masters, called *Gaons*, Sublime, or Excellents; which Titles were not acquired by them till they had given some illustrious Proofs of their Merit. The chief of them were Heads of the Academies, and others were dispersed among the scattered Jews in the Provinces. They were consulted upon any considerable Question that arose, and their Decisions were look'd on as Oracles. *Chanan Mezikka* was Head and first of those Excellents. He re-established the Academy of *Pundebita*, that had been shut up for fifty Years, but appeared again with some Lustre at the Beginning of the sixth Century. In the List of these Excellents is numbred one *Jehuda*, surnamed *Full of Light*, because he was blind. He taught with great Reputation in the Year 763, and the Nation is indebted to him for certain Lessons in great Request. *Sherira* one of the Excellents appeared likewise with great Lustre at the End of the tenth Century (c). He resigned his Employment to confer it on his Son *Haai*, who was the last of the *Gaons*, and was esteemed the most excellent of these Excellents. He taught till the Time of his Death, which happened in the Year 1037; and with him ended the Order of these Excellent Doctors. The Academies at *Babylon* being ruined about this Time, the Jews who remained conveyed themselves into *Spain* and *France*, where they made new Settlements, and their Doctors flourished under the Title of Rabbins. But I now proceed to

§ 6. THE *Masoreths*, who were *Grammarians*, and principally addicted themselves to the revising of the Hebrew Text of the *Old Testament*. They numbred the very Letters, to prevent any future Alterations. It has been questioned, whether they carried their Diligence so far. Father *Simon*, a French Critic well acquainted in this Matter, affirms (d) that he had seen a Manuscript, wherein he found the following Part of the *Masorah*: *Genesis* was reckoned to contain 12 great Sections, 43 *Sedarim* or Orders, 1534 Verses, 20,713 Words, 78,100 Letters. They made also a Collection of all the different Readings that were known to them, which was commonly put at the End of their Copies of the Bible, and afterwards was substitute in the Margin; and at the Bottom of the Page, for the Readers Convenience; and what could not come in there, was cast in at the End of the Book. Thus it was printed by *Bomberg* in his great *Venetian Bible*, by the Assistance of *Jacob ben Cajim*, a Jew of *Tunis*, who had

(a) Galatinus de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis, lib. 1. p. 20, — 38. Sextus Senensis in Bibliotheca, lib. 2. Leusden. Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, p. m. 84, — 110. Pfeifferi Theologia Judaica & Mahomedica. Abendana of the Jewish Policy, p. 154, — 171. Pauli Riccii farrago ex Talmude. Surenhusius's Translation of the Talmud. Lightfooti Veribulum & indices Talmudis Hierosolymitani, inter opera posthuma, p. m. 30, — 62. (b) Ganz Chronol. p. m. 121. (c) Halacoth Pessucoth, Lektionen decilæ. (d) Histoire critique du vieux Testament, p. m. 156. cap. 26.

had been forced to leave his native Country. *Buxtorf* revised what they had done, in the large Bible he caused to be printed at *Basil* (a).

'Tis a Question of greater Importance, if the *Maforeths* at *Tiberias* added the Vowel-points to the sacred *Hebrew* Text of the Old Testament? These Points were maintained to be of an elder Date by all the World, till *Elias Levita* a *German Jew*, at the Beginning of the Reformation from Popery, in the sixteenth Century, ascribed the Invention of them to the *Maforeths*. *Buxtorf* the Father refuted his Arguments in his *Tiberias*. *Louis Capell*, Professor of Divinity at *Saumur* a *French* Protestant in a very elaborate Discourse, made an Answer (b). *Buxtorf* the Son vindicated his Father's Opinion (c), but not so as to hinder many learned Men from going in to the other Side of the Question. The State whereof is this, Whether the Vowel-points were affixed by *Ezra*, or some other inspired Person, and so of the same divine Authority with the rest of the sacred Text? or if the said Points have been invented by the *Maforeths*, five hundred Years after Christ; and therefore being only of humane Authority, may be altered or changed when the Analogy of Grammar, the Nature of the Context, or the Style of Language, or any thing else shall give Reason for a better reading? I have already discovered that I incline (d) to the first, namely, That *Ezra*, or some other divinely inspired Person, or the Penmen themselves, affixed the Vowels to the sacred Text, and consequently that they are of divine Authority. I shall now offer Reasons to confirm this Assertion; first, That this is the common Opinion of all the *Jewish* Writers, whether *Talmudists*, *Cabbalists*, *Philosophers*, *Grammarians*, *Criticks*, or *Historians*, all in one Voice, (excepting only *Elias Levita*) declaring that the Points were in the sacred Text in the Time of *Ezra*: And this Argument is of more Force, when we consider, that to them were committed the oracles of God, *Rom. iii. 2*. If the Points had been but a modern Invention of Men, liable to Error, some of the *Jews* would have been ready to blame the Authors for mispointing some Texts, which they never do, being convinced that the Warrant for the present Reading is divine. 2dly, 'Tis no ways probable that the *Majorites* of *Tiberias* invented the Vowel-points five hundred Years after Christ; for the Schools which the *Jews* had in *Judea* were before that Time dissipated and dispersed, and no learned Men left in that Country of sufficient Abilities for such a Performance, they being then removed to the Province of *Babylon*, where they had their Academies at *Sora*, *Nabsterda*, and *Pundebita*, nothing of Learning being left in *Judea* for such a Work in these Times. Nor do I see any more Reason for Mr. *Basnage's* Assertion (e), that *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphtali* are the true Inventors of the *Massorah*, and the Points: Besides, how can the *Maforeths*, whose Work is printed with the great Bibles of *Venice* and *Basil* be the Inventors of these Points, when a great Part of their Criticisms is upon the Vowel-points, which must prove them to have been a long Time before fixed, since none use to criticise upon their own Works. 3dly, Our Lord seems to acknowledge the Points in his Time, while he says, *Matth. v. 18*. One tittle of the law *μία κεραια*, one Apex or Point, shall not pass away till all be fulfilled, and to engage his providential Care for the Preservation of them; which hath indeed been verified in all Ages, so as these Fountains of divine Revelation have been to this very Day transmitted pure and entire to us. 4thly, When the *Hebrew* Language ceased to be the Mother-tongue of the *Jews* (as it did after the *Babylonish* Captivity) it was scarce possible to teach that Language to young and old, to Children of six or seven Years of Age, as the *Jews* usually do, as hath been before observed (f), without the Vowel-points. 5thly, The ancient Bible of *Hillel*, of which the *Jews* make mention in their *Tuchafin* was exactly furnished with the *Hebrew* Points (g). *Buxtorf* the Son makes Mention of many other ancient Copies of the *Hebrew* Bible (h) with the Points; and this may be a sufficient Answer to those who insist so much upon several of the sacred Books in the *Jewish* Synagogues being without them. 6thly, How uncertain would the Meaning of many *Hebrew* Words be without the Vowels. 'Tis easy to observe, that in any Language of two or three Consonants, any Body may make differing Words of several differing Significations, if he be at Liberty to supply what Vowels he pleaseth; and the same is observed in the *Hebrew* Tongue by *Buxtorf* (i), *Hottinger* (k), *Leusden* (l) and other learned Men. Besides, if fallible Men be Inventors of the *Hebrew* Vowels, the Sense would still be fallible, and other Men by giving different Points or Vowels, might give a different Meaning of the Text. How uncertain and precarious should thus the infallible Standard of Truth be? I'm afraid to think of it. I know that they who are on the other Side of the Question tell us, That the Punctuation was not made by the Sense of the *Rabbins*, but according to the Analogy of the Text, the Genius of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and the Sense that hath been for many Ages received among the *Jews*, who have almost all their Books except the sacred without Points. But even this does not remove the Difficulty, nor gives any sufficient

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(a) De Masora vide Buxtorfium in Tiberiade, Waltoni Prolegom. 8. p. 288 & seqq. (b) Entitled, Arcanum Punctuationis revelatum 1624. (c) De genuina punctorum antiquitate 1648. (d) Above, p. 252. (e) Hist. of the Jews, Book 3. cap. 9. p. 182. (f) Above, p. 253. (g) Leusdeni Philolog. Hebræus. p. m. 123. (h) De punctorum antiquitate parte 2. cap. 7. (i) Buxtorf ubi supra. (k) Hottingeri Exercit. antimorinianæ. (l) Leusden Philolog. p. 130. & seqq.

cient Ground to move us to embrace such an upstart Opinion, that leans upon no solid Foundation, and is attended with so many dangerous Consequences.

§ 7. I reserved to this Place to speak of the *Jewish Targums* (a); and therefore shall now observe, that *Hillel* who flourished in the Reign of *Herod* the Great, is said by the *Jewish* Writers to have bred up above a thousand Scholars (b) in the Knowledge of the Law, of which eighty were reckoned to be of greater Eminency above the rest; for of them they say that thirty were worthy, on whom the divine Glory should rest as it did upon *Moses*, and thirty for whom the Sun should stand still as it did for *Joshua*, and the twenty others were of a middling Size. The most eminent of them was *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, the Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase on the Prophets, with whom was contemporary *Onkelos* Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase on the Law: But whether he was a Scholar of *Hillel's*, is not said. The *Chaldee* Paraphrases are Translations of the Scriptures of the old Testament, made directly out of the *Hebrew* Text into the Language of the *Chaldeans*, which was antiently used thro' all *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria* and *Palestine*, and is still the Language of the Churches of the *Nestorian* and *Maronite* Christians in the East, in their sacred Offices, as the Latin is of the Popish Churches here in the West; and therefore these Paraphrases were called *Targums*, because they were Versions or Translations of the *Hebrew* Text into that Language; for the Word *Targum* signifieth in *Chaldee* an Interpretation of one Language into another. They were made for the Instruction of the vulgar *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity. For tho' many retained the Knowledge of the *Hebrew* in which the holy Scriptures were writ, except a few Passages in *Chaldee* (c), yet the common People having so long conversed with the *Babylonians*, learned their Tongue, and forgot their own. This made these Versions more necessary, for to lock up from the People in an unknown Language the Word of God given to lead them to everlasting Life, was a thing thought then neither agreeable to Reason nor Religion. Hence it came to pass, that there were antiently many of these *Targums*, and of different Sorts.

The *Targums* that now remain were composed by different Persons: The first of them is that of *Onkelos* on the five Books of *Moses*. The *Jews* say, That this Author survived *Gammaliel* the elder, *Paul's* Master, who was Grandson of *Hillel*, and that he died only eighteen Years before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: Tho' Dr. *Prideaux* is of Opinion (d) that *Onkelos* was rather before *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, being writ in better *Chaldee*, and that *Uzziel* passed by the Law, because *Onkelos* had done it before him. This *Targum* on the Law is rather a Version than a Paraphrase; for it renders the *Hebrew* Word for Word, and is in good Esteem. The next is that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* on the Prophets. He takes the Liberty as a Paraphrast to make Enlargements and Glosses of his own upon the Text. The Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and *Kings*, are with him called the former Prophets; *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve minor Prophets are the latter. The *Jews* highly esteem him, and tell, that if any Bird happened to light on his Paper while he was writing, the Bird was burnt with Fire from Heaven, without doing any Hurt to the Author's Person or Paper. The third *Targum* is that on the Law ascribed to *Jonathan ben Uzziel*; but that 'tis none of his, appears from the Stile, wholly different from that of the *Targum* on the Prophets, which all own to be his: Besides, the Enlargements, Glosses, Fables, prolix Interpretations, and other Additions, do no way resemble this Author. But that which thoroughly cuts the Throat of this Pretence is, That there are several Things mentioned in this *Targum*, which had no Being, nor no Name till after *Jonathan's* Time, as the six Orders of the Books of *Mishna*, *Targum* on *Exod.* xxvi. 9. which could have no Being till *Rabbi Jehuda* wrote the *Mishna*, two hundred Years after *Jonathan's* Time. There also we find Mention of *Constantinople* on *Numb.* xxiv. 19. and of *Lombardy* on *Numb.* xxiv. 24. Whereas these Cities and Countries were not called by such Names, till several hundred Years after *ben Uzziel* flourished (e). Who was the true Author of this *Targum* is not known: It seems to have lien long in Obscurity among the *Jews* themselves. *Elias Levita* knew nothing of it, neither was it taken Notice of, till published at *Venice* about a hundred and fifty Years ago, and the Name of *Jonathan* put to it to gain it more Credit.

A fourth *Targum* is on the Law, written also by an unknown Hand, for no body pretends to tell us who is the Author, or when composed. 'Tis called the *Jerusalem Targum*, because written in that Dialect. 'Tis not a continued Paraphrase, as all the rest are, but upon some Parts here and there; yea sometimes it (f) skips over whole Chapters, and seems by its Dialect to have been composed above three hundred Years after Christ. The fifth *Targum* is that on the *Megilloth*, that is on the five lesser Books, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. The sixth *Targum* is the second on *Esther*. The seventh is that on *Job*, the *Psalms* and the *Proverbs*, all writ in the most corrupt *Chaldee* of the

(a) Above, p. 459. (b) Zacutus in *Juchasin*. Gedaliah in *Schialsha*. Let. *Hakkabala*. Ganz *Tismach David*. (c) Dan. ii. 4. to chap. vii. y. last. Ezra iv. 8. to chap. vii. y. 27. Jerem. xi. 10. (d) *Connexion*. part 2. p. 535. (e) Vide *Waltoni apparat. Biblicum*, p. m. 383, — 388. (f) *Leusdeni Philologus Hebræo-mixtus*, p. m. 47.

the *Jerusalem* Dialect. Of the fifth and sixth, no Author is named; but the Author of the seventh is said to have been *Joseph* the one Ey'd: But who this *Joseph* was, or when he lived, is not named. And some of the *Jews* (a) tell us, That the Author of this *Targum* is as the other two. That on the *Megilloth* or *Cant.* i. 2. makes Mention of the *Mishna* and *Talmud*, with the Explication, whereby is meant the *Babylonish Talmud*; consequently this *Targum* must have been written after the Year of Christ 500; which is the earliest Time assigned for the *Babylonish Talmud*. The eight and last of these *Targums* is that on the two Books of the *Chronicles*, not known till the same was published by *Beckius*; that on the first Book at *Ausburg* in *Germany* An. DOM. 1680. and that on the second Book three Years afterwards.

Of all these *Targums* that of *Onkelos* on the Law, and *Jonathan* on the Prophets, are the most valuable, being as antient as our Saviour's Time, if not before it, and are the most antient of any Books the *Jews* have next to the holy Scriptures. Nor can it be concluded, that because neither *Jerom*, *Origen* nor *Epiphanius*, nor any of the antient Fathers make mention of them, therefore they are not of so valuable Antiquity. This being only a negative Argument proves nothing. *Origen* and *Epiphanius* understood not the *Chaldee*. As to *Jerom*, tho' he got the Help of some *Rabbies*, to assist him in his Study of the *Hebrew* Scriptures (b), by hiring them with great Sums, yet all that these *Rabbies* did was only very privately. They communicated no more to him than was necessary to earn his Money; and he never attained to any considerable Knowledge in the *Chaldee*, and that only when he was very old (c). Besides the *Jews* finding many Prophecies in the Old Testament explained in the *Targums*, and applied to the *Messiah*, they thought fit, as far as they could to, conceal them from the Christians, to prevent their Cause from being ruined by their own Weapons. Hence it came to pass, that 'tis not above a thousand Years since Christians knew any thing of these *Targums*, and scarce three Centuries have run since they became any Way common among us. Now any learned Man may have Access to them in the *Polyglot* Bibles.

These *Targums*, especially that of *Onkelos* on the Law, and *Jonathan* on the Prophets, are of use to vindicate the *Hebrew* Text, to prove it to be the same that was in use when the *Targums* were made, contrary to the Opinion of those who think the *Jews* corrupted it in our Saviour's Time; they help to explain many Words and Phrases in the *Hebrew* Original, for the Meaning whereof we should otherwise have been at a loss; and they hand down to us many of the ancient Customs and Usages of the *Jews*, which help to illustrate the holy Scriptures. They also help very much the Cause of the Christians against the *Jews*, by interpreting many of the Prophecies concerning the *Messiah* promised in the *Old Testament* in the same Manner as we do; as particularly *Gen.* iii. 15. & xlix. 10. *Numb.* xxiv. 17. *Is.* ix. 6, 7. & xi. lii. liii. *Mic.* v. 2. *Psal.* ii. xlv. & lxxii. as the learned Dr. *Prideaux* (d) hath illustrated. The *Targums* are published to good Advantage in the second Edition of the great *Hebrew* Bible set forth at *Basil* by *Buxtorf* the Father, in the Year 1620; for that learned Man hath taken great Pains not only of the *Chaldee* Text, but also to reform the Vowel-pointings in it. At first the *Targums* were written, as most of the Oriental Books, without Vowels; but at length some *Jews* attempted to add them. This being done erroneously, *Buxtorf* undertook to amend it according to such Rules as he had formed from the Punctuation of those Parts of the Books of *Daniel* and *Ezra* which are written in the *Chaldee*. Father *Simon* (e), a *French* Critic, thought the *Chaldee* in those two Books too little from thence to frame Rules for the whole Language; and that therefore *Buxtorf* had done better to have let this Matter alone, and to have left such as read those Books entirely to be directed by the four Letters *Aleph*, *He*, *Van*, *Jod*, called *Matres lectionis*. But the great *Buxtorf* knew what was fit to be done in that Affair better than any who hath taken upon him to censure his Performance, and the learned World is much obliged to him for his judicious and accurate Works. Leaving the *Targums*, I proceed to give some Account of the *Jewish Cabbala*.

§ 8. THE *Jews* call the *Cabbala* the *Soul of the Law*. They regard it as a most noble Science, more precious than Gold (f), conducting Men in an easy Method to the most profound Truths; and say it is so necessary, that without it the holy Scriptures cannot be distinguished from profane Books, if we do not penetrate into Truths lock'd up under the external Shell of the literal Sense. For my part, I count it unintelligible Trash, and a great Instance of the Degeneracy of this blinded Nation; but since I am now upon their History, I am obliged to give some Account of their *Cabbalistic* Dreams. They tell us that God was the first Teacher of this Science in Paradise, and the Angels learned it of him immediately after the Fall of the first Man. When God created the World, he left a Hole in the North Side thereof. The Angels thinking this an Imperfection, he told them it could never be filled up till a Being like himself appeared; meaning thereby to signify the Lapse of Angels, who made a Breach in

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Heaven;

(a) R. Azarias in *Meor Enaim*, Elias Levita aliique. (b) Hieronymus in *Epistolis ad Panimachium* in *Præfatione* in *librum Paralipomenon*, & in *præfatione ad librum Job*. (c) Idem in *Præfatione ad Danielum*. (d) *Connexion*, Part 2. p. 548, — 554. (e) *Critical History*, Book 2. chap. 18. (f) *Reuchlin de Cabbala*, lib. 1. p. 750.

Heaven, which could never be filled up (a) but by the Manifestation of the *Messiah*. It being a Matter of Importance to reveal all these Mysteries to Man, God sent the Angel *Raziel* to teach these Truths by means of the *Cabbala*. He assigned Angels to instruct the succeeding Patriarchs; *Jophiel* to *Sem*, *Raphael* to *Isaac*, *Metatron* to *Moses*, and *Michael* to King *David*. Thus the *Cabbala* is as ancient as the World, and descends originally from Heaven. The *Jews* had Leisure to study it in the Desert. *Moses* was initiated in the Mysteries thereof, since he had received Lessons from an Angel, and penetrated into the forty ninth Gate of Prudence; he helped to resolve the Difficulties that arose, in spite of the Pilgrimages, Wars and frequent Miseries of the Nations. He laid down in his first four Books the Principles of this sublime Science, and of its most exalted Part, which insists upon the Perfections and Essence of God; and therefore the *Cabbalists* find these four Books more masculine and strong than *Deuteronomy*, which they call the *Woman*. They value it less than the rest, because the *Cabbala* is there wanting. After *Moses* there were several Masters, who transmitted it from Hand to Hand (b). *David* and *Solomon* were profoundly vers'd in it, but no body ventured to write it.

Simeon Jochaides was the first who committed any thing of it to Paper, composing the famous Book of *Zohar*, to which a great many Additions have been since made. 'Tis believed that this *Simeon* lived some Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Titus* condemned him to Death; but he and his Son escaped the Persecution, by hiding themselves in a Cave (c), where they had Leisure to compose the Book we speak of. However, he was still ignorant of many things. The Prophet *Elias* now and then descended from Heaven into the Cave to instruct him, and God miraculously assisted him, by commanding the Words to pass themselves one by another in the Order that was necessary to the forming of these Mysteries. The first Part of this Work is intituled *Zenitutha*, or Mystery, because indeed abundance of hidden Things are discovered in it, pretended to be taken from the holy Scriptures, which the *Cabbalists* explain after their own Way. Here they discover the *Microprosopon*, that is, the little Face; the *Macroprosopon*, that is, the long Face; his Wife, the Nine, and thirteen Dispositions of his Beard. The following Book, which is called *The great Synod*, enters into a greater Train of Particulars. *Simeon* had a great Reluctance to explain them to his Disciples: No wonder! However at length he was prevailed on, and on he goes to explain the Dew of the Brain of the old Man (d). He examined afterwards his Scull, his Hairs; for he wears upon his Head a thousand Millions of thousands and seven thousand five hundred Curls of Hair, as white as Wool. To each Curl there goes four hundred and ten Hairs, according to the Number and Value of Letters in the Word *Kadosh*. From the Hair he passes to the Forehead, Eyes, Nose, and all these Parts of the great Face, but especially his Beard, which deserves infinite Praises. It is precious in all its Parts; the Beard transcends all Encomiums; never Prophet nor Saint came near it: It is white as Snow; it reaches even to the Navel; it is the Ornament of Ornaments, the Truth of Truths; no unto him that touches it. There are thirteen Parts in this Beard, each of them including great Mysteries; but none, save the Initiated, comprehend them, and understand this obscure Language. *The little Synod* is the last Farewell that *Simeon Jochaides* took of his Disciples, and contains much the same unintelligible Stuff as before expressed. I wonder how *M. Postel*, or any other Christian, can see valuable Things in such a Book.

As to the true History of the *Cabbala*, I own it is difficult to comprehend it, but so far as I conceive we may take it thus. There is no Foundation for such *Cabbalistic* Dreams in the holy Scriptures. We willingly own that the sacred Writers have frequently employed Metaphors and Allegories, because this being the common Stile of the *Jews* and other Eastern People, the same was easily understood. The Visions of *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* soar higher than those of the other Prophets, because these Men lived in *Chaldea*, where that Dialect was familiar, and speak of sublime Truths, and of Things which were to be accomplished many Ages after they were gone. These Types then are not to be taken literally, but must be applied to the *Messiah* and the Days of the Gospel, for which they were designed. But the *Cabbalists* mistake their Meaning, yea find Mysteries in the most plain historical Narrations, departing from the obvious literal Sense to seek for one that is unintelligible. We find no Footsteps of the *Cabbala* in the *Jewish* Writers before our Saviour's Time; but after they had crucified the Lord of Glory, they began to fall into these Delusions. *Philo* the *Jew*, educated in *Egypt*, who lived in the Time of our Saviour, but survived him several Years, for he was sent by the *Egyptian Jews* in an Embassy to the Emperor *Caligula*; he run headlong into Allegories and mystical Interpretations, finding whatever he pleased in the Scriptures. If God speaks, and calls unto *Adam*, *Where art thou?* he observes (e), *That Eve is confounded with her Husband, because all the Faculties of the Soul must be awakened and alarmed when the same is to be reclaimed to its Duty.* The *Essenes* appeared with considerable Lustre in *Egypt* in the first Age of the Christian Church. Where they

(a) Abrahami Patriarchæ liber *Jezirah*, cum notis Rittangeli. *Cabbala* denudata. Apparatus in librum *Zohar*, Reuchlin de *Cabbala*, lib. 1. p. 745. (b) Vide de *Cabbala* librum *Cosri*, part. 2. p. 100. (c) Vide Rittangeli not. in librum *Jezirah*, p. m. 124. (d) *Zohar*, § 4, — 11. p. 393; — 412. (e) *Philo*, de legis allegoria, lib. 2.

they taught, *That Words were so many Images of concealed Things*; and turned the sacred Volume into Allegories. 'Tis probable that the symbolical Theology of the *Egyptians*, the mysterious Doctrines of *Pythagoras*, and the fabulous Stories of the Heathen *Greeks*, gave some Occasion to the *Jews* to find out equally hidden Mysteries in their Religion. But I do not think it necessary to mix in any Discourse upon these Fooleries of the Heathen, when we are upon the *Jewish Cabbala*: The Curious may find a kind of Treatise upon these Subjects in *M. Basnage's* (a) *History of the Jews*. *Origen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, and many of the ancient Fathers of the Christian Church gave also too great Countenance to an allegorical Way of expounding the holy Scriptures. The wild Notions of the *Valentinian Heretics*, with their thirty *Eons* male and female, related by *Irenæus* (b), *Tertullian* (c) and *Epiphanius* (d), with their Fancy of finding the Doctrine of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost saving Men by the holy Cross in the artificial Word *Abraxas*, and *Abracadabra* (e), by giving a Value and Signification to each Letter, are as foolish and extravagant as the *Jewish Cabbala*. Nor can I justify the Notion of some Christians, in proving the great Doctrine of the blessed Trinity from such Arguments; as, *Each Hebrew Word hath three radical Letters*: The Hebrew Letter *W*, *Schin*, hath three Points (f); therefore there are three Persons in the Godhead; or finding the same Mystery in the first Word of *Genesis*, *Bereschith Bara*, by reasoning thus: The *Aleph* signifies the Father, the *Beth* the Son, the *Resh* denotes *Ruah Hakkadosh*, the Holy Ghost. We have abundance of solid Proofs to confirm our Faith, and need not have Recourse to those which will never recommend it to thinking Men.

To return to the *Jews*, the *Talmudists* and *Gemarists*, who appeared among them in the third and fifth Centuries of the Christian Church, gave a greater Reputation to Allegories, and revived that Sort of *Cabbala*, which had its Origin in *Egypt*, and afterwards spread in *Judea*. The *Jews* do indeed pretend that the Book of *Zohar*, which raised *Cabbalistical* Notions much higher than ever they had advanced before, is very ancient, being writ by *Simon Jochabides*, about the Time of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; but if it had been of so great Antiquity, it is impossible but it should have been sooner known, and often cited; and we have Reason to believe that it was not composed till the twelfth Century, in which it first appeared. But tho' it had been more ancient, there be such a Multitude of Additions to this Work, as the Part of the first Author cannot be distinguished from the rest, which considerably depreciates its Authority. Besides, there is such a mysterious Darkness in every Thing there said, that it is impossible to find out the Meaning; nor does he nor any other *Cabbalist*, as *Reuchlin* long ago observed (g), give any other Reason for what they advanced, but their *ipse dixit*, their bare Word. However, since that Book appeared, the *Jews* have more valued themselves on their *Cabbalistical* Learning than ever they did before.

If we descend further into the Consideration of the *Cabbala*, we may observe that it is commonly divided into two Parts; the one whereof opens up the divine Perfections and Celestial Intelligences, and is called the Chariot, or *Mercava*, from *Ezekiel's* Chariot: The other is called *Bereschith*, or the Beginning, from the first Word of the *Hebrew Bible*. The *Cabbalistical* Divines find Mysteries in every Thing. It is with them an Error to imagine that the *Hebrew Letters* have no other Use than to make up Words by their various Combinations: For according to their Opinion, the World was formed in an Analogy to the Alphabet, and the Harmony of Creatures resembles that of Letters, which God made use of to compose the Book of Life. How many strange Things do they tell of the ten Numerations, and of their subordinate (h) Divisions? How many Mysteries are contained in the Letter *Beth*? One maintains that this Letter is a Woman, that the two Lines stretched out β are two Arms, between which she receives and embraces her Husband *Tipheret*. This is signified by *Solomon*, when he makes the Spouse say, *set me as a seal upon thine heart*. This Letter is open to receive the Holy Spirit, which flows from the Parts of *Aleph*, she being like a Disciple receiving Lessons from her Master's Mouth; she is also like a House and the Foundation of Unity. I shall not insist on each Letter. They tell us that the Use of the twelve single Letters is to represent the twelve Signs of the *Zodiac*, the twelve Months, the twelve Cardinal Winds, the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. The Letter *He*, its Number is five, its Signification Sight, its Angel *Melchidale*: *Van*, its Number six, Signification Hearing, its Angel *Ajmodel*: *Zain*, its Number seven, Signification smelling, and its Angel *Ambriel*, and so of the rest (i). If the Letters be of so great Use, no Wonder that the Words composed of them be of great Importance in Religion: Nay they have Influences, Vertues and Significations not known to all the World. God has concealed his Essence and Perfections under the Disguise of Words. They find wonderful Mysteries in the Name of God, particularly in his Name *Jehovah*; it is a Bond of Union to all the *Sephiroths*; there is a Secret in every Letter, it is not lawful so much as to meditate upon it.

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(a) Book 3. Chap. 17, — 21, 23. (b) *Adversus hæreses*, lib. 1. cap. 23. (c) *Adversus Valent.* opusculum p. 311, — 321. edit. 1617. (d) *Har.* 31. p. 169 & seqq. edit. 1682. (e) *Basnage's History of the Jews*, Book 3. Chap. 26. (f) *Shiekhardsus*. Vide *Leusdeni Philolog. Hebræum*, p. 282. (g) *Reuchlin de Cabbala*, lib. 2. p. m. 766, in edit. Basileæ 1550 cum Galatino. (h) *Liber Jezirah*, p. m. 185, — 208. (i) *Basnage History of Jews*, Book 3. p. 190.

But the great Secret of the *Cabbala* is the ten *Sephiroths*, which they range in ten different Circles (a), as being contained one within another by their Names, *Crown, Wisdom, Understanding, Strength or Severity, Mercy or Magnificence, Beauty, Victory or Eternity, Glory, the Foundation, the Kingdom*. By these Splendors they represent the Subordination of one Thing to another throughout the Universe, and some Things that have Influences upon others: For the Splendors have Influences upon Angels, the Angels upon the Planets, the Planets on Man: They imagine Canals and Conduits thro' which the Influence of each Perfection is communicated to another, and thirty two Ways, with fifty Gates which lead Men to the Knowledge of all that's most secret. These Roads are described in a Book falsely said to be writ by the Patriarch *Abraham* (b), on which a celebrated Rabbin, *Rittangelius*, a converted Jew of *Bamberg* in *Germany* in the seventeenth Century (who being there plundered of his Books and Goods, came and resided in *Holland*, where he printed his Book, the Copy whereof before me is at *Amsterdam* 1642.) hath made a Commentary. They distinguish these fifty Gates into five chief ones, each whereof comprehends ten. The first Gate includes the Knowledge of the first Matter, and the Chaos, of the Void, the Elements and the Water that covered the Earth, the Air that proceeded from the Abyss, the Waters, &c. The second great Gate contains the Knowledge of Minerals, Flowers, the Juice that produces Metals, the Sea, Lakes, Rivers, Plants, Seeds, Insects, Reptiles, Fishes, Birds, and four footed Beasts. The third Gate proceeds to the Creation of Man, to the Clay he was formed of, to the Soul he received, to the Mystery of *Adam* and *Eve*, to Man who is the little World, the five Senses, the five inward Faculties, to the Celestial Man, the Angelick Man, the Man that is the Resemblance of God. The fourth Gate discovers the Planets, the Firmament, the *Primum mobile*, and the *Cælum Empyræum*. Knocking at the fifth Gate, there may be seen the nine Orders of Angels. No Body ever arrived at the last: *Moses* passed thro' the forty ninth Gate, but he could go no further; for God said thou shalt not see my Face. *Joshua*, *Moses*'s Successor, proceeded but to the forty eight Gate. *Solomon* made a great Progress, for his Wisdom was as the Sand of the Sea, he could never open the fiftieth Gate, nor arrive at the Degree of Perfection.

There are also *Astrological Cabbalists*, who conjecture from the Vertues of the Planets, and there is another Sort of *Cabbala* much abhorred by honest Men, because there is Magick in it: However the *Jews* frequently practise it, by certain Words ranked in a certain Order, by which they pretend to expell Devils, cure Diseases (c), and to remove other Evils.

I shall only further observe concerning this Subject, that *Manasseh Ben Israel*, a learned Jew in the seventeenth Century, hath given us thirteen Cabbalistical Rules (d). Other Jews who write on the *Cabbala* give much the same (e). The Rules are, First *Notaricon*, by which they form as many Words as there are Letters or Consonants in the *Hebrew* Word under Consideration. Thus from the Word *Bereschith*, Gen. i. 1. they form six Words, signifying in the Beginning God did see that the *Israelites* would receive the Law: The second Rule is named *Ziruf*, whereby the Letters of the same Word being transposed, form new and different Words. The third Rule is *Gimatria*, founded on the Numbers which the Letters of the *Hebrew* in the Text they notice, doth lead them to: Thus *Berit* the Covenant, the Letters thereof have the Value of 612, and by adding *Colel* of 613; this then is the same with *Thora* the Law, and signifies the 613 Precepts of which the Law consists. The fourth Rule is named *Zura*, founded on the Form and Figure of the Words: Why they have such a Figure, and not another; from which they infer great Mysteries. As for Example, if it be asked why does the *Old Testament* begin with a *Beth*? It is answered, because the Point of that Letter looketh upwards, signifying God dwelling in the Heavens. The fifth Rule is *Rafe Tebot*, taken from the Beginning and ending of Words, by which they compound new Words, and draw a new Sense out of them. The sixth Rule is *Temura*, Permutation, whereby they place a *Thau* for an *Aleph*, the last Letter for the first, and so of the rest. The seventh Rule is founded on defective and full Letters, for which they give mysterious Reasons. The eighth Rule is called *Setumot*, shut and open Letters, as *Pe* open, *Samech* shut. The Ninth Rule is *Kari ve la Ketib*, by which they learn that some Words are otherwise to be read than they are written. The tenth Rule is *Ketanot & Gedalot* taken from the small and great Letters in each Word. The eleventh Rule is *Hiluf*, Variation, as *Vau* for *Heth*. The twelfth Rule is *Necudot*, whereby they observe many Mysteries in the Points or Vowels. The last Rule is *Tamajim*, whereby they find the same strange Things from the Accents. The whole of this *Cabbala* the modern *Jews* assert to be a Part of the Oral Law, which God gave to *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*. But 'tis very obvious and plain, that this Cabbalistical Science did never proceed from God, but is vain, dark and unprofitable, it may be improved as well to refute the

(a) Liber Jezirah cum notis Rittangelii, p. 10, — 19. & p. 53 & 67. (b) Liber Jezira qui Abrahamo Patriarchæ inscribitur super 32. semitis sapientiæ. (c) Vide Leusdeni Philologum Hebræum, p. m. 282. Basnage hist. of Jews Book 3. chap. 15. (d) Manasseh ben Israel conciliator in Exodum, quæst. 50 & ult. p. m. 170, — 178. (e) Rittangelii notæ in librum Jezirah, p. m. 27, — 35. Reuchlin de Cabbala, lib. 3. p. 829 & seqq. Vide Leusdeni Philologum Hebræum, Dissert. 26.

the *Jews* as to confirm their Doctrine ; the sacred Scriptures are thereby turned into any Shape Men please : For tho' the Rabbins dare not alter the Text, yet they may by the Rules above mentioned wire-draw any Sense out of it they please. It is not possible that thinking rational Men should be abandoned to such mysterious Nonsense, unless God in his just Judgment, as foretold in his Word, *Isaiah vi. 9, 10. had shut their eyes lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed.* But these Judgments shall be removed, when in the last Days they shall seek the Lord to be their God, and our blessed Redeemer the Lord *Jesus* to be their King, and fear the Lord and his Goodness in the latter Days. So far concerning the *Cabbala*.

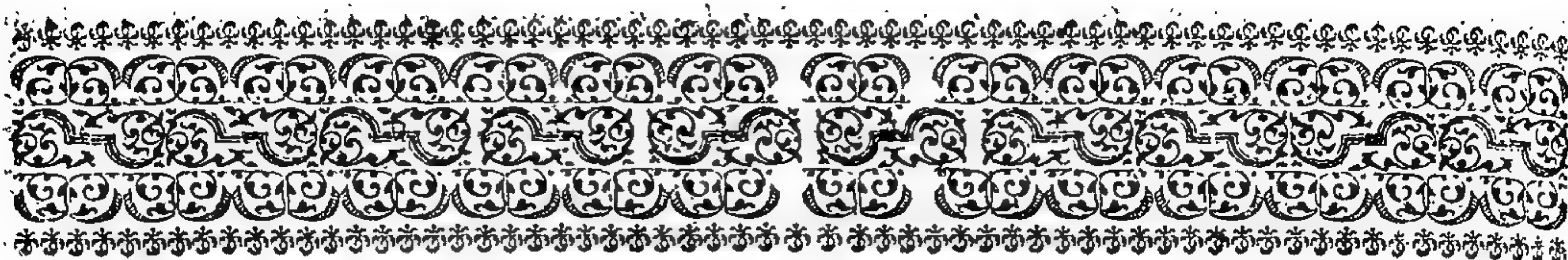
§ 9. HAVING in the Title of this Chapter promised to give some Account of the principal Orders of the *Jewish* Doctors, I find this almost done already, if once I had taken some Notice of their *Rabbins*, who seem to have had their Rise among the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* about the Time of our Saviour ; for our Lord reproves them, *Matth. xxiii. 6, 7. Because they loved the uppermost rooms in feasts, the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.* When Knowledge and Virtue sunk in this Nation, then their Teachers carried their Vanity further than their Neighbours ; they would be called *Rabbi*, and *Rabboni* ; which last Title distinguished them from the ignorant Vulgar, importing a Master invested with absolute Authority ; and there is something in it that expresseth the Power of God. Hence *Mary Magdalen*, when our Lord had given such an illustrious Proof of his Divinity, by his Resurrection from the Dead, calls him *Rabboni*, *John xx. 16.* The *Jews* have since turned the Title of *Rabbin*, and traversed it every Way, and at last have given it up to the learned in general, to take this or the like Title, suitable to the Taste and Genius of the Nation wherein they lived. The Eastern Captives at *Babylon* assumed the Title of *Rabba*, *Raf*, or *Rau* ; which seems peculiar to the *Babylonian* Doctors, while these at *Jerusalem* were called *Ribbi*. But the Orientals changed afterwards, usurping the Title of *Mar* or *Mor*, signifying Lord. This they did, because the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians* used this Name to Princes, and they had the same Custom at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Hence we understand the Word of the Apostle *1 Cor. xvi. 22. Maranatha, the coming of the Lord.* The Doctors of *Judea* were commonly called *Rabbi* or *Ribbi*. *Hillel*, who flourished there with great Reputation, received the Title of *Rabban*. They who boasted of their Descent from the House of *David* distinguished themselves by the Name of *Rabana*, which is needful to be known by such as study these Authors. The *Spanish* Doctors assumed the Title of *Wise* ; yea some of them, who would imitate the Pride of their Country, took the Title of *Dom*. The Office of the *Rabbin* consists in preaching in the Synagogues, explaining the Law, resolving all Cases of Conscience about which they were consulted, saying Prayers and instructing Youth. They had the Power of binding and loosing (a), that is of declaring what is allowed or forbidden. When the Synagogue is poor and small, it hath but one *Rabbin*, who discharges at once the Functions of Judge and Doctor, hath the Care of the Poor belonging to that Synagogue, and of deciding Differences. But where the *Jews* are numerous and rich in one Place, there they appoint three Pastors, and a House of Judgment, where all Decisions are made, and the Instruction is only reserved for the *Rabbin* ; but if it be thought fit to bring him into the Council, then he takes the chiefest Place. They have also a Power to create new Doctors, which was formerly done by the Princes of the Captivity in the East : But now the *Rabbins* lay their Hands upon their Disciples. They are often despised by the People ; but they take all Care to set off their own Authority, asserting, that a Man cannot break their Law without incurring Death ; and that no *Rabbin* shall be damned like the rest of the World. Their Writings are in high Esteem, especially if they be ancient ; for with them Time is more venerable than Merit, in which they are not singular. In their Synagogues they have some Commentaries called *Midrashim*, which are not so ancient as they pretend ; for the *Gemara* is there cited, consequently the same cannot be before the sixth Century of the Christian Era. The like may be said of other of their Authors.

Tho' the modern *Jews* have neither Temples, Altars nor Sacrifices, yet they have Sacrificers and Priests : But the principal Function of their Office having ceased for a great many Ages, 'tis easy to conceive they are much degenerated, now when they have no Sacrifices. However the First-born are ransomed ; but the *Jews* being seldom Possessors of Lands and Flocks, they very seldom pay the Priests any Tithes. Only they have the Precedency in reading the Law in the Synagogues ; for the Priest always reads first, the *Levite* next ; and upon their Failure the *Israelites*, if the Priest don't happen to be so ignorant as he cannot read : But when he can, the wisest and most learned of the *Israelites* is obliged to yield him that Honour. He also gives the Blessing to the People at the End of the Service ; which shews that they still retain some respect to the Office, whose Succession is so uncertain. 'Tis probable that they are sometimes chosen to be Doctors, and may pretend to any Office in the Synagogue, when they are capable of discharging it. Each Synagogue has three *Parnassim*, who are Deacons, whose Province is to collect the Alms, and distribute

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(a) Talmud in *Palachim* Fol. 87.

tribute them to the People ; and they have also an Interpreter ; which Office became necessary at the Return from the Captivity, because the People having lost the Use of the Hebrew Tongue, Ezra was obliged to interpret Line by Line all that was read in Publick. So far concerning the Jewish Doctors, and Heads of the Captivity.



C H A P. VII.

Of the Religion, Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews.

I Shall not now go upon the several Opinions which the modern Jews maintain concerning the important Articles of Religion ; some of these may be afterwards considered when we come to discourse of promoting their Conversion to Christianity ; But in the mean Time shall give the Confession of their Faith, and proceed to their Rites and Ceremonies.

§ 1. THE modern Jews commonly reckon thirteen Articles of their Faith. Maimonides, called also Rambam, that is to say, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, or Rabbi Moses the Egyptian, the most learned and least superstitious of all the Jews, about the End of the Eleventh Century of the Christian *Æra*, when he drew their Confession, reduced the Articles thereof to that Number, inserting them in his Exposition of the *Mishna*, Chapter *Helech*, of the Tract *Sanhedrim* ; and the same is received by all this Nation without Contradiction (a). A Commentary hath been added to them. We shall here insert the Confession, and add some of the Explications that are tacked to it in the *Bomberg Bible*, that we may have a general Notion of the Jewish Religion (b). Article. 1. I believe that there is one God Creator of all things, the first Cause of all Beings, who can subsist independent of the World, but nothing can subsist without him. The Commentary adds, That whatsoever he hath created shall return to its primitive Nothing, by his good Pleasure, but that his Essence shall noways be altered. Art. II. That this God the Creator is one Indivisible, and has such an Unity as differs from all other Unities. The Commentator adds, That he is not a Being which comprehends any different Genus under it, as a Being that may be divided into different Parts, as a Body capable of Addition or Diminution. His Unity is absolute and perfect, no other Essence can be compared to it. Art. III. That God is incorporeal, and that no corporeal Quality can possibly be imagined to be in him. The Commentator says, God can neither go, nor stop, nor speak, &c. and that the Scriptures only ascribe to him these corporeal Actions, to comply with the mean Capacity of Mankind. Art. IV. God was from Eternity, and that every thing besides him had its Beginning in Time. Art. V. He is the only Object of Worship, and that no other may be adored or observed either as Mediators or Intercessors. The Commentary observes, That to remove all Idolatry, which is condemned by the Law and the whole Scripture, neither Angel nor Saint, nor Planet, nor any Creature ought to be worshipped ; and that no Mediator or Solicitors between God and Man ought to be set up. Art. VI. That there have been, and may be again, Persons disposed for receiving the divine Influence, that is, Prophets. Art. VII. That Moses was a greater Prophet, and was endowed with a different and higher Degree of Prophecy than all others. Art. VIII. That the Laws which Moses has left, were all of them dictated by God, and that Moses put not one Syllable of himself : And also, that the Explication of these Precepts which they hold by Tradition, came all out of the Mouth of God to Moses. Art. IX. This Law is immutable, and that there may be nothing either added to it or taken from it. X. That God knows and has regard to all humane Actions. XI. That God rewards all those who observe his Law, and punishes all those who transgress it ; and that the greatest Reward is in the

(a) Leo de Modena, of the present Jews, part 5. cap. 13. p. m. 236, — 240. (b) Vide Buxtorffii Synagogam Jud. cap. 1. Basnage Hist of the Jews, Book 4. cap. 1. p. m. 273.

the World to come, and that the Damnation of the Soul is the greatest Punishment. Art. XII. That there shall come a Messias, who shall be more worthy than all the Kings that were in the World before him; and tho' he defers his coming, yet it may not be doubted but he will come; nor may any one prefix a Time for his coming, nor endeavour to gather the Time of it out of the Scriptures: Besides they believe that there is never more to be a King in Israel who is not of the Race of David and Solomon. Art. XIII. That God will raise the Dead. Blessed and glorified eternally be Name of the Creator. The Commentator concludes with these Remarks, That whosoever embraceth these fundamental Articles of Faith, ought to be looked on as a Jew, and to be loved and pitied as such: That if he is guilty of these Sins that flow from natural Corruption, or the Impetuosity of the Passions, God will punish him in this World, yet he shall obtain eternal Life: And whosoever rejects any of these fundamental Articles, plucks up what God hath planted, deserves to be cast out of the Congregation, and abhorred as an Epicurean. I shall not here make any Reflexions on this Confession, nor shew how it is levelled against the Christian Religion; in order to settle the Respect which the Jews have for Moses, but shall now proceed to consider their Rites and Ceremonies.

§ 2. I begin with the Sanhedrim. Every body knows the Origin thereof, that Moses being overcharged with judging all the Causes of six hundred thousand Men, did by divine Direction, and at the Motion of Jethro his Father-in-law, commit that Trust to seventy Elders (a), who made up the Great Sanhedrim. But it cannot be said that this Tribunal still continued after the Death of Moses; for in after Times there is no mention of this grand Council. Joshua governed after this great Lawgiver's Death with great Authority, and in many important Affairs he called for the Assistance of the Elders of the Nation; but even this shews that at that Time there was no constant sitting Council. After Joshua's Death God raised up Judges, whom he endowed with extraordinary Courage and Understanding; but we find not that ever they consulted the Sanhedrim. Neither does Nehemiah nor Ezra mention the restoring of this Court. Nehemiah caused a Covenant between God and the People to be signed, but no mention of the Sanhedrim. If we look to the Times of the Maccabees, we'll find that Court restored by Judas Maccabæus, or rather by Jonathan his Brother (b). There we may notice Jonathan elected to be General by the Votes of his Friends sitting in Council. He called the People several Times together, and by their Advice and Consent refused the Offers of Demetrius (c). When he sent Letters to the Lacedæmonians, to procure an Alliance with that Republick, he wrote in the Name of the Senate, the High-priest and People. There is a Senate (d), and an High-priest at the Head of it. The Meeting was made up of Priests and Laymen; and as they made choice of those that were distinguished for their Learning in the Law, they must have had a Right to sit therein. Thus the Evangelist Luke (e) observes, that when the Apostle Paul was brought before the Sanhedrim, the Scribes who were there, with the Pharisees and Sadducees, declared for him, saying, We find no evil in this man. They had their Vote in the Senate, since they declared for the Apostle. As to the Constitution of this Judicatory, Examination was made of the Age, Manners, Trade and Profession of those who were admitted Members of so venerable a Body: Gamesters, Usurers, such as taught Pigeons to fly, were not admitted: Eunuchs, old Men, and those who had no Children were also rejected; lest they should prove cruel and hard-hearted. There were three Secretaries elected; one, to write the Sentence of those who were absolved; another, to draw up the Condemnation of such as were to be punished; and the third was to enter into the Books the Pleas of contending Parties. Besides, they had three different Classes of Candidates to be instructed; and in case of Variance, the Place was immediately given to the Senior.

The ancient Jewish Church never pretended to Infallibility for their Sanhedrim; their condemning our Saviour should make all Christians reject such an Opinion with Abhorrence: And it is but a wretched Notion of some Papists, to transfer such an imaginary Prerogative to the See of Rome. The Jewish Sanhedrim without doubt had a Power of Life and Death before Judea was subdued by the Romans; but when Pompey overtame their Country, they lost their Privileges; and it fared still worse with them when Judea was reduced to the Form of a Roman Province, after the Banishment of Archelaus: So that at the Time when our Saviour was condemned, the Romans had all the temporal Power, and the Jews only a Shadow of Jurisdiction in spiritual Matters. They prosecuted our Lord to Death, but durst not pronounce the Sentence; for they owned (f), It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. It was Pilate, the Roman Deputy, who condemned him, even the same Pilate who had before mingled the Blood of the Galilæans with their Sacrifices (g). Fadus, another Roman Deputy, having cleared the Province of Highwaymen, put to Death Ptolemy the chief of the Gang, and punished Eleazar and his Accomplices without ever consulting the Sanhedrim (h). Our Lord foretold to his Disciples, that they would be scourged in the synagogues, and brought before governors

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(a) Exod. xviii. 12 — 26. Numb. xi. 16, 17. (b) 1 Maccab. ix. 28, — 30. (c) Ibid. x. 46. (d) Ibid. xii. 6. (e) Acts, xxiii. 9. (f) John, xviii. 31. (g) Luke, xiii. 1. (h) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 4.

governors and kings (a); where he distinguishes the Degrees of Persecution. The Jews had Power to inflict Flagellation or Scourging on those that violated the Law; but when they designed to make a more severe Example, then they made Application to the Governors of the Provinces, who had the Exercise of Power in their Hands, and delivered the innocent Christians up to suffer a greater Punishment. Thus they pursued the Apostle Paul before the Roman Governor; but he appealed to Cæsar (b), and was remitted to Rome, there to abide his Trial. As to the Martyrdom of Stephen, it was done in a Tumult, without a legal Process. While he was pleading his Cause, the furious Mob rushed in (c), and dragged him out of the Town, and stoned him to Death.

The Sanhedrim being brought to nought by the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the Dispersion of that Nation, it was scarce possible to preserve the Authority of that Court in so general a Calamity. But when the Jews began to breathe again in every City where they were dispersed, they re-established some Courts to determine Cases of Conscience and Controversies, particularly at Tiberias, where they first lifted up their Head. The Jewish Doctors proportioned the Number of Judges to the Importance of the Questions to be decided by them, maintaining that Pecuniary Mulcts, Cases about Intercalations, and defamatory Causes may be judged by three Persons; but the Crimes that deserve Death can only be cognosed by twenty-three Judges (d); and more weighty Concerns are to be carried to the Council of seventy-one. A false Prophet cannot be arraigned before any other Judicatory.

§ 3. THERE is little Account of the Jewish Synagogues in the Old Testament, only Asaph (e) complains that *they have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land*: The Hebrew Word in that Text *Col moadbe-el*, may signify all the Assemblies of God, seeming to point at the Desolation made at the Time of the Babylonish Captivity. Before this, private Persons made their Prayers to God in their own Houses, where they had Places set apart for that Exercise. It was generally on the Top of the House that the Family and their Friends met together to read some Portion of the Law on the Sabbath Day; but when there was any Prophet in the City, devout People assembled at his House, as appears by the *Shunamite*, who was asked by her Husband the Reason of her going to the Man of God, since it was neither new Moon nor Sabbath (f), these being the usual Times when they resorted to the Prophets for Instruction. People who were rich kept sometimes a Levite in their House to resolve their Doubts; others made use of the Prophets or Levites as they travelled thro' the Country; thus the *Shunamite* had a Chamber for *Elisha*. After their Doctors had added their Traditions and Commentaries to the Law, the Ministry of Interpreters became more necessary, because these Traditions being unwritten, the Number of Interpretations daily entreated, and therefore convenient Places were made choice of, that the People might meet and be instructed. Hence, and from the Hebrew Tongue's becoming a dead Language, which needed an Interpreter, their Synagogues encreased very considerably, so as there were reckoned four hundred and sixty of them in Jerusalem before the Destruction of that City. In these Synagogues the Jews have a Cup-board, in which they lock up the five Books of Moses: This was a Memorial of the Ark wherein the Law was kept. In the middle of the Synagogue there is a Desk or Pulpit where the Rolls were brought, whence a Portion of the Law was read three Times a Week, and the Reader puts a Veil on his Face at the Time he was performing the Holy Office. But I have discoursed more fully of the Jewish Synagogue (g) in another Part of this Work; and therefore I now go to another Point.

§ 4. THE Multiplicity of Laws, and the Contradiction of Doctors rendered Academies more necessary. The Jews make Adam their first Schoolmaster, and tell that Enos, under whom many gathered together to call on the Name of the Lord, Gen. iv. 26. taught these of his Communion their Catechism and Religion: That Noah wrote a History of the Creation, and many of the Patriarchs taught Schools (h): That Joshua founded in the Land of Canaan *Kiriath-Sepher*, or the City of Books, which looks like an Academy where there was a Library. But leaving these Things as wanting a solid Foundation, it is more certain that in Samuel's Time there was a Company or School of the Prophets (i), and that their Prefect or President is called their Father (k); and since the sacred Scriptures do not mention them till his Time, we may venture to conclude that he was the Founder of them, or at least that they were not long before him. It is not to be imagined that all these who frequented these Schools became inspired Men, or were able to foretel Things to come; it is more likely that there the Prophets trained up Youth by teaching them to explain the Law, and to serve God by a frequent Practice of Devotion. In Abah's Time we may observe that Obadiab took an hundred Prophets, and hid them by fifty in a Cave (l), and the Sons of the Prophets are frequently mentioned (m); there seems to have been a School of them at Bethel, and another at Jericho. In the Time of Elisha, we find these Sons of the Prophets complaining that they were too much strait-

(a) Matth. x. 17, 18. (b) Acts, xxv. 11. (c) Act. vii. 58, 59. (d) Mishnah tract. de Synodis p. 288. (e) Psalm lxxiv. 8. (f) 2 Kings, iv. 33. (g) Above, p. 256. (h) See Isaac Abendana, Policy of the Jews, chap. v. of their Schools. (i) 1 Sam. x. 5. (k) Ibid. x. 24. (l) 1 Kings, xviii. 4. (m) 2 Kings, ii. 2. 1 Kings, v. 22.

straitned in the Places where they lived, and begging Leave of him to go to the Banks of *Jordan*, and make a Place where they might dwell (a). Some of them became Prophets, but God did not fix his Inspiration to Men educated in these Schools; few of the Prophets whose Writings are on Record, did proceed from them. The Lord revived the Lustre of the Spirit of Prophecy, by the Miracles and glorious Acts of *Elijah* and *Elisha*, and raised up many others from time to time to foretell the Coming of the *Messiah*, to awaken People with Desires after him, and to be Witnesses for his Name against the Degeneracy of the *Israelitish* Nation. In the Days of our Saviour the *Jews* taught in the Temple, where our Lord disputed with the Doctors (b). They had also Schools in other Places; for *Paul* was brought up at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, that is in the School where he taught. They had afterwards Academies set up at *Japhne* and *Tiberias*, which we have taken Notice of in the former Chapter, when speaking of the Patriarchs, and we may again meet with them in the Progress of this History. Their Doctors and Academies are now more scarce, and the Profession less profitable, and therefore they don't now affect those Titles, as when the same were more honourable and beneficial.

§ 5. I go next to consider the *Profelytes*: Of these there were two Sorts, first the *Profelytes of the Gate*, who were Strangers both by Birth and by Religion, but not by Affection, called in Scripture the *stranger that is within thy gates* (c). He dwelt peaceably among the *Israelites*, and was only obliged to observe the seven Precepts of *Noah*, which were, not to commit Idolatry, to bless the Name of God, to beware of Adultery and Incest, to commit no Murder nor Theft, to do justly, not to eat Blood, nor the Flesh of any Creature hurt by an Animal yet alive. The second Sort were the *Profelytes of Righteousness*, who were Strangers by Birth, but neither by Religion nor Affection; and are called in the *New Testament* (d) simply *Profelytes*. Of their Number 'tis supposed were *Naaman* the Syrian, *Araunah* the *Jebusite*, *Cornelius*, and the Eunuch belonging to Queen *Candace*; also these Women, *Zipporah* the Wife of *Moses*, *Joseph's* Wife, the two Midwives in *Egypt*, *Rahab*, *Ruth*, *Jael*, &c. Before a *Jew* received a Gentile to the Number of such *Profelytes*, they examined the Sincerity of his Conversion, lest Fear, Interest or Ambition had occasioned it; then they taught him several Articles of Religion, as what regarded the Unity of God, the Impiety of Idolaters, the Recompence of Virtue, the Punishment of Vice, and the like: After this he was admitted to Circumcision, to a Sort of Baptism, and to present his Sacrifice to be offered. Some Authors observe (e) several remarkable Periods for admitting *Profelytes*; as First, Upon the *Jews* coming out of *Egypt*, at which Time *Jethro*, Father-in-law to *Moses*, is said to have been admitted; and a great Number of *Egyptians* astonished at *Moses's* Miracles, or driven to it by Necessity, joined with the *Israelites*. Secondly, In the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, *Maimonides* affirms that these Princes admitted no *Profelytes*, because it was to be feared that the Prosperity of their Reigns rather than Love to Religion might draw Strangers to embrace the Way of the *Jews*; and therefore *Solomon* built no Porch for the Gentiles, and *Ezekiel* did not measure it: But this is disputed by *Villalpand*, who finds out mysterious Reasons for *Ezekiel's* not measuring the Outer-court (f); but it is mentioned *Revel. xi. 2*. Thirdly, during the Captivity, the *Jews* being spread among the *Medes* and *Chaldeans*, where being mingled with Idolaters, especially after *Alexander* the Great's Conquests, they were not only obliged to submit to him, but also to the King's of *Syria* and *Egypt* who succeeded him: This made them more soft and easy to the Gentiles, whom before they looked upon with Scorn. Yea, some *Profelytes*, at least such as were born of a *Jewish* Mother, were admitted to considerable Employments in *Judea*, as *Abtalion* and *Schemai*, who are said to have been Presidents of the Council. *Josephus* tells us, that great Care was taken to send the Genealogies of *Profelytes* from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, and also of those who were married to Strangers: But this only concerned the Priests; for Laymen, tho' descended of Pagans, were admitted to several Offices, tho' certainly it was more glorious among them to be an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, that is descended of *Jewish* Parents, both on the Father and Mother's Side, of which the Apostle *Paul* tells (g), he might boast if he pleased. Fourthly, At the Beginning of Christianity the *Pharisees* compassed Sea and Land to make *Profelytes*; but this was only for strengthening their own Party; for made them twofold more Children of Hell than themselves (h). We may also observe, that when Christianity had made some Progress in the World, *Cornelius* the Centurion, who had been used to worship the true God in *Judea*, embraced our Religion (i); and also many *Jewish* *Profelytes* from *Asia*, *Egypt*, and other Places (k), were converted by the Doctrine and Miracles of the Holy Apostles, and they not only continued zealous Christians, but also contributed to the Conversion of Infidels; and these were the first Fruits of the general Conversion of this Nation, which shall be accomplished before the End of the World.

§ 6. I am next to consider the Rites of the *Jewish Circumcision*. The Lord appointed

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(a) 2 Kings, vi. 1, 2. (b) Luke, ii. 46. (c) Deut. xiv. 21. (d) Acts, ii. 10. (e) Basnage, hist. of Jews, Book 5. chap. 6. p. 416. (f) Villalpandus in Ezekiemo, lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 206. & p. 226. Tom. 2. (g) Phil. iii. 5. (h) Math. xxiii. 15. (i) Acts, x. (k) Acts, ii. 10, 41. Acts, xiii. 43.

that every Man-child of the Seed of *Abraham* should be circumcised (a); and the Patriarch himself, when he was ninety nine Years old, received this Seal of the Covenant, which was a Seal of the Righteousness by Faith. But I am not now to speak of Circumcision under the *Old Testament*, which hath been already (b) done, but only to explain the Rites which the modern *Jews* make use of in administering this Ordinance. *Leo of Modena* (c), a learned *Jew*, gives us the following Account of this Matter: *The Jews, when they circumcise, may not perform the Ceremony before the eighth Day; but if the Child be weak, they defer it till he is recovered. The Night before the Circumcision is called the Watching-night, because those that belong to the House watch all Night, to look after the Child; and that Evening the Father's Friends come and visit him, and the Women go to the Mother, and spend the Evening in Merriment and making good Cheer. They are provided before-hand of a Godfather, who is to hold the Child while he is circumcised, and a Godmother, who carries him from the House to the Synagogue, and back again: These for the most part are Relations of the Father and Mother. They also make choice of a Circumciser, whom they call Mohel, which may be whom they please, provided he is expert in the Business. They reckon it a Matter of the greatest Merit; and if the Father be one, he may circumcise his own Child himself. In the Morning they set, either in the Synagogue, or else in the House, if they design to circumcise there, two Chairs with Silk Cushions, one for the Godfather while he holds the Child to be circumcised, the other (some say) is for the Prophet Elias, whom they believe to be invisibly present, as having been jealous of the Observation of the Covenant of Israel, as we read in the first Book of the Kings. There are a great many People present, and the Circumciser comes with a Charger, in which are his Instruments, as the Razor, astringent Powders, Lint, and Oyl of Roses. Some use to get a Dish with Sand in it, in which they put the Foreskin that is cut off. They sing some Hymn, till the Godmother, accompanied with some Women, bring the Child in her Arms, whom she delivers at the Door of the Synagogue to the Godfather, and then all that are present cry out, Baruch Aba, that is, Welcome. When the Godfather takes his Seat, and places the Child upon his Knees, and the Circumciser unswadles him, (and some make use of silver Pincers to take up so much of the Foreskin as they design to cut off) the Circumciser takes his Razor, and says, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast enjoined us Circumcision," and cuts off the thicker Skin of the Prepuce, and then with his Thumb-nails tears the thinner Skin which remains. In the mean time the Father gives Thanks to God for this Precept, and the Standers by pray, "That as he had lived to see him circumcised, so he might live to see him married." The Circumciser goes on, and sucks two or three Times the Blood which flows plentifully from the Wound, and puts it into a Cup of Wine. Then he puts upon the Wound the Herb Dragons Blood, Powder of Coral, and other things good to stanch Blood, and Lint dipped in Oyl of Roses, and binds it up close. After this he takes a Cup of Wine, and having blessed it, he says another Blessing for the Child, and gives him such a Name as the Father orders, saying these Words in Ezekiel xvi. I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live, and at the same time wets the mouth of the Child with the Wine which he spat the Blood into that he had sucked out of the Wound. Last of all they say the whole 128th Psalm. This done, the Godfather returns the Child to the Godmother, and they all tell the Father that they hope to see his Son married too, and then they go home. Afterwards the Circumciser sends Sweet-meats or some other Present to the lying-in Woman; and if the Parents of the Child are poor People, they send them Money. That Morning the Father of the Child makes an Entertainment, and treats the Circumciser, Godfather and Godmother, the Relations and Friends, in the best Manner he is able. After Dinner they add to the other Benedictions some Prayers for the Child, that he may be great and prosperous, and one that fears God. The Child is soon cured of his Wound received by Circumcision, at most in twenty four Hours. When a Girl is born, they use no Ceremony, only that at the Beginning of the Month, when the Mother is got up and goes to the Synagogue, the Chaunter blesses the Girl, and gives her such a Name as the Father pleaseth. — If a Child dies uncircumcised before he be eight Days old, some use to circumcise it with a Reed before they bury it.*

We may also observe, That the Circumciser is obliged to keep a Register of the Names of these he hath circumcised; the Names of the Father and Child, of the Godfather and Godmother are interwoven in the Record, with some Texts of Scripture. The modern *Jews*, when a Child is to be born, write upon the Chamber Doors, upon the Walls, and about the Bed these Words, *Adam, Eva, Chuts Lilit*, that is, *Adam, Eve, away hence Lilit*; which is a kind of Prayer to God, that if he gives a Daughter, she may resemble *Eve* rather than *Lilit*; and if a Son be born, that he may marry a Wife that's not stubborn nor wicked as *Lilit*, but obedient and gentle like *Eve*; for they tell that *Adam's* first Wife called *Lilit* was very stubborn and disobedient, a mere Scold; but *Adam*, by the Name *Jehovah*, made her fly away into the Air, and upon her refusing to return, he got *Eve*, who was more obedient (d); and the like

(a) Gen. xvii. 10, 24. Rom. iv. 11. (b) Above, p. 52, 53. (c) Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 4. chap. 8. p. 193 & seqq. (d) Buxtorff Synagoga, cap. 2. p. m. 70, — 73.

like *Talmudical* Stories they tell upon every Occasion. The Mother, after Child-bearing, whether she hath born Male or Female, must be purified forty Days before she can converse with her Husband, and after that washed in cold Water.

§ 7. THE Manner of solemnizing the *paschal Solemnity*, while the *Jewish* OEconomy remained in its Vigour, is plain from the *Old Testament*; but the modern *Jews* having neither Temple, Altars nor Sacrifices, nor Liberty to kill the paschal Lamb, have changed their Rites. Their present Customs upon this Occasion appear from *Leo de Modena*, who tells us (a), "The first Day of the Feast of the Passover, called in *Hebrew* *Pesach*, which is observed in Commemoration of their going out of *Egypt*, is on the 15th Day of the Month *Nisan*; which for most Part answers to *April*. It is commanded to be kept a Week, but those who are remote from *Jerusalem* make eight Days of it. The two first Days, and the two last, are kept as a solemn Feast, and on these Days they may not work, nor do any Business; but they keep them in a manner as strict as the Sabbath, only they may meddle with the Fire, and dress Meat, and carry Things from one Place to another; as for these four Days in the Middle, they are only forbidden to work, but they may handle Money. During these eight Days, they are forbidden to eat, or keep in their House, any Bread that is raised or leavened, but are obliged to eat unleavened Bread only; upon which Account they begin the Passover with the utmost Diligence, removing every Thing that had in it raised or leavened Paste, searching diligently their Cup-board s, and taking care to clean the House and whiten it, and providing Utensils for the Kitchen all new, or else of Metal new cast and scowred, or such as are kept from Year to Year for the Use of the Passover only. The Evening before the Vigil of the Feast, the Master of the House goes and searches all about the House, to see if he can find any where any leavened Bread. About the fifth Hour of the next Day, they burn some Bread, in token that the Prohibition of eating leavened Bread now begins to be in Force; which Action is accompanied with certain Words, signifying they have removed all Leaven out of their Houses to the utmost of their Power; immediately after, they set about making so many unleavened Cakes, which they call *Mazzod*, as shall last them all these eight Days, taking great Care of their Meal, from the Time that it comes from the Mill, that it be not wet nor heated, for Fear it should rise they knead it with Water only, and make it into flat Cakes of several Shapes, bake it, and then lay it up with great Nicety. The first-born of every Family use to fast the Passover-eve, which is the 14th of *Nisan*, in Remembrance that the Night following God smote all the first-born of *Egypt*. At Night they go to Prayers, and when they come home, they sit down at the Table, which every one takes Care to furnish in the Day-time; and instead of the Ceremony formerly observed, of eating the paschal Lamb, as is written *Exod. xii.* they have in a Basin or little Basket, a Piece of Lamb or Kid and unleavened Cakes, and bitter Herbs, as Parsley, Endive or Lettice, with a little Sawcer of Pickle for Sawce, in Memory of the Chalk and Bricks which their Fore-fathers wrought in, when they were in *Egypt*, and holding Cups of Wine in their Hands, they repete the *Hagada*, which contains a Repetition of the Miseries they suffered, and the Miracles God wrought for their Deliverance. Then they praise God for all the Benefits they have received, and say the cxlii. with the following *Psalms*, to the cxix. which they call *Hallel*, because they begin with *Hallelujah*. When they have made an End of these, with other Thanksgivings proper to the Day, they go to Bed, and next Evening do the same. The Morning-prayers are the same which are used on all other Feasts; only they add something proper to the present Occasion, with the aforesaid *Psalms*; then they take out the Pentateuch, five Persons read *Exod. xii.* with the Institution of the Sacrifices offered at the Passover *Numb. xxviii.* Afterwards they read the Prayer *Musaf*, and out of the Prophets they read the *Astara*. The same is done the two last Days, only the same Things are not done at the Table, the last two Evenings, as were done the two first. They conclude this Feast with the Ceremony called *Habdala*, used at the End of the Sabbath, with Words only, and without the Ceremony of Smelling to any sweet Spices, and then they return to the eating of leavened Bread." Thus far *Leo de Modena*. The *Jews* regard this Sacrament as everlasting, as peculiar to their Nation, and to those who have received Circumcision. But notwithstanding all their Rites, they neither observe it conform to the Law of *Moses*: For they have no Sacrifice; nor do they serve up the Lamb wholly roasted; nor do they use the same *Psalms* and Prayers; nor do they understand the true Meaning of the Service to signify *Christ our Passover sacrificed for us*.

§ 8. The *Jewish* Feast of the Passover was always celebrated on the fourteenth Day of the Month *Nisan*, after the vernal Equinox, when the Moon was full. God himself gave this Law; for when the People came out of *Egypt*, he appointed *Nisan*, which corresponds with Part of our *March* and *April*, to be the first of the Year, that the Deliverance of his People might be exactly remembred; but this related only to the Feasts of the Church. The Months being Lunar, to make them quadrate with the Course of the Sun, some Intercalations were necessary. To understand this Matter, and the Time of observing

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(a) Ceremonies of the Jews, part 3. cap. 3.

the Jewish Festivals we are now to explain, it may be proper a little to consider the Jewish Hours, Days, Months, and Years. I begin with their *Hours*. We are so accustomed to divide Night and Day by equal Hours, as we are apt to think it was never otherwise; meantime 'tis certain that the politest Nations were for a long Time ignorant of this Art. The learned *Salmasius* asserts, That the Division of Hours by Dials began to be first known among the Greeks only a little before the Time of *Alexander* the Great, because neither the comical Poets nor Philosophers speak of Hours, but to signify Seasons. But 'tis probable the Greeks knew this Art sooner; for *Herodotus*, who lived in the Reign of *Xerxes* the Persian tells (a), That the Greeks took the Use of Dials from the Babylonians, dividing the Day into twelve Parts. *Xenophon* also who was with *Cyrus* the younger in his Expedition into Persia says (b), The luminous Sun discovers the Hours of the Day unto us. As to the Romans, they knew nothing of Hours and Dials till the first Punic War; then *Messala* the Consul returning from Sicily, after the taking of *Catana* (c), brought a Dial to Rome, and set it up in a publick Place about the Year of that City 491, before the Birth of Christ 262 Years. In more ancient Times they measured the Hours by the Distance of Feet in the Shadow of the Sun to the Body. But the Jews had the Use of Hours and Dials long before they were known in Greece or at Rome; for both *Herodote* and *Pliny* (d) own, that these came from Chaldaea and the East, first into Greece, and after that to Rome; and we find express mention of the Dial of *Abaz*, 2 Kings xx. 10, 11. Now *Abaz* flourished in the Year of the World 3209, about 741 Years before the Birth of Christ, and 250 Years before the Time *Herodote* speaks of. But then, and long after that the Jewish Hours were not equal; for they still reckoned twelve Hours to the Day, and as many to the Night; and therefore the Hours were shorter in Winter and longer in Summer, which occasioned a Multiplicity of Lines: And from this we may infer, That when the Sun did go down ten Degrees in *Abaz's* Dial, to assure *Hezekiah* of the Recovery of his Health, these Degrees might be only Lines denoting the Inequality of the Hours; which might be without prolonging the Day above an Hour or two; and this not being occasioned by any Conjunction in the Heavens, but by the over-ruling Hand of Providence, was not so considerable as to awaken the Curiosity of Neighbouring Nations to mind it: And since there are no Histories writ by Heathens at that Time now extant, we need not Question the Truth of the Fact, because they do not observe it. Mr. *Weyms* of *Lathocker* our Countryman says, That the Jews learned the Division of the Day into whole Hours from the Romans (e). This is a mere Conjecture, and nothing in the Gospel nor in History determines us to believe it; for there we find that the Jews counted the Hours from Sun-rising, and the Day was divided into four Parts, notified by Sound of Trumpet on solemn Feast-days, because at such Times they resumed their Devotions and sacred Exercises. The first of these four Portions was from six of the Clock till Nine, called the third Hour (f); and at this Hour Christ seems to have been indicted (g). The second Portion was from Nine to our Twelve at Noon, called the sixth Hour (h). The third was from our Twelve-a-clock to three Afternoon, called the ninth Hour (i): And the fourth Division was from three to six at Night, or Sun-set.

As to the Jewish Days, they were divided into three Sorts, first *natural*, which contains both Night and Day, beginning at Sun-set. Thus we read *Genesis*, i. v. The evening and the morning were the first day. They began this Day at Evening Sun-set, because of the New-moon; the Feast whereof was to be celebrated after seeing the Crescent or first Appearance. The modern Jews observe the same Custom, beginning the Celebration of their Feasts with the Evening. The second Sort was the *artificial* Day of twelve Hours, beginning at Sun-rising, and ending at his setting. Their Night was divided into three Watches (k), each consisting of four unequal Hours as their Day. At first they distinguished their Days of the Week by Number first, second, &c. but now they give them the ordinary Planetary Names, *Sunday*, *Monday* and the rest; only our *Friday* they call the Preparation; it being immediately before their *Sabbath*. Lastly, there is the prophetic Day, the Prophets being the only Persons who have named Days (l) for Years.

As to the Jewish Months, these were Lunar, which consisting only of twenty nine or thirty Days at most, their Year when made up of twelve Lunar Months, wanted eleven Days to make it equal with a solar Year consisting of 365 Days; and therefore they were obliged to intercalate one Month, which they called *Veadar*, that they might not celebrate the Passover, nor offer the first Fruits, but at their appointed Season. The Names of the Ecclesiastical Months among the Jews were, *Nisan*, *Iar*, *Sivan*, *Tamus*, *Ab*, *Elul*, *Tisri*, *Marchesvan*, *Kisleu*, *Thebeth*, *Sebat*, *Adar*. Their Correspondence with Months among us may be easily discovered, if we notice that the Jewish *Nisan* began with the 15th of our *March*, and their *Iar* with the 15th of our *April*, and so forward. But I shall not further enlarge upon the different Computations,

(a) Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 109. Πόλον ἡ γνώμονα ἡ τὰ δωδέκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς Βαβυλωνίων ἑμάθον Ἕλληνες.
(b) Xenophon memorabilium, lib. 4. p. m. 800. in Edit. Francof. 1596. (c) Plinii nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 60. (d) Locis citatis. (e) Of the judicial Law, p. 89. (f) Acts ii. 15. (g) Mark xv. 25. (h) Matth. xxvii. 45. (i) Ibidem: (k) Lament. ii. 19. Judg. vii. 19. Exod. xiv. 24. (l) Ezek. vii. 1.—6.

ons of their Months and Years, but rather remit the curious Reader to *Scaliger*, *Primate Usher*, *Petavius* and other learned Chronologers.

The *Jews* had a twofold Calculation of their Year, the Ecclesiastick Year began in *March*, or the first of *Nisan*, because then they came out of *Egypt*: From thence they reckoned their solemn Feasts; and from this frequently the Prophets took the Date of their Visions and Oracles. Their civil Year began with the *Jewish* Month *Tisri*, at the same Time with the fifteenth of our *September*, by Reason of an old Tradition that the World was created at that Time. From this Year they reckoned their *Jubilees*, dated all Contracts (*a*), noted the Birth of their Children, and the Reign of their Kings. 'Tis also said, That this Month was the Time of War, because the great Heats being over them, they went to the Field with more Courage and Safety. Thus some explain that Text 2 *Samuel* xi. 1. *At the time when kings go forth to battle*, that is, about our *September*, when the Heat of the Season begins to decline (*b*). Leaving this Subject,

§ 9. I go now to consider the Rites of the *Jewish Sabbath*. They have an exalted Notion of this Day, and are extremely afraid to violate the Rest thereof; for they say, he who breaks the Sabbath violates the whole Law, and undermines the Foundations of Religion. *Rabbi Joses* tells us, upon the Authority of *Simeon Jochabides*, That this Command was given in Secret to the People of *Israel*, to distinguish them from all the Nations of the World. Their Rest on the Sabbath begins on the *Friday* Evening, half an Hour before Sun-set; and all things forbidden are from that Time to be refrained. Their Women are obliged (*c*) to light a Lamp, which has six Wicks, or four at least, which lasts a good Part of the Night; and this is one of the Ceremonies they observe with great Exactness. The Poor must beg Oyl rather than want a Lamp burning in their Houses, because that's necessary for the Delight of the Sabbath, mentioned by the Prophet *Isaiah*. At the same Time they illuminate their Synagogues in Imitation of the ancient Temple; and the Doctors have laid down a great many Rules concerning Candles and Lamps. The Women are commissioned to light them for two Reasons. One is, because they are generally at Home, and know the precise Hour when the Sabbath begins. The other is mystical; for hereby they are put in Mind of the Sin of *Eve*, who after she had eaten the forbidden Fruit, took a Stick and beat her Husband, to oblige him to commit the same Crime; For, said she, *I must die; and am resolved thou shalt die with me*. *Adam* complained of this evil Treatment to God; for when he tells him, *She gave me of the Tree*, he meant a Blow with a Stick. The Sun seeing it, hid his Light, 'tis therefore necessary that the Women should light the Lamps they have extinguished, and that they should be charged with this, to expiate their Sin: For by doing it they perform a Work as meritorious, as if they lighted the golden Candlestick in the Temple. The Men go to the Synagogue to say their Prayers on *Friday* Evening, coming from it they bless one another, and wish each other a good Sabbath. At their Return they find the Table covered; there must be Salt upon it, two Loaves covered above and below, and a Cup of Wine. The Bread is thus wrapped in a Napkin, because it represents that which fell between two Dews, or because it is ashamed to appear before the Wine, which has the Honour to be first sanctified by Prayer. The Father of the Family first takes the Cup, blesseth it, giving Thanks to God who hath instituted the Sabbath in Memory of the Creation. They sing the twenty third *Psalms*; then he blesses the Bread, and distributes it to them all. Mean Time they steadily behold the lighted Lamps, to repair the Decays of their Eyes, weakned by the numerous Slips they have made in the Week. Having tasted the Wine, they cut the Bread and eat it, making merry. This is the first Repast of the three they are to make on the Sabbath, to exempt themselves from three great Evils, the Punishments of the *Messiah*, the War of *Gog* and *Magog*, and the Fire of Hell. The Morning following they rise later than usually, and go to the Synagogue, where they sing a great many *Psalms* and Prayers proper for the Celebration of the Sabbath, besides these used every Day. Then they take out the Pentateuch, and seven of them read the proper Section for the Day, with some Place in the Prophets suitable to that Lesson read out of the Law. The last Lesson is called *Astera*, and is for the most Part read by a Child (*d*), to exercise him. Then he who holds the Book in his Arms, lifts it up high, and gives a Blessing to all that are present. And after a solemn Blessing upon the Prince under whose Government they live, praying God preserve him in Peace and Quiet, and make him kind to the *Jewish* Nation, as 'tis said, *Jerem.* xxix. 7. they say another Prayer which they call *Musaf*, signifying *Addition*; in which are contained the Words which are used at the Sacrifice on the Sabbath in the Temple, and so they conclude. They have Sermons in some of the rich and powerful Synagogues commonly in the vulgar Tongue (but the Passages of the Scripture and Sentences of the Doctors are cited in *Hebrew*;) explaining to the People what they think fit

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(a) Vide Rabbi Ori *Calendarium Palæstinorum* apud Wechelum 1593. Seldenii *Calendarium Judaicum*. Isaaci Abarbanelis dissertationem de principio anni in Buxtorfii mantissa ad librum Cosmi, p. 431.—455. Isaac Abendana of the Policy of the Jews, cap. 6. of their Calendar. (b) Weyms of the judicial Law, p. 106. (c) Leo de Modena of the Customs of modern Jews, p. 109, 110. (d) Leo de Modena, Customs of Jews, part 3. cap. 1. p. 114.]

to let them know, as the Church of *Rome* doth. They generally raise useless Difficulties, which they explain by a strange Medley of Passages from the *Gemara*, which leaves the Mind of their most attentive Hearers in Darkness. When Evening is come, they return to the Synagogue again, where they add to their ordinary Prayers a Commemoration of the Sabbath, and the Beginning of the Lesson out of the Pentateuch for the following Week, read by three Persons. They make three Meals during the Sabbath, one upon *Friday* Evening, and two the next Day : In Honour of that Festival, they let the Cloth ly upon the Table all the Day long. When the Evening is come, so as they can see three Stars of the middle Magnitude, the Feast of the Sabbath is ended ; and they may do any Work as soon as Evening Prayer is begun : And because they hold that the Souls of the Damned in Hell and in Purgatory have rest on the Sabbath, which begins with the Evening Prayer on *Friday*, and ends with the same on *Saturday*, they prolong their Prayers with singing. Every one when he comes home lights a Torch or Lamp with two Wicks, at least takes a Cup of Wine in one Hand, and sweet smelling Spices in the other ; and thus repeats some Verses in the sacred Text, as *Psalms* cxvi. 13. or *Ester* viii. 16. Of these sweet Spices they tell that they were compounded of 368 different Aromatick Drugs, which the High-priest pounded in a Mortar. They find great Mysteries in the Number, and think that this Perfume is necessary to guard them from the ill Odour exhaled from Hell-fire, which begins to burn when the Sabbath Ends.

It would be too tedious to enlarge upon the superstitious Observances of the *Jewish* Sabbath : An entire Volume of the *Mishnah* contains most severe Rules for the Observation of this bodily Rest, while they have little Zeal for true Piety ; for which they have been long since taxed by *Rutilius* (a). In *Maimonides's* Time, in the Places where they had Liberty, they sounded the Trumpet six Times, to give notice that the Sabbath was beginning. At the first Sound the Countryman left his Plough, at the second they shut up their Shops, at the third they covered the Pits, &c. Some of them have continued twenty four Hours in the same Posture and Place where the Sun surpris'd him at his setting ; and tho' the sacred Scriptures allow a Sabbath-day's Journey, yet they have strangely limited it by their modern Doctors, raising Doubts about every Point. In the Time of the *Maccabees*, it was determined that they might resist an Enemy coming to destroy their Lives on the Sabbath, but afterwards they esteemed it unlawful to prepare Things necessary for their Defence on that Day ; which *Pompey* made his Advantage of, by preparing his Engines on that Day, that he might play them with more Violence on the following Days of the Week, which contributed very much to reduce the Place. 'Tis a known Story, that the *Jews* refused to take a Man out of a Privy into which he had fallen, for fear of violating the Sabbath ; and therefore the Bishop of the Place ordered him to remain there on the next Day, being the Christian Sabbath, and against the third Day he was dead. It is not lawful for a Woman to carry on that Day a sewing Needle, nor for a Man to have a Sword or a Bow, or even Shoes with Nails in them. Nor is it permitted to look into a Glass, lest the Women, being curious about their Dress, should observe a Hair ill placed, and so lift up their Hand to put it in Order. It is a great Crime to cut their Nails or bite them, to pluck off their Hairs, or paint themselves. However the Doctors distinguish, and allow the plucking off the Hair that is going to fall, or to cut a Nail that is cleft or divided. They make a Difference also of the Punishment ; for they stone him who plucks off his Nails with his Hand, but he deserves capital Punishment when he makes use of Scizers. It is not lawful to sign one's Name, or even to write two Letters. Many of these Superstitions may be seen in the *Mishnah* ; however they find Means to elude some Severities prescribed by their Doctors.

As to the other *Jewish* Festivals, an entire Volume in their *Talmud* is taken up in describing them. *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* in their Commentaries have added many Observations. Their Feasts are all consecrated to God Almighty, none of them to Heathen Deities, nor to Angels or Saints.

§ 10. THEIR Civil Year begins on the first of *Tisri*, or our *September*. Hence the first and second Days of that Month are a Festival, which they call *Ros-asana*, *The Head* or *the Beginning of the Year* (b), *Levit.* xxiii. All Manner of Work is forbidden, as in the Passover ; and because they have a Tradition, That on this Day God takes Cognisance of the Actions done the Year past, and disposes of the Events of the following Year, as if it being the World's Birth, God had a particular Regard to it. To avoid Condemnation, the Zealots spend the Month of *Elul* in Fasting and Acts of Repentance ; others dedicate the four last Days of that Month to that End, and especially the Eve of the New-year's Day. They both confess their Sins, and beat their Breasts as they sink in the bathing Water : At last they plunge Head and Ears, that they may appear clean all over in the Sight of God. Not satisfied with these Blows by the Fist, they give themselves thirty nine Lashes by way of Penance. Some go the next Day

(a) In *Itinerario*, lib. 1. ——— *Frigida Sabbata cordi, Sed cor frigidius religionē suā.* (b) *Leo de Modena*, *Ceremonies of modern Jews*, Part 3. Chap. 5.

Day to the Synagogue in the Habit they have chosen for their Burial, or else in white, which is an Emblem of Purity. Perhaps the *Papists* have derived their Vigils, their Whip-cord Discipline, and the Merit they pretend thereof, from these Practices. The Trumpet is sounded many Days before the End of the Year, to deafen the Devil, that he may not know how to accuse the *Jews*. It is sounded also the first Day of the Year, to advertise the People that God is coming to judge. In the Morning they go to the Synagogue, and make many Prayers. The rest of that Day is employed in hearing Sermons, or in some Acts of Devotion. Departing, they salute one another, saying, *Be thou written in a good Year*, and then go seat themselves at Table, and make merry; where, among other Dishes, they have the Head of a Ram (a), in memory of the Ram caught in the Thicket in the room of *Isaac*. In the mean time, they tell that God forms the Judgment in Heaven: He opens three Books; one for the Wicked, which is the Book of Death; another for the Righteous, which is the Book of Life; and a third for Men in a middle State, who are neither totally good nor bad. This they found on *Exod. xxxii. 32.* which doth not prove their Point.

§ 11. THE Feast of Propitiations, called *Chipur*, is celebrated nine Days, from the first to the tenth of their Month *Tisri*, and is look'd upon as one of the most beneficial Solemnities of the Nation, which receives then the Remission of Sins as the Fruits of Repentance. What were the Rites *Moses* appointed for the Feast of Expiation we see from the Law, *Levit. xxiii. 27; — 33.* But the modern *Jews* have quite forsaken these. Now they prepare themselves for this Feast by Prayers, and by the Sacrifice of a Cock. Taking one of these domestic Animals, they give him three Blows on the Head, saying, *This shall be my Ransom, to suffer the Death that I have deserved, and make my Expiation.* They wring his Neck, dash him against the Ground, thereby confessing they deserve to lose their Life; and boil him, because the Sinner deserves the Fire: Lastly, they throw the Cock's Intraills upon the Roof of the House, to expose them to the Ravens; which seize them, and carry them into the Desert, as they formerly sent thither the Goat *Azael*, loaden with the Sins of the People. A white Cock is preferable to that of any other Colour, because of its Purity. The Women take a Hen, and those who are with child sacrifice both a Cock and Hen (b). They formerly gave these sort of Victims to the Poor, to regale with; but the Poor complaining that they made them eat the Sins of the Rich, they changed it into Alms, reserving the sacrificed Cock to the Evening entertainment. *Leo of Modena* (c) affirms, that this Custom is laid aside both in the *Levant* and in *Italy*, as being superstitious, and not built upon any Foundation; but other *Jews* still use it. This Expiation being made, they go to the Burying-place, to pray God to pardon them in memory of Saints interred there. They throw themselves into the Water, to make an entire Ablution of their Sins: They prepare Lights for the next Day, and each one carries his own to the Synagogue. A great many of them clothe themselves in White, or in their Winding-sheet, and go bare-foot and bare-legged to the Synagogue, which on this Day is illuminated with a great many Lamps of Oyl and Wax Torches, where they say a great many penitential Prayers and Confessions. At Night, those who are at Variance with their Neighbour finds him out to ask his Pardon, and oblige him to be reconciled. Upon the first Refusal he takes three Witnesses; afterwards he brings ten (d), before whom he protests he has done his Duty, and that God can no longer lay this Sin to his Charge. They go to the Tombs of the Dead to ask their Pardon, when they had the Misfortune not to be reconciled to them while they lived; and this Satisfaction is made in Presence of ten Witnesses. They chuse one of their Friends, with whom they go into a Corner, and lash each other, repeting *Psal. lxxviii. 38.* which Verse containing thirteen Words, at each Word they give a Lash, and thrice repete it. When the Feast commenceth they go to the Synagogue; each lights his Candle, and sings Hymns with a loud Voice. If the Light be clear, Sins are forgiven; but if the Tallow or Wax run, they fear the Wrath of God, which produces Sighs and Tears. They enter early into the Synagogue, spend the Day in a severe Fast without Distinction after they are twelve Years of Age; they read a long Prayer, bring the Law and read that Part of it which relates to the Feast of Propitiations and Ceremony of *Azael*. At the End of the Day, the Rabbi gives the Blessing with the Elevation of his Hands, and the People hide their Face. When Night is come, so that they can see the Stars, they wind the same Horn which they used at the Beginning, to give notice that the Feast is ended, and in memory of the Jubilee, which began with the Propitiation. Lastly, they return home with Joy, imagining their Sins are pardoned, and change their Name, that they may deceive God, telling him, *I am another; 'tis not I that committed this Sin.* Mean time we may observe, that all these Ceremonies are vain and superstitious, while they neglect to betake themselves to the great propitiatory Sacrifice, the Blood of *Jesus Christ* that cleanseth from all Sin.

§ 12. THE Feast of *Pentecost* is one of the most solemn, *Deut. xvi. 9, 10. Levit. xxiii. 15.*

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(a) Buxtorfii Synagoga, cap. 19. p. m. 352. (b) Ibid. cap. 20. p. 356. & cap. 21. (c) Ceremonies of the modern Jews, Part 3. Chap. 6. p. 141. (d) Maimonides, de Penitentia, cap. 1. & 2.

It is called *The Feast of Weeks*, being seven Weeks after the Passover; *The Feast of first Fruits*, which were then offered, and, *The Feast of Harvest*, which then began to be reaped. The Jews conceive that the Law was given on that Day on Mount *Sinai*; and to recall the same to Memory in a most sensible Manner, they make a very thick Cake, composed of six Layers of Paste, which they call *Sinai*; and this Cake puts them also in mind of the seven Heavens, through which they believe God was to pass to ascend into the *Empyrean*. They exactly reckon all the Days that are past from the Passover, that they may not be mistaken in the Moment wherein the Pentecost ought to begin. Notwithstanding all these Calculations, they are still afraid of being deceived, and therefore celebrate two Feast-days. There is nothing peculiar in the Rites of this Feast, except that the Law is twice brought out (a), that five Persons read it, and the Synagogue and Windows of their Houses are adorned with Flowers and Greens, to insinuate that every thing was green about *Sinai*, tho' the Mountain was in a Desert in *Arabia*.

§ 13. UPON the fifteenth Day of *Tisri*, with us about the End of *September*, they celebrate the Feast of *Tabernacles*, which they call *Succod*, in remembrance of their living after that Manner in the Desert when they went out of *Egypt*, *Levit.* xxiii. 42, 43. The Feast now lasts nine Days, seven by the Order of *Moses*, and two by Supererogation. Every one builds one of these Tents for himself in an open Place, somewhere about his own House, and covers it with green Boughs, boarding it on the In-side, and adorning it as he is able, in which he spends the Day. They formerly passed whole Nights in them; but this Custom is changed, at least in the West, where the Nights are colder. The Figure of the Tabernacles may be seen in the *Mishnah* (b), which *Surenhusius* has well explained. We shall only remark, that the Booth was not to be above twenty Cubits high, nor less than ten Hands. The Boughs wherewith they cover them must not be dry; and 'tis a Crime to take them in an idolatrous City, or to steal them. *Jebuda* will have the Branches which they hold in their Hands to be bound with Twigs of the same Tree: But R. *Meir* is of another Opinion; for he allows the Use of Osier and Thread. They carry the Branches to the Synagogue, where they leave them, and fetch them the next Morning: But they must be gathered together the Eve of the Sabbath, and put in Water-vessels for fear of withering. The first Day of the Feast they take one Branch of Palm, three of Myrtle and one of Willow, bound together; all which they carry in the right Hand. In the left they have a Branch of Citron with the Fruit. They bring them near one another, and turn them about to the Fore-parts of the World, thinking God has commanded it in *Levit.* xxiii. Besides, they find here great Mysteries: The Palm is handsome, but bears an insipid Fruit; representing the hypocritical Jews, who study the divine Law, but do no good Works: The Myrtle, which has a grateful Smell, tho' it be barren, represents those that do good Works without the Law: The Willow is the Image of the Wicked, who have neither Law nor Vertue; and the Citron with its Fruit denotes the Righteous, who have both the Law and good Works. Whereas they formerly made four Turns about the Altar in the Temple, singing three *Hosanna's*, as if they beseeched the Blessed Trinity to save them, says the Bishop of *Ely* (c), at present they make their Turns about the Reading Desk, holding these Branches; which they go in quest of as far as *Spain*, and sell them at very dear Rates where these Trees and Fruit grow not without Difficulty. *Buxtorf* says (d), he saw, in that very Harvest in which he wrote, a Citron bought at the Price of four Florins. On the seventh Day, which they count more holy than the rest, they leave their Branches: Rising with the Sun they wash themselves, and go to the Synagogue, where they sing abundance of Prayers, which they repeat with a confused Rapidity and Swiftness, as supposing the *Israelites* during their Journey were obliged to make Haste, even in the Service of God, and the Prayers they made to him. They draw out of the Chest seven Copies of the Law; if there were twenty they would produce them all; (the Desk being adorned with Flowers) and having read something in every one, they carry them back one after another with great Ceremony. Their Superstition is so great, that they go to consult the Moon, and fancy they find by her a Prediction of many Events. To this Purpose, he who consults her examines the Shadow of his Body projected from her Rays; if the Shadow wants a Head, 'tis a Sign of Death, if it wants a Finger, 'tis ominous that he shall lose one of his Friends; the Death of a Son is signified by the want of a Right Hand, and that of a Daughter by the want of a Left. All this they pretend to found on these Words of *Moses*, *the Protection of God* (in Hebrew the Shadow) *is withdrawn from them*; and the Commentaries of the Rabbi's confirm their Superstition. The eighth Day of the Feast they get their Friends together, and give them an Entertainment. They finish the ninth Day with reading the Law proper for that Occasion, according to its Sections, chusing two Bridegrooms of the Law, one whereof reads the End, and the other the Beginning, the People making joyful Acclamations. As they depart for good and all from the Arbours, they beg the Favour of continuing in the Tabernacle of the

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(a) Buxtorfii Synagoga, cap. 15. p. 319. (b) Ordo festorum, p. 259, — 270. (c) See Dr. Patrick on Leviticus, xxiii. 40. (d) Buxtorf in Synagoga, cap. 16. p. 332.

Leviathan, by which they doubtless desire to see the Entertainment of the *Messiah*, in which they fancy the Leviathan shall be served up as a delicious Dish.

§ 14. THE *New Moon* is another of the Feasts they celebrate; but 'tis no Crime to work on that Day, Idleness being principally reserved for Women. The *Talmudists* tell, that the Moon being disturbed with a Competitor in the Heavens, represented to God the Impossibility of two Heads wearing the same Crown^(a), and that there ought to be but one King in Heaven as on Earth. God being provoked with this Remonstrance, lessened and shrunk the Moon. They imagine *Moses* insinuates this Change when he says, *God made two great Lights, one shall rule over the day, and the lesser shall rule over the night*; which shews that he had lessened its Light and Beauty. Divers Propositions were made to comfort her; but God being convinced that she was in the Wrong, required a propitiatory Sacrifice to be made every New Moon, ordering the Day also to be celebrated. Their Devotion on that Occasion consists in a Fast, which the Votaries keep in the Evening, with a certain Number of Prayers they repeat in the Synagogue, and an Entertainment which they make afterwards, in which they much divert themselves. Three Days after they meet on a flat Roof, where they stedfastly behold the Moon, bless God with a long Prayer for having created her, and for renewing her to teach the *Israelites* that they ought to become new Creatures. They leap in the Air as high as they can, and say to the Moon, *As we leap towards thee without being able to touch thee, so may our Enemies rise against us without reaching us, the Terror of the Lord shall fall upon them*. Eclipses disturb them very much; for the *Jews* doubt not but they presage some great Calamity, and therefore they fast and pray that the Mischief threatened^(b), may fall upon the Head of their Enemies.

§ 15. THE Deliverance obtained by *Esther*, when the Destruction of the *Jews* was resolved upon, and the Massacre going to begin, gives Occasion for another solemn Feast called *Purim*. They begin it with a Fast, which they religiously observe one Day. In the Morning they give the Poor Alms necessary to buy wherewithal they may be merry in the Evening, and commonly send them Dishes from their Table. That they may make the better Cheer, they collect the half Shekel formerly paid for the Temple, and divide the Contribution Money among the Pilgrims to *Jerusalem*, where they love to go and be buried, to avoid the Trouble of a long Journey at the Day of the Resurrection, and that they may be nearer at Hand to the Valley of *Jeboshaphat*, which they imagine will be the Place of the general Judgment. In the Evening they go to the Synagogue to hear the Book of *Esther* read, and afterwards explained by the Minister or *Chazan*. This Book must not be printed, but written upon Vellum with sacred Ink: The Reader may sit down, whereas he always stands when he reads the Law. Having opened the Volume, he makes three Prayers to give Thanks to God for calling them to this Ceremony; for delivering them and continuing them alive to this Day. Afterwards he reads the whole History of *Haman* and^(c) *Esther*. There are five Places in which he raises his Voice so high as to fright Women and Children. He is obliged to read the Names of *Haman's* ten Sons in one Breath; and when the Name of this Persecutor is pronounced, they make a terrible Noise in the Synagogue; some drum by their Feet and Hands, and the Children have Mallets and other Instruments to make a Noise with. The Reading is concluded with Curses against *Haman* and *Zeresh* his Wife, and with the Praises of God who hath preserved his People. They depart from the Synagogue to their Entertainment. Next Morning they return to hear once more the History of *Esther*, with *Exod. xvii. Then came Amalek and fought against Israel*. Then begins a general Debauch. It is so great a Crime to work on that Day, that a Man who in it sowed Flax, never saw the least Blade appear. They drink to great Excess: The Men dress themselves in Womens Cloths, in spite of the Law that forbids it: They dance and continue the Debauch for two Days together. In some Places they have a Custom to hang a Man in Effigy representing *Haman*: The Christians supposing this done in Contempt of the History of the Gospel, the Emperor *Theodosius* the younger forbad the Celebration of the Feast. The best Warrant they have for this Feast of *Purim*, (a *Persian* Word signifying Lots) is *Esther. ix. 28*. But the Modern *Jews* have added many superstitious Cerimonies without Ground, and Debaucheries full of Profaneness. They sometimes celebrate the Feast twice in *Bissexile* Years, by Reason of the Intercalation made on *February 24*: For they had rather keep two Rejoicings than want one. When this happens, they call the one the *Little*, and the other the *Great Purim*.

§ 16. AT this Day the *Jews* observe many other Feasts and Fasts not appointed by *Moses*: They celebrate a Fast in *June* because the Tables of the Law which *Moses* brought from Mount *Sinai*, as they reckon, were then broken. They have another in *July*, because of the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and a great while after by *Titus*. On the first of *September* they sound a Trumpet, as a Signal of Joy that *Isaac* was not sacrificed; and thus there

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(a) Buxtorff in Synagoga, cap. 17. p. m. 338. (b) Ibid. cap. 17. p. 336. Balmage's History of the Jews, Book 5: Chap. 14. p. m. 452. (c) Leo of Modena Ceremonies of the Jews p. m. 160.

is a Complication of Feasts on that Day. On the third Day of *Tisri* they fast because *Gedaliah* the Son of *Abikam* was killed, *Jerem.* xli. the only Person left to support the Remnant of *Israel*. On the twenty first Day of that Month they have the Feast of *Branches*, in Memory of the taking of *Jericho*. They have also this Month, the Feast of the *Collection* made to supply the Expences of the Sacrifices. The tenth of *December* they fast on account of the first Siege of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*: In the Evening, when the usual Prayers are done, they sit upon the Ground and read the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, and they repeat it again next Morning with many other Lamentations. On the twenty fifth Day of *November* they solemnize the *Dedication* of the Altar made by the *Maccabees*: They have a Feast of Commemoration which continues eight Days, beginning at the twenty fifth of *Chisleu*, which answers to our *December*, wherein they light a Lamp the first Evening, two the second, and so on till they come to the eight (*a*), in remembrance of a Victory obtained by the *Maccabees* over the *Greeks*. *Buxtorf* (*b*) mentions some other Fasts, as on the tenth of *April* for the Death of *Eli* with his two Sons, and the taking of the Ark by the *Philistines*; and on the 28th Day of that Month for the Death of *Samuel*. *Leo de Modena*, a *Venetian* Rabbi, distinguishes (*c*) Fasts commanded and voluntary; even in the latter they abstain from Meat from Evening to Evening with Austerity. There is no End of it when People leave the Commands of God, and observe uninstituted Superstitions.

§ 17. BUT I proceed to consider their publick and private Prayers: The Jews are obliged to rise by break of Day: The Wife must awake her Husband: The Father of the Family is to take Care to call up his Children, because they must say their Prayers the very Moment the Sun appears in the Horizon. They take a Reason for this from the Example of *Ruth*, who went early to glean, and from *David*, who says *Psal.* lxxii. 5. *they shall fear thee with the Sun.* They conceive this to be the most favourable Time when God hears the Prayers of those that call on him, because then the evil Angels are silent and don't disturb him. However, the Law is not always rigorously observed, for the Casuists allow the Sun three Hours for his Levee, in which Time they are permitted to make their first Prayers. As they rise they ought to be sorrowful because of the Destruction of the Temple. It is a Piece of Devotion to shed Tears every Morning, because God gathers them into his Bottles, and uses them to expunge out of his Book all the Evils he had resolved against the Saints. They are superstitious in dressing themselves; but especially they must never be naked in their Chamber, nor flatter themselves that the darkness of the Night conceals their Nakedness (*d*). One of their first Cares is to discharge their Bowels: It would be a Crime to pray or speak before the Lord before the inward Parts were cleansed; and one of the Reasons why God gave *R. Sira* so long a Life, was that he never pronounced the Name of God in a filthy Place. For the same Cause they wash their Face and Hands before they say their Prayers. They take their *Thaled* (which shall be afterwards described) and must go to the Synagogue with the same Zeal as if they were mounting the Breach of a besieged Garrison; for *David* remembred, *that he walked to the House of God in Company as to a strong City*. God enters the Synagogue as soon as it is opened, and if he finds no Body there, he is provoked, and says with *Isaiah*, *wherefore when I came was there no Man? when I called was there none to answer?* They bow themselves as they enter towards the Chest which contains the Law, saying, *how beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob?* Some put a Vail over their Head; they read the Prayers, and such as cannot read, answer to the Prayers of others *Amen*. The eighteen Benedictions of *Ezra*, as they are called, would have been inserted with the rest of his Writings into the sacred Canon, if he had dictated them as a perpetual Rule for the Service of God; but as Superstition did increase, so these uninstituted Pieces of Worship began to be imposed. Private Persons are obliged daily to repeat a hundred Benedictions, some of them pleasant enough; for they praise God for giving the Cock a Quality of distinguishing Night and Day, and awakening the Jews every Morning. Their private Prayers are very long and full of Repetitions; for to this Day they have not amended the Fault of the long Prayers and Battologies which our Lord objected to the *Pharisees*. They pray commonly with their Heads stooping to the Ground; but in extraordinary Humiliations they prostrate themselves, extending their Hands and Feet, and sending out vehement Cries. They think these Prayers supply the Place of Sacrifices, abolished by the Overthrow of the Temple and Altar. They give them the same Name, and say they have the same Efficacy, but reckon the publick Prayers most effectual.

The Minister, supposing the People have repeted their Prayers, begins the Service of the Day with a Prayer called *Kadish*; because they desire God to sanctify his Name, saying, *O God, let thy Name be magnified and sanctified through the World, which thou hast created according to thy good Pleasure; let thy Kingdom reign, the Redemption flourish, and the Messiah come quickly.* This is the most antient Prayer of all that the Jews have preserved; it is read in the

(a) *Leo Modena Ceremonies of the Jews*, Part 3. chap. 9. p. 156 (b) *In Synagoga Judaica* cap. 25. p. 391. (c) *Ceremonies of the Jews*, Part 3. chap. 8. p. 150. (d) *Buxtorf in Synagoga*, cap. 4. p. 120.

the *Chaldee* Tongue, and supposed to have been made soon after their Return from *Babylon*, and is called an *Anthem*. After this they commonly repete the Decalogue; but the Doctors say they have been obliged to lay aside this Custom, because the Hereticks or Christians say, that God only gave these ten Commands as a standing Law on Mount *Sinai*, other Statutes being changeable. At present they only read some Passages in *Deuteronomy*, called *Schemach* (a), because they begin with these Words, *Hear O Israel*. They not only find an Abstract of their Faith in them, so as he who repetes them becomes truly a *Jew*; but moreover they discover a great Mystery in these Words, *Deut. vi. 4. The Lord our God is one Lord*, compared with these of the Prophet *Zachar. xiv. 9. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one*; because these two Texts put together prove that all Nations in the World shall be one Day subject to God and his People: But they should rather see the Days of our *Messiah* in them, when all Nations shall be subject to him, and adore his blessed Name. The reading of the *Schemach* being ended, all the Assembly rise, and pray in a low Voice standing; the Minister gives the Example, and they continue in that Posture till the Secret be finished: Then every one makes three Steps backwards of Reverence, and the Minister repetes the eighteen Prayers, whereof the three first contain the Praises of God; the Necessities of the Church, and of Particulars are included in the twelve next; and in the three last, they make a Confession to God of their Vileness and Unworthiness. Those that have repeted them before the Minister came, hear them reverently, and answer *Amen*. At the third Blessing they are allowed to resume their Place, that is, to advance three Steps; and when they come to the Prayer called *Modin*, they must bow themselves a little. The Service concludes with the Anthem, as it began, and the Minister gives the Blessing to the People, who retire saying, *Lord guide me in thy Righteousness, and prepare the Way before me, because of mine Enemies*. This Service is performed every Day; they begin a new one in the Afternoon, and another at Night. Thus the Exercises are determined in the Synagogues to Mattins, Noons and Vespers: Whether the Church of *Rome* imitates them or not, I shall not determine; only the Prayers, and publick sacred Offices of both *Jews* and *Papists*, are in a Tongue not known by the *Vulgar*; these of the former in *Hebrew*, and of the latter in *Latin*. Thus when Righteousness and Piety cools, Zeal for Ceremonies becomes fervent.

§ 18. THE *Jewish* Superstition further appears in their *Teflim* and *Taled*. To understand their Practice in this Matter, we may observe, that formerly they wore Clothes of four Lappets (b), at each of which hung a Tuft, which they called *Zizit*, by which they distinguished themselves from other People. But as this rendered them very ridiculous, and drew the Rabble upon them, they have been wiser than the Monks, who still retain their foolish Garbs; for the *Jews* comply with the Customs of the Countries wherein they live. However they preserve under their Clothes a Kind of square Frock, with the Pendants or Tassils fastned to it, which they call *Arban Caufod*, in Remembrance of the Commands of the Lord, which they found on *Numb. xv. 38, — 40*. When they are at the Synagogue, they take a square Veil, with Strings and Tufts which they call the *Taled* or Cloak. Sometwist it round the Neck, others cover the Head with it: The last Custom is the more general. Afterwards they put on the Frontlets or the *Teflim*, as much as to say the Instruments of Prayer, because they use them in their Devotions. Their Rites about these being a little odd, I shall describe them in the Words of a learned Rabbi, who was obstinate in *Judaism* all his Life long (c). They take, says he, two Pieces of Parchment, and with a great deal of Exactness write upon each of them these four Passages of Scripture in square Letters, with Ink made on Purpose. The first is from *Deut. vi. 4. Hear O Israel, &c. the second in Chap. xi. v. 13. And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken diligently unto my commands which I command you this day, &c. The third out of Exod. xiii. 1. Sanctify unto me all the first-born, &c. The fourth out of ver. 11. of the same Chapter, And it shall be, when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, &c. These Parchments they wrap up in a black piece of Calf's Leather; that is, they put all these Scriptures together into one Roll, made into one Point, which they fasten upon a little square Piece of the hardest Part; from whence there comes a Thong of the same Leather, of an Inch broad, and a Tard and a half long or thereby. This they put upon the brawny part of their left Arm; and when they have tyed a little Knot upon the Thong, like the Hebrew Letter Jod, they wrap it round their Arm and Hand, down to the middle Finger; and this they call *Teffila Sceliad*, that is, the *Teffila* of the Hand. In making the other, they cut the above-mentioned Texts of Scripture into four Pieces, every one by itself, and joining them together, they make a Square with the Letter *Schin* at the Top; and this they put upon a square hard Piece of Leather like the other; from which come two Thongs as in the former. They put this Square upon the midst of the Forehead, and are tyed behind with a Knot in the Shape of a Daleth, and the remaining Part of them hangs down before upon their Breast. This they*

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(a) Maimonides Spher Tephiloth. Ordo precum apud Vitringam, p. 1073. Isaac Abendana of the Policy of the Jews, Chap. 4. of their Prayers. (b) Leo de Modena's Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 1. Chap. 5. p. 18. (c) Idem ibidem, p. 38. & seqq. cap. 11.

they call *Teffila Scelrose*, that is, the *Teffila of the Head*. These are the *Frontlets* which they put on with their *Taled* commonly in the Morning, only there are some more devout than the rest, that put them on at the Afternoon Prayers too; but they are but few, only the Chanter always puts on his *Taled*.

These are so sacred, that they fancy God wears them; for they tell, That God promising to shew *Moses* his hinder Parts, shewed him the Knot which fastned the *Teffilin* of the Head (a). Perhaps they meant only by these Expressions to give a high Notion of the Origin and Excellency of their *Teffilin*; but 'tis an indecent and irreverent Way of speaking. The Superstition for these *Phylacteries* is considerably encreased; they look on them as Charms to fright away the Devil (b), and preserve them from all Evil. They swear by touching them; and the better to authorise such Oaths, they introduce God swearing in the same Manner. The Parchment on which they are wrote must be taken from the Skin of a clean Beast. It becomes prophane if a Christian dresses it, but it receives a Degree of Excellency, when it has been destined for this Use, and when it was said in preparing it, *I design this for making the Tefillin*; the least Hole or Defect makes it useless. They write them with great Circumspection, and first fasten the *Teffilin* of the Hand, and afterwards that of the Head; but cannot do either, till they have pronounced the Blessing, saying, *Blessed be thou our Lord and our God, the King of the Earth*. After which it is not lawful to speak to any body; yea they may pass by their Master or Rabbi, without saluting him, till the *Teffilin* are taken off. When they lay them aside, they put them in a Bag, which thereby becomes sacred; Women and Slaves are not obliged to wear them, because they can't command their own Time. It is not lawful to take them, till a Man has covered his Nakedness, nor to wear them in Church-yards, nor to carry a Burden on their Heads when they have them on. As to the Origin of these *Teffilin*, I know the modern Jews found their Practice upon *Numb. xv. 37, — 40. Deut. vi. 8. Exod. xiii. 9, — 16.* but by these Texts the Lord only points out the Duty of continual remembering the Law, in order to practice, without which outward Rites are vain. The Superstition of the Jews about them seems to have been introduced by the Pharisees, a little before our Saviour's Days; for he justly reprov'd them, *That they made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments*, *Matth. xxiii. 5.* They abused this Ordinance to Superstition and Hypocrisy (c); and, as is usual with Rites of that Kind, when not reformed, they encrease by Progress of Time: But we Christians being delivered by the Gospel Liberty from the ceremonial Law, as a Yoke of Bondage, which neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear, are not only free from that Law, but from other superstitious Usages the modern Jews have superadded to it; and if they were so happy, as to believe in Jesus our blessed Redeemer, and receive the Gospel, they might partake of the same Privileges: But I proceed to other Rites of theirs.

§ 19. IN ancient Times the Jews had commonly every one their own Table. *Elkanah* gave to *Hannah* a worthy Portion, *1 Sam. i. 5.* *David* having sacrificed after bringing the Ark to *Mount Zion*, gave to every one of the People a Cake of Bread, a good Piece of Flesh and a Flagon of Wine, *2 Sam. vi. 19.* But this Custom hath now ceased, and they eat at present at the same Table, as the Christians. They may not eat of any Animals, but such only as part the Hoof and chew the Cud; as, Oxen and Sheep, but not Conies, Hares nor Swine; nor any Fish which has not Scales nor Fins; nor Birds of Prey, nor Reptiles, as more fully expressed *Levit. xi.* For this Reason they eat nothing that is dressed by any other People, nor use any of their Kitchen-utensils (d), for fear they should have had in them any of these prohibited Meats; nor do they use other Peoples Knives. They do not eat the Fat of Beef, Lamb or Goat, according to *Levit. iii. 17.* Nor do they eat of the Sinew of the Thigh, which they reckon forbidden by *Gen. xxxii. 32.* Hence in some Parts of Italy and Germany they do not eat the hinder Quarters. They may not eat the Blood of any Beast or Fowl, or so much as an Egg, which has the least Thread of Blood in it. The Throat of any Beast they kill must be cut with a great many nice Circumstances. They lay their Meat in Salt one Hour before they boil it, that it may be quite cleansed from the Blood. They may not eat Flesh and Cheese, or any thing made of Milk, at the same Meal, which they ground by Tradition upon *Exod. xxii. 19. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.* They use no Cheese but what they see prepared, and use different Knives, one for their Meat, and another for their Cheese. When they have kneaded their Bread, (that is to say, when they have made a Lump of Dough as big as forty Eggs) they first take a little Cake out of it, as is commanded *Numb. xv. Ye shall offer up a cake for the first of your dough for an heave-offering.* This Cake used formerly to be given to the Priest, but now they throw it into the Fire, and let it ly till it is quite burnt up: And this is one of the three Precepts which Women are to observe, because for the most part it is their Business to bake the Bread.

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(a) Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica. t. I. p. 557. (b) Tractatus Talmudicus de Sabbato, cap. 2. vide Hornbeck contra Judæos, p. 495. (c) Ainsworth on *Numb. xv. 39.* (d) Léo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews; Part 2. Chap. 7.

They fast very often ; for besides the publick Fasts, which we have already (a) discourf of, they have private ones ; but never in *March*, because this being the Time when the People came out of *Egypt*, the same should be entirely consecrated to Gratitude and Joy : However some violate this Rule. Our Saviour insinuates that the *Pharisees* fasted twice in the Week, *Luke*, xviii. 12. which Custom is kept up by the *German Jews*, fasting on *Monday* and *Thursday*, tho' they do it only after the Feasts of the Passover and Tabernacles, being afraid that in these Festivals they have offended God by their too great Jollities. Private Persons exceedingly multiply Fasts upon several Occasions ; as, if they desire a happy Dream ; for they are much given to observe Dreams ; or if the Interpretation thereof affrights them, if they have a particular Distemper, if they undertake a dangerous Voyage, if Prisoners, or in the like Distress, they fast to obtain Deliverance ; the Son fasts for his Father's Death ; the Magicians to invoke Dæmons from Hell : From whence some of the Doctors infer, *That if a Necromancer obtains such a Vision by his Abstinence, by a stronger Reason they may procure the Descent of the Holy Spirit*. As to the Severity of their Abstinence, they ly on a Bed harder and every way coarser than ordinary ; they eat none till the next Day at Even, and then they pray that God may accept their Abstinence instead of a Sacrifice (b). If the Fast continue many Days, they use the same Rules for most part as the *Papists* : Flesh is forbidden ; but they satisfy themselves with some Garden Stuff, making up their Wants with Eggs, which being of a globular Figure, are the Image of an afflicted Man. They celebrate no Marriages while they fast, nor shave, nor powder, nor bath themselves ; but sometimes throw Ashes upon their Heads. If the Church of *Rome* have their Abstinenes on the Vigils of great Feasts, the *Jews* have more rigorous ones in the Vigils of New Moons, and look on their Fastings as very meritorious, and as substitute in the room of the old Sacrifices : Tho' indeed they are only bodily Exercise, which profits little. God has not required them, and what he does not command, he will not accept.

§ 20. THE Charity of the *Jews* is very remarkable ; for tho' they have been exposed to very great Misfortunes, they still relieve all their own Poor. On the *Fridays*, and on the Eve of the Festivals, rich Men give considerably to those who come to them. Besides the *Parnassim* or *Nemunim*, whose Office it is to take care of the Poor, collect and send to those who are ashamed to beg, and to sick Persons, or Widows who do not go abroad ; at the Door of the Synagogue they have a Box, into which Offerings are put : And tho' they do not touch Money on the Sabbath, yet if there be any extraordinary Object of Charity, as, if one would redeem one of his Family who is a Slave, or have a Daughter to marry and nothing to give her, the Overseer of the Synagogue calls every one, saying, *God bless thee who will contribute to such a charitable Design* ; and what they promise on the Sabbath, they perform on the Week thereafter (c). In great Cities they have Fraternities or Companies for Works of Charity ; as, to take care of the Sick, and of the Burial of the Dead. If a poor Man has any pressing Necessities which exceeds the Abilities of the Town, he makes his Application to the principal Rabbins, who give him a Certificate to the Brethren in other Places for Assistance. They oblige the less charitable to give the tenth Part of their Goods, others to give the fifth Penny, and those that refuse Charity may be chastised by the Judges. Over and above all these Charities given to private Persons, in what Part of the World soever the *Jews* are, they send Alms yearly to *Jerusalem*, for Maintenance of the Poor there and in other Places of *Judea*. But they are as hard-hearted to Strangers as charitable to the Poor of their own Nation ; for the *Talmudists* are persuaded, that none are allowed by the Law to participate of their Charity, except the Profelytes of Righteousness : And that which spoils all their Alms, is their vain Opinion of their Efficacy and Merit ; which our Lord reproves, telling them, *Matth. vi. 1, 2.* that they *give alms to be seen of men*.

§ 21. THE *Jews* have their *Votaries* and *Saints* ; of whom they make three different Orders. The first are those who entirely renouncing Society, go and live in Desarts, clothing themselves with Camels Hair, eating Leaves of Trees, and Things furnished by the Earth without Tillage. They pretend such have their Mind purified, by Removal from the World, and continual Meditation ; so as their Thoughts make them worthy of the Commerce of Angels. But in the mean time they own (d), that tho' this was the State of the Prophets, such Saints are now very rare, since God has removed his Presence from the holy Land, and these who thus fly from the World to Solitudes, expose their Mind and Body to violent Distempers, which makes them desire Death from Impatience under their Miseries. In this Point the *Jews* speak more justly than some Christians, who pretend to imitate the Life of *Enoch*, of *Elias*, or of *John the Baptist*, without receiving their Spirit, or being useful in the World, as they were. In the second Rank the *Jews* place the *Chasidæans* (e), who they conceive have always God present with them in every Place, and do nothing that can offend him : If they happen to be in the holy Land, they carry their Sanctity to such a Perfection as to come near that of the

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(a) Above, p. 546. (b) Leo de Modena, Ceremonies and Customs of the Jews, Part 3. Chap. 8. p. 155, 156.
(c) Ibid. Part 1. Chap. 14. (d) Liber Cosri, part. 3. p. 154. (e) Ibid. p. 169.

Prophets : They hear the *Daughter of the Voice*, but receive all this from the divine Goodness. The last Order of their Saints is inferior to any of the former.

§ 22. THE *Jews* come under several *Vows* and *Oaths* : Particularly we find in the Gospel, that tho' it be a moral Duty to honour our Parents, which includes the Duty of comforting and relieving them in their Straits ; yet they invented a Way to elude this Precept, *Matth.* xv. 4, — 7. *Mark*, vii. 10, — 14. by dedicating their Goods to pretended pious Uses. Such a rash Vow, done in Anger, to elude their giving any Relief to their necessitous Parents, by calling their Goods *Corban*, or, *Consecrated to the Treasure of the Temple*, was very justly reprov'd by our Lord in the *Pharisees* : Nevertheless their Successors the *Talmudists* approve it. Their Vows turn sometimes upon Abstinence from Marriage, tho' it is far more rare among the *Jewish* Maids to vow Virginity than among those of the Church of *Rome*, who are often fettered in Nunneries against their Inclinations. If an enraged Husband say to his Wife, *Thou art as my Mother*, he is not allowed any more to cohabite with her. Wives when provoked do sometimes the same ; but their Husbands have Power to make their Resolutions null : And at present these Vows are little approved, being Curses mingled with Religion ; for tho' it be a Piece of Devotion to accomplish them, yet many Distinctions are allowed.

Leo de Modena, a *Venetian* Rabbi, tells us (a), that the *Jews* hold by Tradition, That when any Man or Woman has made a Vow or Oath, be it what it will, provided the breaking of it be not a Prejudice to a third Person, and has upon good Reason repented of it, a Rabbi of Authority, or three other Persons not dignified, may loose it. He that would have it dispensed with goes to this Rabbi, or those other three Persons ; and they having heard his Reason why he alters his Mind, and approving it, say to him three Times, " Be thou absolved from this Vow, &c." And from that Time he remains free. *Philo* the *Jew*, who condemned Oaths made in the Name of God, as prophane, and contrary to Religion, allowed swearing by the Universe, by the Stars, by the Sun, by the Earth, by their Parents, by their Head and by Heaven. But this is contrary to the Law of God in the *Old Testament*, *Deut.* vi. 13. x. 20. *Is.* xlv. 23. xlviii. 1. lxxv. 16. *Jer.* iv. 2. xii. 16. and therefore the Practice is justly condemned by our Lord in the Gospel, *Matth.* v. 37. For Creatures can neither be Witnesses to our Sincerity, nor judge us if we act contrary thereto, and therefore should not be invoked in Oaths. An Oath being an Act of Worship, ought not to be conceived but in the Name of the living God, who is our Witness and Judge ; and ought not to be made rashly, but when Necessity requirerh, and when the same is imposed by a lawful Judge. Nor are we to elude the Obligation of Oaths by subtle Distinctions, nor to expect Dispensations from them by humane Authority, as the *Jews* frequently do.

§ 23. As every Society hath the Privilege of expelling from its Body those who violate the Laws of its Constitution, and are a Dishonour to it ; so the *Jews* have the same. Their Ecclesiastical Punishments began with private Censure, which was rendred publick if the Person culpable did not repent. To this did succeed Excommunication : Of which *Bartolocci* (b) distinguishes three Degrees : 1. *Niddui*, which continued thirty Days ; during which no body must come near the excommunicated Person, nor even the Man approach to his Wife. 2. *Cherem* or *Anathema*, by which a Man is expelled out of the Synagogue with great Imprecations. 3. *Schammata*, published with the Sound of four hundred Trumpets, (but this is an hyperbolical Way of speaking, usual among *Talmudical* Writers) and excluded from all Hope of returning to the Synagogue. One of the principal Causes of Excommunication is the pronouncing the Name of God in a profane Manner ; for *Huna* one Day hearing a Man take the Name of God in vain, excommunicated him, but soon took off the Sentence. This high Censure is also used for civil Causes ; for most of the twenty four Grounds enumerated by *Maimonides* (c) turn upon such Trespasses : As, when he curses a Man for keeping a Dog that bites and tears Travellers ; when one lends a Ladder half-broken, unless he repaired the Damage that might happen ; when a Man doth not make trial of a Knife before he kills with it ; when he speaks ill of a Doctor that is dead, &c. This Sentence when pronounced by the *Jews* abounds with Superstition and Cruelty : For by the Decree of the Cities, and Commandment of the Saints (d), they excommunicate, anathematise, and with many Execrations curse N, by the Book of the Law which he touches, by the ninety three Precepts which that Book contains, by the Curse *Joshua* pronounced against *Jericho*, that *Elisha* uttered against the Children that mocked him, whom the Bears devoured, and by that on *Gehazi* when he became a Leper. They introduce into this Form I know not how many barbarous Names, which they mingle with those of God and of Angels, diversified several Ways ; as, *Metraton*, *Sandalipon*, and the like. They curse him by Heaven, by Earth, by the Seraphims, by the Orbs, by the holy Animals. Their Imprecations are very horrible ; as, *That his Ruin may be speedy ; that the Creatures may become his Enemies ; that a Whirlwind may crush him ; that a Fever and Consumption* (and

(a) Customs of the Jews, Part 2. Chap. 5. p. m. 80. (b) 101. Rabbinica, tit. xxi. p. 414. Buxtorfii Lexicon Talmudicum & Rabbinicum, edit. 1639. p. 827, 828. (c) De studio legis, cap. 6. § 13. (d) Ibid. p. 532. See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 5. Chap. 18. p. m. 466.

(and I know not how many other Diseases) *may seize him (a)*. When I read these things, I cannot conceive what Manner of Men they are who take upon them to pronounce such bitter Curses, instead of lamenting the Loss of their Brother. In order to prevent his Impenitence, they scourge the Criminal. Thus our Lord foretold to his Disciples, that they'll *cast you out of the synagogues, and scourge you*, John, xvi. 2. *Matth. x. 17.* The Apostle Paul tells us, 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25. that *of the Jews he five times received forty stripes save one, thrice was he beaten with rods.* As a Roman Citizen he could not be scourged by the Civil Magistrate, this being against the *Porcian Law (b)*; but as he was a Jew, a Deserter of his Religion, the Rabbi's, who caught him teaching in the Synagogue, unmercifully scourged him (c). He that was condemned to the Lash was fastned to a high Pillar, and they chose one to scourge him who was neither weak nor cowardly. The *Chazan* frequently discharged this Office. He struck first three Blows upon the Heart, and three upon each Shoulder; and while they were scourging the Criminal, the President read some Texts of Scripture; the second Judge reckoned the Blows, and the third exhorted the Executioner to his Duty. The Reading was to end with the Blows, and both were to keep pace together (d).

Excommunication deprived the Person under that Sentence of partaking of the Sacraments, for it debarred him even from Entrance into the Tabernacle, or into the Temple; and afterwards, when these were destroyed, from Access into the Synagogue. This Position hath been at large vindicated by our learned Countryman Mr. George Gillespie (e), to whom I leave the Argument. The Rabbi's go further and tell, That the excommunicated Person never appears again, because Death carries him off by a Kind of Miracle. The *Cherem* enters into the Man by 248 Members, and makes terrible Mischiefs. He is deprived of all Society, scarce his Wife or Children must come near him; but all others are obliged to keep at two Yards Distance. If he has a dead Body in the House, no body must help him to bury it; and if he dies himself, they don't lament him, but even pour Ignominy upon his Grave. The History of *Uriel Acosta* is a standing Evidence of this Severity. He was born in *Portugal* of a Jewish Family that had embraced Popery; but he being educated in the Study of the Law, began to recover some Esteem for the Jewish Religion, tho' being afraid of Persecution by the Inquisition, in Case he should vent his Principles, he thought fit to transport his Family from *Portugal* to *Amsterdam*. When he came to reside there, he observed several Defects in the Synagogue, where the Teachers were all *Pharisees* and *Traditionaries*: But no sooner opened he his Mouth against their Faults, than they excommunicated him. His Brethren would not speak with him, the Children threw Dirt at him, and attacked him even in his House. Tired with these Insults, he resolved to be reconciled to them; which when he offered to do, they forced him to ascend the Desk in the Synagogue, and there to make a Confession of his Sins. They stripped him in a Corner to the Waste, and unmercifully gave him thirty nine Stripes. This being done, he was obliged to lie prostrate on the Ground at the Door, where all that came out passed over his Body, Children making a Game of it. This abominable Treatment to a Man of Birth, made him so desperate, as he resolved to kill his own Brother or Nephew who had been his cruel Enemies. Meeting with one of them, he fired a Pistol at him as he passed along the Street, and at the same Time with another Pistol he shot himself dead. He hath printed an Account (f) of these Adventures, except the last, where he shews how he was provoked by the Rabbi's, and spares not the Magistrates who give Liberty to those of a tolerated Religion to practise such Indignities. Among the Jews sometimes private Persons pronounce a Sentence of Excommunication; but 'tis more formidable when 'tis done by the Synagogue, or by three Rabbies. Nay, they excommunicate even Beasts, and tell it hath its Effect upon Dogs. The same Court which inflicts the Sentence hath Power of Absolution, which is very simple, declaring that the Sinner is loos'd from the Excommunication.

§ 24. THE Jews are obliged to marry, because God's Precept to the first Man, *Increase and multiply*, still continues in Force. Hence they say, *Wo to the Man that continues in a House without a Wife.* But they come not under the Law till they are twenty Years of Age (g); then they must marry, otherwise they sin against God and his Ordinance, they become Murderers, they destroy the Image of the first Man, and cause the holy Spirit to withdraw from Israel. 'Tis a Question in the *Talmud*, *Who is he that prostitutes his Daughter?* And the Answer is, *The Father that keeps her too long at home, or marries her to an old Man.* The Jews generally do not wait till twenty Years; they make Contracts between their Children betimes, and execute them as soon as possible. The *Talmudists* say the King could not marry above eighteen Wives; but the antient Kings were not acquaint with these Limitations. They own that the High-priest could have but one Wife, not a Widow, but a Virgin, according to

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(a) Vide formam Judaicæ excommunicationis apud C. Vorstium, in notis ad Pike R. Eliezer, p. m. 226, — 230. (b) Cicero in Verrem, lib. 5. operum p. m. 378, 379. (c) Hammond in 2 Cor. xi. 24. (d) Abendana, of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Policy of the Jews, Chap. 1. (e) Aaron's Rod blossoming, chap. 9. & passim. (f) Urielis Acosta exemplar vitæ humanæ, p. 346. ad calcem Philippi à Limborch Collat. cum Judæo. (g) Leg. de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part. 4. chap. 2. p. 165.

Levit. xxi. 13, 14. But as to other Persons, they permit Polygamy. Thus speaks *Leo de Modena* the Venetian Rabbi (a), Every Jew may have as many Wives as he pleases, as appears from several Passages in Scripture. The eastern Jews make Use of this Liberty, but 'tis not suffered among the Germans; and 'tis very rarely practised in Italy; and then only when a Man has lived a great many Years with his first Wife, and has not been able to have any Children by her. But this is contrary to the primary Institution of Marriage, *Gen. ii. 24.* Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife (not to his Wives) and they shall be one flesh. Which is confirmed by the Prophet *Malachi ii. 15.* And did not he make one? therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously with the wife of his youth. Polygamy seems also forbidden, *Levit. xviii. 18.* Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other, in her lifetime. The Word Sister may be understood of any other Woman, as Brother is used of any other Man, *Gen. xix. 7.* And then the Law here forbids to take any more Wives than one, which the Reason following to vex her, does confirm (b). Nor can it be justly alledged, that this is only a Law against Incest; for the Laws against Incest are from the sixth Verse of this Chapter to the eighteenth; but from the eighteenth to the End are Laws forbidding other Kind of unlawful Mixtures. Therefore our Lord, *Matth. xix. 4, 5, 6.* does very justly prohibit Polygamy, and their arbitrary Divorces upon frivolous Causes, and reduceth these enormous Practices by the primary and fundamental Laws given by God concerning Marriage at the Creation of Man. 'Tis true the Patriarchs were guilty of Polygamy, and the Apostate *Lamech* in the Family of *Cain*, *Gen. iv. 19.* is the first Instance thereof. But we must live by Laws, not by Examples; and tho' some temporary Laws circumscribed and limited this Practice, yet God did never commend nor approve it, being still contrary to the primary Institution of Marriage.

By the *Levitical* Law (c) it was ordained, That the Brother in Law should marry the Sister in Law, when she was left a Widow without Children. This Custom is almost vanished among the Jews, particularly in the West, where these Marriages are not allowed by Christian Princes. But there are still some Instances thereof in the holy Land, and particularly in the East among Jews pretending to an exact Devotion. Besides there are in the *Mishnah* (d), and in the Doctors that have commented upon it, several Rules upon this Subject, which I do not stay upon. The Curious may find a large Collection upon this and other Heads by the learned Mr. *Selden* (e).

The Promise of Marriage among the Jews is made in the Presence of some Witnesses, saying, *Be thou my Wife*; and at the same Time the Bridegroom puts a Ring upon her Finger, but *Leo de Modena* says (f), the Italian and German Jews commonly omit this Custom. The Parties continue thus betrothed a Year more or less, as they find convenient, during which Time the Man may visit his Mistress, but not lie with her. All Days are not proper for the Ceremony of Marriage. It can't be done on the Sabbath, nor on the Passover-week, nor on that of Tabernacles, for fear of violating the Feast. They commonly chuse a Day when the New-moon falls on the Wednesday; because if the Husband entertain any Suspicion of the Bride's Virginity, he may bring his Complaint before the Judges, who are to meet next Day. Before the Bride is brought to the Synagogue, she is sumptuously apparelled, and her Hair curled; by which they fancy they imitate God, who performed this Service for *Eve* (g). The ancient Jews crowned the married Couple, the Husband wearing a Crown composed of Salt and Sulphur. The Salt was clear as Crystal, and Figures were drawn with Sulphur, to mind them to beware of the Sin of *Sodom*, which turned the Land to Salt and Sulphur. Some are of Opinion that in this they alluded to these Texts, *Song iii. 11. Isaiah lxi. 10.* The Bride was led in Pomp to the Wedding-house, and placed under a Canopy supported by four Youths, and adorned with Jewels conform to her Quality. The Company cries, *Blessed is he that cometh.* They sing about them with Flambleaus in their Hands. The Bride makes three Turns about her Husband, because *Jeremiah* hath said, Chap. xxxi. v. 22. *The woman shall compass the man*; and the Bridegroom makes two Turns about her. They throw some Grains of Wheat on the married Couple, crying, *Increase and multiply*, and the Relations cast up some Pieces of Money to the Poor to scramble for. The Bride takes the Right-hand, because it is said, *Psalms xlv. 9.* Upon thy right-hand did stand the Queen. They put one of these square Vests called *Taled*, with the Fringes upon it, over the Heads of both Bridegroom and Bride, alluding to *Ruth iii. 9.* or *Ezek. xvi. 8.* Spread thy skirt over thine handmaid. The Rabbins of the Place, or the Chanter of the Synagogue, or the nearest Relation takes a Cup of Wine in his Hand; and after he has blessed God for having created Man and Woman, and instituted Matrimony, he gives both the Bridegroom and the Bride some of it to drink. Then the Bridegroom puts a Ring upon the Bride's Finger, in the Presence of two Wit-

(a) Ceremonies of the Jews, part. 4. cap. 2. p. 166. (b) Ainsworth on *Levit. xviii. 18.* Hornbeck contra *Judzos*, p. 517. & seqq. (c) *Deut. xxv. 5, 10.* (d) *Mishnæ Liber de re Uxorâ, Commentaria Maimonidis & Bartenoræ.* (e) *Seldenâ uxor Ebraica*, lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 67. & seqq. (f) Ceremonies of the Jews, part 4. chap. 3. (g) *Buxtorfii Synagoga*, cap. 28. p. 406, 409.

Witnesses (a) who are usually *Rabbins*, saying, *Lo thou art my Wife, according to the Rite of Moses and of Israel*. Then they read the Writing of the Dowries, in which the Bridegroom obliges himself, in Consideration of the Dowry he hath received, to maintain her, live with her &c. and binds himself to the Performance of these Things by writing. Then they take another Vessel of Wine, and sing six other Benedictions, which makes seven in all, and gives the new married Couple some of the Wine to drink, and pour the rest of it on the Ground, in token of Mirth. Then they give the empty Cup into the Bridegroom's Hand, who dashes it against the Ground and breaks it, to join with their Mirth the Remembrance of Death, which breaks us to pieces like brittle Glafs. At that Instant all the People cry out *Mazal tou, good Luck*, and they go away. At Night they make a Supper for their Friends and Relations: In some Places, these who are invited present the Bride with some Money: They repeat the seven Benedictions said at the Wedding, and then the Table is removed. 'Tis the Care of the *Paranymphs* to lead the married Couple to their Chamber; and some are of Opinion that the *Baptist* alludes to this Custom, *John* iii. 29. *The Friend of the bridegroom standeth and rejoiceth when he heareth his voice*. The Sabbath Day following in the Morning the married Couple go to the Synagogue; the Bride is accompanied by the Women. When they come to read in the *Pentateuch* they call up the Bridegroom to read, who promises very large Alms, and all those who are invited do the like. When the Prayers are over, the Men go home with the Bridegroom, and the Women with the Bride, and take their Leave with a great deal of Compliment. When the Marriage is consummated, the Bridegroom must leave his Bed, and not come near his Wife for a certain Time. There are five Days in each Month in which the Wife must advertise her Husband, that 'tis not lawful to touch her, and then he dares not sit near her, nor eat in the same Plate, nor drink in the same Glafs (b). Afterwards she must bathe in clean Water: And the Bath would be invalid if she wore so much as a Ring; for she must be washed from Head to Foot, over Head and Ears.

§ 25. ADULTERY was punished by Death. *Philo* the Jew affirms (c), That all Nations whose Customs were so different from those of his own, agreed with them on this Head, not only condemning the Adulterer to Death, but even licensing the Killing of him when caught. It is plain that the Law of the Twelve Tables indemnified him who killed the Adulterer in the Act; and *Justinian* authorised the same Thing by a Law (d), which was long current among the Christians: But that this was the constant authorised Practice of all other Nations, I am not to determine. When an Adulteress confessed her Disloyalty, the Contract for her Portion was broke, and the Things she brought being restored, she was driven from her Husband's House to be stoned: If she denied the Crime, she was led to the Eastern Gate of the Temple, where she was made to drink of the bitter Waters. This Ceremony was peculiar to the Jews, and indeed a Miracle, and therefore deserves to be a little further considered. The Jews tell that when a Husband turned jealous of his Wife, he chose two Witnesses, before whom he forbid her to see such a Man, even tho' he had been a near Relation. This Prohibition being made authentick by the Presence of two Witnesses, the Wife was not allowed to be alone with such a Man as long as one would boil an Egg or swallow three (e). For if she be, the Husband may expell her from his House, by giving up her Portion; tho' he had learned the Matter only by a Bird that flies, that is by an uncertain and light Rumour, one Witness was enough to convict her. The Process was begun before the Judge in the Place, who sent up the Examinations to the Sanhedrim, which must meet at *Jerusalem*. The Rites of the Trial by the Waters of Jealousy may be found in *Numbers* v. 11, — 31. The Rabbins tell that if guilty, scarce had she begun to drink but her Veins swelled, her Face grew livid, and her Eyes started out of her Head; upon which they cried *away with her lest she pollute the Court, for she was like to die*. But if the Husband died before the End of the Process, the Woman was dispensed with from drinking, and received her Portion. However, this Miracle ceased but a few Years before the Destruction of the Temple by the *Babylonians*. The Rabbins affirm there was such a Multitude of debauched Women in *Judea*, and the Husbands as bad as their Wives, that *Jochanan Saccades* then Patriarch of the Nation caused the Custom to be abolished (f) by the Authority of the Sanhedrim.

When the Waters of Jealousy came to be no more in Use, Divorces became frequent, and continued to be so among the Jews during the Standing of the second Temple, and even to this very Day. The Doctors after the Captivity became very loose upon that Subject. The Law, *Deut.* xxiv. 1. permitted the divorcing of a Wife when any filthy Action was found in her, by which it was easy to understand Adultery; but because the *Hebrew Word debar* signified a Word as well as an Action, the Casuists abusing this Ambiguity, began to maintain that a Word was sufficient to break the Matrimonial Union, and to give a Letter of Divorce. But

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(a) Vide Seldenum in uxore Ebraica, lib. 2. cap. 14. de annulo sponsalicio. (b) Leo de Modena, Customs of the Jews, Part 4. chap. 5. p. 177. (c) Philo de Josepho. (d) Authent. Collatio, tit. 18. cap. 15. (e) Sotah, cap. 21. (f) Seldeni uxor Ebraica, lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 290 & seqq.

if we look further into this Subject, we may find that the same Arguments that we have used before against Polygamy (a), do also condemn arbitrary Divorces for frivolous Causes, these being contrary to the primary Institution of Marriage, *Genes.* ii. 24. to the Confirmation thereof by *Malachi*, ii. 15, 16. *Let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth. For the Lord God of Israel saith That he hateth putting away :* And therefore our Lord justly condemns such Divorces, *Matth.* xix. 3, — 10. *except for fornication or adultery.* Reason rejects them as contrary to the close Union between Husband and Wife, tending to alienate Love, and prejudice the Interest of Children. May a Child desert his Parents, or may a Parent abandon his Children for every Cause? By no means, much less may a Husband put away his Wife, between whom tho' not by Nature, yet by divine Appointment the Relation is nearer, and the Bond of Union stronger. As to the Regulations, *Deut.* xxiv. 1, --- 3. these only contain a Permission or Toleration, a Political Law whereby *Moses* suffered Divorces in some Cases, to prevent the Cruelty of the *Jews* when they turned hard-hearted, and displeased with their Wives; but from the Beginning it was not so.

As to these Jewish Customs, *Hillel* and *Schanmāi* had a warm Dispute upon this Matter as about many others. The latter asserted, that Adultery alone dissolved Marriage; but the former maintained that it was sufficient if the Wife had over-dressed the Dinner. *Philo* tho' pretending Devotion, embraced *Hillel's* Maxims; and the Adulterers being punishable by Death, he conceived the Letter of Divorce signified nothing unless it extended to other Cases. Women took the same Liberty, and in their Turn divorced the jealous and disagreeable Husbands. Thus *Salome*, Sister to *Herod* the Great, sent a Letter of Divorce to *Costobarus* her Husband, and married another in his stead. *Herodias* followed her Example to marry the Tetrarch. *Berenice* Sister to *Agrippa* did the like, for having obliged *Polemon* King of *Lycia* to turn Jew to obtain her in Marriage, she afterwards divorced him. The famous *Akiba*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Hadrian* carried the Liberty further, and determined that when a Man found a Woman more handsome and agreeable, it was lawful to leave his Wife who had not these Advantages, which is very loose Morality. But Divorces have become much more unfrequent among the *Jews* since their Dispersion among the Nations which allow not the Dissolution of the Marriage Knot for light and frivolous Causes. Nevertheless there are too many of them at this Day. A jealous Husband at first forbids his Wife to see the Man that gives him Umbrage: If she continues to converse with him, and the Evidence is manifest, the Rabbins order him to forsake her, even tho' he be unwilling: Yea the Husband hath Liberty to make Complaints upon Cases less momentous than Adultery, according to *Hillel's* Tradition which is still in Force: But *Leo de Modena* says (b), *The Rabbins have annexed many Formalities both in the Writing and delivering a Bill of Divorce, on Purpose that before they can have it done, they may come to themselves and be reconciled. The Manner of it is, a Notary is sent for before one or more of the Rabbins, the Husband orders him to write a Bill of Divorce (which they call Ghatt.) It must be done upon ruled Parchment in square Letters, and there must neither be more nor fewer than a Dozen of Lines with exquisite Nicety. Neither the Writer, the Rabbins, nor the Witnesses must be a-kin to the Parties or to one another, and none of them who are present, must afterwards marry the Woman that's divorced. The Substance of the Writing is thus, On such a Day, Month and Year, I A. B. do of my own accord, divorce, put away and give free Liberty to thee N. who was heretofore my Wife, to marry whom thou wilt, &c. The Rabbins examine the Husband as to his Willingness to do this. Ten Persons must be present at least, besides two Witnesses who subscribe the Instrument, and there must be two other Witnesses at the Delivery of it. The Rabbins commands the Woman to open her Hands, and then to bring them near to one another to receive the Instrument, for fear it should fall to the Ground, and the Husband being examined over again, gives her the Piece of Parchment and says, See, there is thy Divorce, be thou parted from me, and free to marry any one whatsoever. The Woman takes the Writing and gives it to the Rabbins, who read it a second Time, then they are free. The Rabbins then acquaints the Woman that she is not to marry again for the Space of ninety Days or three Months, for fear she should be with Child. From this Time and forwards, this Man and this Woman must not be in the same Place together alone, and each of them may marry again.*

§ 26. As to the *Jews* Purity and Manner of Washing, *Moses* hath laid down several Laws concerning it, *Leviticus*, xi, to xvi. But the Rabbins have multiplied them, and thereby rendered their Law an intolerable Burden. The sixth Volume of the *Mishnah* is taken up in regulating Cases of Conscience relating to this Subject. Of all Creatures, Man only can defile and be defiled while he lives: Death is the Fountain of Impurity, and of all Impurities the greatest is that of a dead Man. Places are holy in Proportion as Admittance is forbidden to the Dead, Lepers or defiled Persons. Thus *Judea* is counted by them the holiest of all Lands, the Walled Cities there are still more pure, because Lepers cannot enter them; the Mountain upon

(a) Above, p. 552. (b) Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 4. chap. 6. p. 161.

upon which the Temple was built was yet more holy, because impure Persons were excluded from it; the holy Place and the Altar were so in Proportion. They regulate particularly what relates to Vessels from whence Water is drawn, and in which they prepare their Food (a), being not only cautious that they have not belonged to Strangers, for fear they have dressed forbidden Meats in them, but they carry their Scruples much further, for a thousand Circumstances renders the Vessels, the Staves and Cask unclean. I have already noticed their Rules concerning Food and eating (b). There are Laws to regulate their Cloaths: They must not wear any Garment that is mixed of Linen and Woollen, according to *Leviticus* xix. 19. *Deut.* xxii. 11. Hence they must not sew a Woollen Garment with Linen Thread, nor on the contrary. A Man may not wear a Woman's Garment, nor the Woman that which pertains to a Man, *Deut.* xxii. 5. They are unwilling to imitate any other Nation in their Habit, unless their own make them seem very ridiculous, and generally affect the long Garment or Gown. I have already discoursed of their *Frontlets* and *Teffilim* (c). It is very nice, *Leo de Modena* observes (d), that some of them in their dressing in the Morning put on the Right Stocking and the Right Shoe, first without tying it, then afterwards put on the Left and so return to the Right, that they may begin and end with the Right Side, which they account to be the most fortunate. They hold it unbecoming for a Man to dress himself without putting on a Girdle, or something that may divide the lower Part of the Body from the upper. Their Cloaths or their Purse becomes impure when the Strings are broken, or a Piece of Cloth is sewed to it; a Shoe whose Latchet is torn or unsewed is unclean; but their Regulations are endless. They are very modest in their Evacuations, and treat particularly of this Matter from *Deut.* xxii. 12, 13: They must accustom themselves to do it in the Morning. When any finds a Motion this Way, he must not retain it unless he render himself unclean (e). After they have done, they must wash their Hands and give Praise to God, acknowledging his great Goodness and Wisdom, that hath made Man in so wonderful a Manner, and so preserves him. They wash their Hands and Face (f) every Morning as soon as they are up, and take special Care that they neither touch Bread nor any Thing that is eatable, a Book nor any holy Thing before they have done it. Of the Quality of the Water, and the Manner of washing, the Rabbins have enjoined nice Circumstances; and they say the Water must not be cast upon the Ground, nor may they tread upon it, because they account it an unclean Thing. While they are wiping their Hands and Face, they say a Benediction. They wash again when they are to sit at Table or eat Bread; but when they are to eat Things sacred, Immersion is necessary.

The Jews may by no means sow two sorts of Seed together, as Wheat and Barley, or the like; this being prohibited by *Levit.* xix. 19. They have added, *That they must not graft any Trees; as, Nuts, Peaches, Apples, Oranges; nor have them on their Grounds* (g): Tho' they may eat the Fruit of them. They may not let their Cattle gender with a diverse Kind: Nor may they yoke an Ox and an Ass together in a Plough, *Deut.* xxii. 10. Some of these Statutes they still pretend to observe; tho' a greater Part of the Ceremonial Law, as, the Rules concerning the Priests and Levites, (their Genealogies being lost) the Laws concerning Sacrifices, the Sabbatic and Jubilee Years, and several other Things, are utterly neglected by them, as peculiar to their Rest in the holy Land; or rather as a Testimony that the End of these Things is accomplished by the *Messiah's* coming. When the Sun of Righteousness doth appear, the Shadows flee away.

§ 27. THEY have been generally accused of exacting Usury upon Christians and other Nations among whom they dwell, tho' this is contrary to Law: And Christians being not Aliens to the Commonwealth of *Israel*, nor to the Covenant of Promise, but the true Church of God, ought not to be oppressed. But the Jews refuse the Accusation, and say (h), *Their Nation is obliged, not only by the Law of Moses, but also by the Oral Law, to be exact in their Dealings, not to defraud nor to cheat any one, let him be who he will, either Jew or Gentile.* Some of the Jews maintain an officious Lie to be lawful. *Manasseh ben Israel* (i) says, *An officious Lie, which hurts no Man, and is profitable to some Person, is lawful, if Necessity require it.* For which he pleads the Examples of *Abraham* and several other great Persons recorded in Scripture, who by the Help of such Lies have escaped signal Dangers. But every kind of Lie is forbidden by the God of Truth in his holy Word, *Psal.* iv. 2. v. 9. *Prov.* vi. 17. xii. 22. xix. 5, 22. xxx. 6. *Is.* lix. 4, 14, 15. *Jer.* v. 31. *Hos.* iv. 2. And therefore it is the Character of the Lord's People, *Is.* lxiii. 8. *Surely they are my people, children that will not lie.* The Way of God is the Way of Truth, *Psal.* cxix. 30, 166. It is a standing Rule, *That we must not do evil that good may come of it:* Nor are we to wire-draw divine Precepts to our Pleasure. We are not to live by Examples, but Precepts. Whatever may be said for the Pra-

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(a) Vide Buxtorffii Synagoga, cap. 26. &c 27. (b) Above, p. 549. (c) Above, p. 547. (d) Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 1. chap. 5. p. 19. (e) Idem ibid. Part 1 chap. 6. (f) Ibid. chap. 7. 9. (g) Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 1. Chap. 13. p. m. 53. (h) Ibid. Part 2. Chap. 5. p. 81. (i) Conciliator in Genesis, quest. 37. p. m. 49.

ctice of some great Persons on this Point, they were not without their own Failings, nor is their Copy our infallible Rule.

§ 28. IN the last Place I shall conclude this Chapter with an Account of the Ceremonies of the *Jews* concerning dying Persons, Funerals, and the mourning of Relations. They reckon it an extraordinary good Work to visit the Sick, and assist them in all their Necessities. When any one thinks himself a dying, he sends for about ten Persons, of which one must be a Rabbin; and in their Presence repetes a general Confession of his Sins, with a Prayer to God (*a*). Some of the more ignorant have their Sins read over to them in an alphabetical Order (*b*). Then he takes the Rabbin's Advice as to his important Concerns, asks Pardon of God, and of all whom he has offended; blesteth his Children, or if he be a Child, receives a Blessing from his Parents, and makes his Will. The sick Person is prayed for in the Synagogue under another Name, to signify that he hath changed his Life. These that continue in the Chamber wait for the Moment when the Soul must separate from the Body with great Devotion, expecting to reap great Benefit by it; and when he expires, one of the Assistants is obliged to tear their Cloaths, which is alledged to be an ancient Custom. The modern *Jews* throw also all the Water that is found in the House into the Street, that those who hear it may regret the Loss. After Death they lay out the Corpse upon a Cloth on the Ground, with the Face covered, it being no longer lawful to see it. They bend the Thumb into the Hand, which they tie with the Strings of the *Taled*, because the Thumb having the Figure of *Schaddai*, the Devil does not come near it. The rest of the Hand remains open, to signify that he abandons all worldly Things; whereas Children come into the World with their Hands clutched, to shew that God has put all the Riches of the Earth into their Hands. They wash the Body; tho' it is hard to find a Reason why a Body should be thus purified that is going to be a Feast to Worms. They formerly embalmed their Dead, *Gen. l. 1, 2. Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him, and commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father.* It was a kind of Shame for the Kings of *Judah* not to have Perfumes burnt for them, and to be embalmed. Private Persons were at great Expences on this Account. *Joseph of Arimathea* spared no rich Spices for our Lord's Burial, and devout Women carried more to the Grave. The *Jews* practise it still in the East, where Perfumes are more common, and not so dear: But in *Italy* they are content to wash the Body well with hot Water, with Camomil and dried Roses in it, and put on him a good Shirt and Drawers, to which some add a little Rochet made of fine Lawn, and his *Taled* or square Vest with Fringes, and a white Bonnet upon his Head, and set a wax Candle at the Head, placed in a Pitcher or earthen Vessel full of Ashes. Then they put him in a Coffin, which formerly was a kind of portable Bed. Thus *Aja* being dead, *2 Chron. xvi. 14. they laid him in a bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries art.* The modern *Jews*, if he is a Person of Note, make his Coffin sharp-pointed (*c*); and if a Rabbin, they lay a great many Books upon it, which is covered with a black Cloth, and so carry it out of the House.

Great Lamentations were made for the Dead. Hence we read, *Amos, v. 16. of hired Mourners, Wailing shall be in all the streets: they shall say in the high-ways, Alas, alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing. Ezek. xxvii. 29, 30. The mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, and shall cause their voice to be heard: they shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads; they shall wallow themselves in ashes.* The accompanying the dead Body, and carrying it to the Grave, they reckon a very meritorious Work; and therefore many People round about come to the Funerals, and carry the Corps upon their Shoulders: The Relations follow it in Mourning. In some Places they used to bear lighted Torches, and to sing doleful Ditties. *David* sang a Funeral-song upon *Abner*, whose Death afflicted him, *2 Sam. iii. 32, — 34.* It appears by the Gospel, that they not only had Singers, but also hired Musicians; for our Lord found Minstrels, *Matth. ix. 23. at the Gate of a Nobleman whose Daughter he raised from the Dead.*

§ 29. THEIR Cœmities were commonly out of the Cities, pretty far remote. The Tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, with the Sepulchre of the Kings of *Judah*, were near Mount *Zion*. The Monument remains: *Dr. Prideaux* (*d*) hath given an Account thereof; and I have conversed with a learned Traveller, who had visited it, and shewed me an accurate Draught of all its Dimensions. Besides, they had several publick Burial-places, and some for private Uses. The Priests bought a Field out of *Jerusalem* to bury Strangers in, by which they meant, doubtless, the Gentile and Roman Soldiers, who then resorted in considerable Numbers to *Jerusalem*, because they had Forces there, whose Bodies they would not confound with those of the *Jews*. The Ground about *Jerusalem* being full of Rocks and Caves, particu-

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(a) Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 5. Chap. 7. p. 221. (b) Buxtorf. in Synagoga, cap. 35. p. 428 & seqq. (c) Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 5. Chap. 8. p. 225. (d) Connection, Part 1. Book 1. p. 27.

lar Persons bought Places for burying, or else hewed out new ones. Thus *Abraham* bought of *Ephron* the *Hittite* the Field and Cave of *Machpelah* to bury his Wife, and there he and his Children with several of his Offspring were interred after their Death. The Rabbi's tell, that generally the Door of the Sepulchres were very narrow; for a Stone which they rolled upon the Mouth thereof, sufficed to shut it. They left a great void Space, where the Bearers entred, and rested the Coffin. On the Sides and at the End they hallowed a certain Number of Niches, in which they placed the dead Bodies of every Family. Such Niches were common in the Catacombs of *Rome*, *Naples* and *Sicily*. They had a great Reverence for their Tombs; for it was not permitted to cross them with an Aqueduct or a Highway, nor to gather Wood there, nor to feed Flocks to pasture. They formerly placed them on great Roads, to awaken the Curiosity of Travellers, and to preserve the Memory of the Dead. Thus *Jacob*, not being able to carry *Rachel* to *Machpelah*, buried her in the Highway to *Ephrath*, which is *Bethlehem*, and set a Pillar upon her Grave, *Gen. xxxv. 19, 20.* which continued a long Time. But they have since put their Tombs in Caves, and in Hollows of Rocks and Mountains. They sometimes make them in Gardens, and at the Entry to Synagogues; or erect Places of Worship near them, in memory of Saints there buried. They feast and revel near them, as the *Papists* do in memory of the Saints (*a*). It is one of the *Jewish* Superstitions, to go and pray by the Tombs of the Saints, to whom they ascribe a Power to help those who solicit them. When they come to the Tomb at Funerals, a Speech is made to the Dead to this purpose: *Blessed be God, who has formed thee, fed thee, maintained thee, and taken away thy Life, O Dead! He knows your Numbers, and shall one Day restore your Life. Blessed be he that takes away Life, and restores it.* Then they put the Coffin in the Ground; and if he be a Person of Merit, they make his Elegy. After the Encomium they make a Prayer, which they call *The Righteousness of Judgment*, because they give Thanks to God, for having pronounced an equitable Sentence on the Dead: It begins with these Words, *Deut. xxxii. 4. He is a rock, his work is perfect.* They lay a little Bag of Earth under the Head of the Dead, and nail up the Coffin. Ten Persons turn seven Times round it, and say a Prayer for the Soul of the Deceas'd; but this is not done in all Places: The nearest Relation tears a Corner of his Cloaths, and they lay the Corpse into the Grave. The Relations are the first who throw Earth upon the Coffin; each of those present cast in Handfulls, or put it in with a Shovel, till he is quite covered. Before they leave the Place, each of them plucks up Grass three Times, which he throws behind him, saying these Words, *Psal. lxxii. 16. They of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth,* in token of the Resurrection (*b*). Then they wash their Hands, sit down and rise up nine Times, saying, *Psal. xci. He that dwelleth in the secret of the most High, &c.* and so go home.

The Rabbins reckon thirty Days of Affliction for a dead Friend: The three first are given up to Tears and Grief; and the seven following they lament his Fate. But the common Term is seven Days; during which Time they may do no sort of Work, nor bath, nor ly with their Wives, nor put on a new or a white Habit. They sit down on the Ground, take off their Shoes; and their Friends send them Wine, Bread, and hard Eggs. They eat and drink (*c*), according to what is written *Prov. xxxi. 6. Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that are of heavy hearts: let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.* He that says the Grace adds to it some Words of Consolation. There come at last ten Persons to go to Prayers every Morning and Evening with these Mourners, who do not stir out of the House all the while. To the usual Prayers some add the forty ninth Psalm, *Hear this, all ye people, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world, &c.* and pray for the Soul of the Deceas'd. No body opens his Mouth till the afflicted Person has spoke, because *Job* spoke before his Friends. They roll up the Bedding and Coverlets which were on the Deceas'd, on the same Bedstead; and set a Lamp at the Bed-head, which burns all the seven Mourning-days. Probably their Grief is increased by a foolish Opinion, that the Dead must creep through the Holes of the Earth (*d*) till they come to the holy Land, where the Resurrection shall be. When the seven Days are expired, they go abroad. A great many use to set up Lights in the Synagogue, and have Prayers said, and promise Alms for the Soul of the Deceas'd, which they repete again at the End of the Month and Year. If the Deceas'd be a Rabbi, or a Man of Note, they have at these Times Funeral-orations made for him, which they call *Esped*; and they cover the Grave with a Marble, upon which they write an Epitaph in Verse or in Prose, with the Name, the Year, Month and Day when he died, and something in his Praise. They use for a while to wear dark Cloaths, according to the Custom of most Countries, tho' *Leo de Modena* (*e*) says they have no Precept for it.

§ 30. THE Bodies of the Dead defile, and render those who touch them unclean; but the Impurity is not contracted till the Soul is separated from the Body, and there remains no Motion.

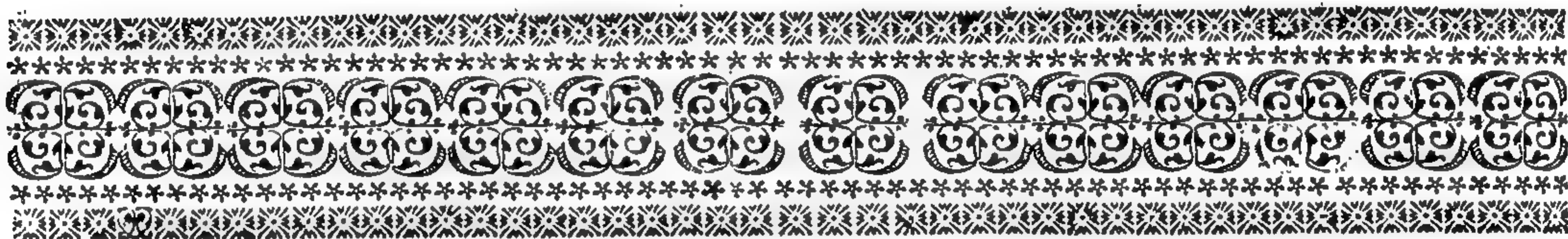
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(a) Vide Hottingerum de cippis Hebraicis. (b) Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 5. Chap. 8. p. m. 228. (c) Ibid. Chap. 9. p. 229. (d) Buxtorfii Synagoga, cap. 35. in fine. (e) Ibid. p. 231.

tion. Then a Part of a dead Body no bigger than an Olive (a), a Nut-shell full of Ashes, any Piece of a Bone, or a little Quantity of Blood, are sufficient to propagate Contagion. Lepers defile as well as the Dead; and therefore, according to the ancient Ordinances of *Moses*, they take many Precautions against them; but have mixed their superstitious Inventions with the *Levitical* Law; from which they are freed, if they would accept of the Gospel-liberty. Lastly, They take great care to shun the Contagion of Idolatry. There is a whole Treatise in the *Mishnah* containing many Regulations concerning this Matter (b). *Peringreus*, who translated it, was afraid to publish the same. But sincere Christians, who adhere to the pure written Word of God, abhor Idolatry as much as the *Jews* can do; and if they were not sadly blinded, they would never take such for Idolaters. However, they forbid to purchase from, buy, sell, borrow or lend to Idolaters three Days before the Feast, and some have extended the Prohibition also to three Days thereafter (c). *Maimonides* speaks of nothing less than Stoning and Death for those of his Nation who give themselves to this Sin; and Seducers are condemned to the same Punishment.

§ 31. I have now gone through and explained the most material Things that offered concerning the Religion, Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jews*, besides what hath been before (d) advanced concerning their ancient Ceremonial and Judicial Laws; and as to their Opinions levelled against Christianity, I shall afterwards consider them, when I come to discourse of their Conversion: And therefore I here put an End to this Chapter. These who desire to be further informed concerning this Subject, may consult the *Jewish* Writings, and also those of learned Christians; as, *Arias Montanus*, *Buxtorf*, *Cunæus*, *L'Empereur*, several Treatises of *Selden*, *Leusden*, *Lightfoot*, *Weyms*, *Sigonius*, *Drusius*, *Hulsius*, *Basnage*, *Witfins*, *Reland*, *Hottinger*, *Leydeker de Republica Hebræorum*, and others, who have made large Enquiries into the *Jewish* Antiquities.

(a) *Mishnah*, in tractatu de Tentoriis, cap. 1. (b) *Avodah Zarah*, *Cultus peregrinus*, cum præfatione *Peringrei*. (c) *Maimonides de Idololatria*. (d) Above, Chap. I. p. 101, — 108.



C H A P. VIII.

Of the History of the Jews, and of their Dispersions in the East and West, till the eighth Century of the Christian Era.

THE Preservation of the *Jewish* Nation in the midst of the Calamities they have gone through these seventeen hundred Years, is a Matter that deserves our Attention and Wonder. Emperors and Sovereigns have made and executed severe Laws against them; the enraged Multitude have raised barbarous tragical Massacres and Persecutions upon them. Heathens, Christians and *Mahometans* have united in Designs to ruin this Nation, but have never been able to accomplish it. Why? Because *God's Covenant with them is everlasting*. The Lord hath promised, *When they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God*, Levit. xxvi. 44. *Fear thou not, O Jacob, my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations whether I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee*, Jerem. xlv. 28. Jerem. xxx. 11. These famous Nations of *Affyrians*, *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Philistines*, and the rest who made once so great a Figure in the World in the Days of the Prophets, are now utterly destroyed, neither Name nor Remembrance of them being left on the Earth, since there

there is neither Nation nor Family in the World that bear their Name, nor can give reasonable Proof that they are descended of their Posterity; but the *Jews* still remain.

Their Miseries since the Destruction of *Jerusalem* are the greatest that ever happened to them, or to any other People. In other Captivities God fixed a Time when he would be reconciled, break the Yoke of their Oppressors, and restore his People to Liberty. Their longest Distress was that in *Egypt*, which continued but about two hundred Years; and they were not all that Time under Oppression: They returned from *Babylon* at the End of seventy Years. The Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes* continued but three Years and ten Days; but there is no Time limited to the End of their present Calamities. In other Trials they were comforted by Heroes wonderfully raised up, and by Prophets divinely inspired, as *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, the *Maccabees* and others, and they had encouraging Promises of the coming of the *Messiah*. But now they have no such Evidence of the divine Favour; and their pretended *Messiahs*, or rather false Cheats, add a fresh Weight to their Yoke. They were never so scattered all the World over as at this Time. *Josephus* who only saw the Beginning of their Desolation could not forbear to observe the Hand of God in it; but he ascribes the Cause to the Impiety of the Zealots (a) who had so oft profaned the Temple, by shedding innocent Blood there, that God was obliged to bring in the *Romans* to purify it by Fire. The *Jews* themselves own that they love fair Women, tho' they be Christians; which hath drawn upon them a double Misfortune; for the Husband jealous of the adulterous *Jew*, often kills him, and makes the Nation bear the Punishment deserved by a private Person. Besides, the Children proceeding from this criminal Conjunction become Christians, which the *Jews* think kindles the Wrath of God. They are as fond of Money as Beauty, so as they undermine the Commerce of Christians, and render themselves so odious by their excessive Usuries, as frequently to incur exemplary Punishments. To enrich themselves they also take false Oaths, which were so common, that *Aben Ezra* thought them a sufficient Cause to perpetuate their Misery. They are also guilty of insufferable Pride and Ambition; so that in spite of all their Calamities, they undervalue and despise all other Nations but themselves, whom they esteem as the only Favorites of Heaven. To all these we may add, that their Infidelity and Blasphemy procures them many Enemies. But above all, the great Source of their Miseries, is their Sin in crucifying our Saviour, and their despising, as hath been before observed (b), and undervaluing the Salvation purchased by the Son of God.

Having considered the Springs of the Calamities which have come upon the *Jews*, I shall now examine the History of their Dispersions both in the East and West. By the latter I mean the *Jews* in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, where they have had considerable Settlements. By the former I understand those of this Nation in *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Judea* and all the Provinces that ly to the Eastward of them.

§ 1. As to these in the East it may be enquired where the ten Tribes are whom *Salmaneser* King of *Affyria* carried captive, 2 *Kings* xvii. and what is become of them? This Point I humbly conceive is not easy to determine, but I shall offer what seems most probable. It was the Opinion of *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Theodoret*, That when *Cyrus* delivered the *Jews* out of *Babylon*, many of the ten Tribes returned with them, from the Cities of the *Medes* where they had been settled. We find in our Saviour's Time that *Anna* was of the Tribe of *Asaph*; and that the Apostles were taken from four different Tribes. Hence it follows that there were some of the ten Tribes then in *Judea*, tho' not the great Body of them. The Number of twelve thousand Families who returned with *Ezra*, is too small to comprehend all these Refugees. A great many Orientals appeared at *Jerusalem*, on the Feast of *Pentecost*, when the Apostles began to preach there: 'Tis not to be conceived that these were only Proselytes, most of them were *Jews*, who came to sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, according to the Law. They were Relicks of the ten Tribes that had been settled long ago among the *Medes*, *Elamites*, among the *Parthians*, Dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus* and *Asia*, as by the Designations given them by the inspired Writer, *Acts* ii. 9,—11. appears. *Philo*, who lived near the same Time, in his Embassy to *Caius Caligula*, represents, That *Jerusalem* ought not to be considered only as the Metropolis of *Judea*, but as the Center of a Nation dispersed in many Places, able to supply that Prince with many powerful Succours; for they dwelt in *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Egypt*, *Macedonia*, and *Bitthynia*, and some of them in *Persia*, and in other Places of the East. Indeed the ten Tribes transported by *Salmaneser*, seem still to have resided in *Persia*, notwithstanding the various Revolutions of that Monarchy. Here we find them, and I know not why the *Jews* maintain that they are lost. The Prophet *Hosea* ix. 16, 17. foretold, *Ephraim is smitten.—My God shall cast them away, because they did not hearken to him; they shall be wanderers among the nations.* This hath happened, they no longer make a national Body, there is great Confusion in their Genealogies, and the Tribes do not make that Figure which they bore when the Kings and Califs permitted them to have a Head of the Captivity:

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.* (b) Above p. 507.

vity : Their Numbers are lessened by Persecutions and Revolutions of the Government. But since there are many *Jews* still to be seen in the great Cities of *Persia* and *Media*, 'tis probable that these are of the Posterity of the ten Tribes who still subsist there. This Account is more certain than that of the Apocryphal *Esdra*s, who tells us (a), that they came to the river *Euphrates*, where God wrought a miracle, drying up the river till they had passed over, and then in a year and a half's march they came to a city called *Harshareth*. But this Author is a mere Impostor, so far from being the true *Ezra*, that he seems to have lived after *John* wrote the *Revelation*; for he speaks (b) of *Jesus* the Son of God, of Christ's Death, of a Multitude standing with him on Mount *Zion*. He boasts of divine Inspiration by drinking a fire-coloured Liquor, by the Help whereof he dictated two hundred and four Books, with many other ridiculous Things (c), which even the *Papists* are ashamed to own. Nor are we always to give credit to *Benjamin de Tudela*, who wrote his *Travels* or *Itinerary* in the twelfth Century, but takes many things upon Trust, which he was not particularly acquainted with. Nor are we to depend on the uncertain Conjectures that the ten Tribes are in *Tartary*, as some suppose, nor that they are in *America*, as Sir *William Pen* in his Letter of the present State of the *English* Plantations in *America* guesses, and *Manasseh ben Israel*, in his *Hope of Israel* (d), and Mr. *Eliot*, in his *Treatise of the Jews in America*. We may more certainly discover the true Situation of the ten Tribes from the sacred Scriptures, where we find, 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. That the king of *Assyria* took *Samaria*, and carried *Israel* away into *Assyria*, and placed them in *Halab*, and in *Habor*, by the river *Gozan*, and in the cities of the *Medes*. If it be further enquired where these Places are, the learned *Samuel Bochart* affirms (e), That *Chalach* is *Ptolemy's Chalacena*, situate on the North of *Assyria*. *Habor* is the Mountain *Chaboras*, or rather *Chaboras*, mentioned by the same Geographer, situate between *Media* and *Assyria*. Between this Mountain and the *Caspian* Sea stands the City *Gozan*, which gave its Name to the Province, and the River which was called *Cyrus*, after the *Persians* made themselves Masters of the Country. As to the Cities of the *Medes*, we are more in the dark, because the sacred Historian doth not specify any; but we may presume that this Colony was placed in the mountainous *Media*, which was less peopled than the lower Country: For these high Regions wanted Inhabitants, and if we believe *Strabo* (f) were planted by Colonies sent thither. *Media* was a very good Country; *Ecbatana*, where their Kings kept their Residence, was one of the finest and largest Cities then in the World. *Susa* where they spent the Winter was also very considerable. On the North-side stood high Mountains, where was good Pasturage, but there was need of People used to Tillage; and the *Israelites* were as fit for this Purpose as any other.

The *Talmudists* seat their Brethren in *Media* (g). *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who lived in the twelfth Century, reckons fifty thousand Persons of this Nation at *Medai* (h) a City of mountainous *Media*. They also stretched upon the Right into the Provinces bordering upon the *Caspian* Sea, at present called *Gorgian* and *Tabrestan*, and at *Arshareth*, which is a *Hebrew* Name, signifying the City of Relicks, or, the Remains of *Israel*. 'Tis well known that the *Jews* were numerous at *Nineveh*, and at *Babylon*. Besides these who were carried thither at the Time of the Captivity, *Artaxerxes* sent a new Colony of that Nation thither. They had the Courage to resist *Alexander* the Great, when he went to rebuild the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon* (i). While other People were keen to furnish Materials for the Building, the *Jews* refused this Task, thinking it had some Stain of Idolatry. *Hecatæus*, cited by *Josephus* (k), tells that the greater Part of these *Jews* who opposed *Alexander*, did not live at *Babylon*, but in the Country, probably about *Chaboras*, which was at no great Distance from it. He also observes, that this Province was very large; since it contained many *Satrapæ* or Governments, and that the *Jews* returning home to their own Province, demolished all the Temples and Altars consecrated to Idols; and these *Satrapæ* paid a Fine for some, and obtained Pardon for the rest. *Antiochus* the Great lessened the Number of the *Jews* at *Babylon*, by transporting two thousand Families of them to the lesser *Asia*. Tho' *Babylon* was afterwards much depopulated, there were many *Jews* there in the Time of the Apostles, which obliged *Peter* the Apostle of the Circumcision to take Care of them; and thence he wrote his Epistle, 1 *Pet.* v. 13.

§ 2. THE Origin of the *Jews* in *Egypt* may be discovered from several Parts of the foregoing History. After the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, and the Murder of *Gedalia* Governor of *Judea*, *Jochanan* the Son of *Kareab*, went in Search of a Sanctuary in *Egypt* against *Ishmael's* Cruelty, *Jerem.* xli. — xliv. He carried all the People left by the *Chaldeans* thither, and even the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who exclaimed against this Violence, and foretold the Miseries that should accompany the Refugees in *Egypt*; all which came to pass: For *Pharaoh*

(a) 4 *Esdra*s, xiii. 43. — 45. (b) *Ibid.* vii. 28. & ii. 47. (c) Vide Junii notas in *Esdram*. Heidegg. *Enchiridion*, p. 506. 507. Raynold, prælect. 30. (d) *Spes Israelis*, Amstel. 1650. (e) *Bocharti Phaleg*. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 220. See also *Fulleri Miscellan. sacra*, lib. 2. cap. 5. (f) *Strabo*, lib. 11. p. 522. (g) *Bereschit Rabba*, Sect. 33. apud *Lightfoot*, *horæ Hebraicæ* in 1 *Cor.* p. 931. (h) In *Itinerario*, vide *Hornii Ulyssæ*, p. 391. — 410. (i) Above p. 308. (k) *Contra Appionem*, lib. 1.

raob Hophrab being conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, many of the natural Inhabitants of *Egypt* were destroyed or transported whither the Conqueror pleased, and also of the *Jews*. Nevertheless many *Jewish* Families remained in the Country, who afterwards spread considerably. *Alexander* the Great sent a Colony of *Jews* to *Alexandria* which he founded, and gave them great Privileges. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* caused the Holy Scriptures to be translated out of the *Hebrew* into the *Greek* Language (a) in favour of the *Jews*. *Ptolemy Philopator*, a Monster of Cruelty and Debauchery, persecuted them (b). *Onias* built a Temple for them (c). What Calamities came upon them in *Egypt* after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, have also been already (d) observed.

Some *Jewish* Refugees passed from *Egypt* into the Higher *Æthiopia*, or the Empire of *Abyssinia*. If we believe the Traditions of that Country, the Queen of *Sheba* carried *Solomon's* Religion thither; and they tell that after her Return she was delivered of a Son called *Meneleher* (e), who was sent to *Jerusalem* and educated in the *Jewish* Religion by *Solomon* his Father; who upon his coming home brought with him Priests and *Levites* to instruct his Country. They also confidently assert, that the *Jewish* Religion was preserved there without Books by the Help of Tradition; and therefore the Kings of *Abyssinia* at this Day call themselves Kings of the *Israelites*. But 'tis hard to believe that *Judaism* subsisted in *Æthiopia* from the Time of the Queen of *Sheba* without Books and Writings: 'Tis more probable that it was carried thither from the neighbouring Country of *Egypt*, where the *Jews* had ancient Settlements. 'Tis also probable that by Commerce between the *Egyptians* and *Æthiopians*, the *Jews* passed into *Arabia*, tho' we can give no certain Account of the ancient State of *Judaism* in that Country.

It is more sure that the *Jews* were dispersed in the Cities of *Asia* and *Greece*, in the Time of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, where they were called *Hellenists*. *Antiochus* the Great sent them into *Lydia* and *Phrygia*: From thence they passed into *Thracia*, where they were fixed in the fourth Century, when *Constantine* the Great fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Constantinople*, which is in that Province. The Kings of *Syria*, who valued themselves upon building many great Cities, endeavoured to draw Inhabitants to them of all Religions; and for their Encouragement gave them not only Liberty of Conscience, but even the same Privileges as other *Greek* Subjects. Hence the *Jews* multiplied in that Country to so considerable Numbers, that when the *Romans* in the Wars of *Vespasian* massacred the *Jewish* Inhabitants in *Ascalon*, *Ptolemais*, *Damascus* and other Places, they durst not meddle with these of this Nation in *Antioch* and *Apamea*. After the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* who remained in *Judea* were sold and scattered in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, but could not in all these Places preserve the Distinction of their Tribes and Families; nor was it necessary, when the End of that Distinction was accomplished in the Coming of the *Messiah*.

§ 3. HAVING seen how the *Jews* were dispersed in the East, we are next to enquire how they came to be settled in the West. Their Scatterings in all the Nations of the World are an Accomplishment of what the Lord denounced against them for breaking his Law, *Deut. xxviii. 64, 65. The Lord shall scatter thee among all people from the one end of the earth to the other, and among all these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.* *Rutilius* a Heathen, who had been Prefect of *Rome* about the Beginning of the fifth Century, and neither loved *Jews* nor Christians, describes the great Numbers of the former that had been dispersed at *Rome* and in *Italy*, in elegant Verse, as at the Foot of the Page (f). But if we enquire further into the History of these Dispersions, we may find that tho' the *Jews* had some Correspondence with the *Romans* from the Time of the *Maccabees*, as may be seen in the foregoing History (g), yet it does not appear that any of this Nation had any fixed Abode at *Rome* before the Time of *Pompey* the Great. He having conquered *Jerusalem* 63 Years before the Birth of *Christ*, conveyed several *Jews* to *Rome*, and made Slaves of them. Their Masters having set them at Liberty, they would not quit the City, but were distinguished by the Name of *Libertines* or free Men. They always preserved their Religion, and sent their Presents to *Jerusalem*, where they had their Synagogue, called *Acts vi. 9. The Synagogue of the Libertines.* *Augustus* the Emperor favoured them because they had been zealous for the Interest of *Julius Cæsar* his Uncle; and they so multiplied at *Rome* under the Protection of this great Prince, that fifty Deputies arriving from *Jerusalem* to plead the Privileges of their Nation, eight thousand *Jews* Inhabitants of *Rome* (h) joined them without counting their Wives and Children; so that by adding them, we may reckon at that Time fifty thousand *Jews* in that great City. Many of them were *Roman* Citizens. The Apostle *Paul* boasts of this Privilege, *Acts, xxii. 25. 28.* Whether this was common to him with the Inhabitants of *Tar-*

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(a) Above, p. 322. & seqq. (b) Above, p. 325. (c) Above, p. 364. (d) Above, p. 399, 510. (e) Geddes's History of *Æthiopia*. (f) *Rutilius* in *Itinerario*, lib. 1. *Atque unam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset Pompeii bellis imperioque Titî, Latius excisæ gentis contagio serpit, Victoresque suos hanc vicia premit.* In English, *I wish Judæa ne'er had been o'ercome By Pompey's Wars nor Titus' Armies won. The Poison of that Nation widely spreads, The vanquish'd o'er the Victors lift their Heads.* (g) Above, p. 361, 367, 368. (h) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 12.*

ius a Roman Colony, or was purchased by his Father or some of his Ancestors, I shall not determine: But this proves that a *Jew* might be a Citizen of Rome, and thereby have a Claim to Honours and Dignities. They had also Liberty of Conscience, and the Exercise of their Religion with their Feasts and Sabbaths. They enjoyed a Sort of Council or House of Judgment, which decided Controversies; to which the Apostle gave Account of his Conduct. And this House seems to have kept Correspondence with the Sanhedrim, since he thought they had been informed of his Business; and they were surprised that they had received no Letters from *Jerusalem* concerning him, *Acts*, xxviii. 17, 21. Lastly the *Jews* had an Abode beyond the *Tiber*, for which *Martial* (a), and *Horace* (b) lampoons them, laughing at their Circumcision. *Tiberius* declared himself an Enemy to them, and *Caligula* was as much against them: But of these Things I have formerly discoursed (c), and of the several Events that happened to them till the Reign of the Emperor *Hadrian*, about the Year of our Lord 135, and therefore shall now go to consider their Settlements in other Parts of the West.

To find out the Time of their coming into *Spain* and into *Gaul*, we must descend to the Reigns of *Titus* and *Hadrian*, who having driven most of the Inhabitants out of *Judea*, obliged them to find out new Settlements. Perhaps some of this Nation might arrive in these Parts a little sooner, when *Archelaus* was banished into *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and *Herod* the Tetrarch into *Lions* (d). They doubtless carried some *Jews* in their Retinue thither; but exiled Princes could not support a great Number of Attendants; yet some descended from them or their Servants might continue a long Time in these Regions. But the greater Number that settled in these Western Parts, were such as had weathered the Storm which laid their Native Country desolate, in the Reigns of *Titus* and *Hadrian*; who finding no Recess in the East, went into *Spain* or into *Gaul*, or other Places of the Roman Empire, where they might get Bread, or else were conveyed thither by the Masters who bought them, and gave them their Liberty: And therefore we may justly reject the Dreams of *Solomon ben Virgæ* or other *Jewish* Writers, who fancy their Countrymen came into these Parts in the Time of *Solomon* King of *Israel*, or of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. One Thing seems certain, that there was a considerable Number of *Jews* in *Spain* about the Beginning of the fourth Century, since the Council of *Elvira*, held about the Year of our Lord 308, was obliged to make many Canons (e) against them.

Whatever Antiquity the *Jews* in *Germany* pretend to, we only know that they were at *Triers* and *Cologn* in *Hadrian's* Time, and made so considerable a Figure there in *Constantine* the Great's Reign, that this Emperor emitted an Edict, by which He permitted the Magistrates of *Cologn* to take the *Jews* into the Magistracy, to make them *Decurions*, and to grant them other Privileges (f); which was not done merely to gratify the *Jews*: For at some Seasons these Offices are burdensome. The Magistrates complained that their People were oppressed, and the *Jews* too much excoemed from these Burdens; and therefore the Emperor Authorises the Magistrates of *Cologn* to chuse some of the Synagogue for such Offices, and deprives the *Jews* of the Liberty of refusing them. But in after Ages the *Jews* made so little a Figure in *Germany* as hardly to be known, which is no Wonder; for those vast Countries being peopled by barbarous Nations, were not fit for the Commerce of Strangers; only they still maintained themselves at *Triers* and *Cologn*, where they had settled sooner. From thence they spread into other Places, and multiplied in *Hungary*, *Bohemia* and *Poland*. They also became numerous in *Gaul*; thence they passed into *England*. The several Events that happened them in these Places, with their Academies and learned Men, we shall meet with in the Progress of this Work.

§ 4. I have already deduced the History of the *Jews* from the Creation of the World to the Reign of the Emperor *Hadrian* (g). I shall now go on with what happened them in the Time of the Emperors his Successors. Tho' the *Jews* boast of the Favour they received from *Antoninus Pius*, yet 'tis certain that he defeated their Insurrections (h) by his Captains and Presidents of his Provinces. The Matter seems to stand thus: The Prohibition of Circumcision emitted by the Emperor *Hadrian* was still in Force; he obliged them to it by the Torrent of his Conquests, and the Power of his Arms: The *Jews* could not long bear to be deprived of this sacramental Sign of their Religion; but to recover it, they resolved with Sword in Hand to compel *Antoninus* to restore them this Privilege. They being overcome by the Emperor's Troops, he was so favourable as to allow them the Liberty of Circumcision, under some Restrictions that the *Samaritans* might not have the same Benefit; and that the *Jews* were not allowed to make Profelytes (i); nor might any Christian be castrated.

About this Time *Justin Martyr* had a Conference with *Tryphon* a circumcised *Jew*,
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(a) Lib. 6. Epig. 93. Et detracta cani Transiberina cutis. (b) Curtis Judæis oppedere, Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 9. (c) Above, p. 492 & 494. (d) Above, p. 483. (e) Concilium Illibertinum, can. 49, 50, 78, apud Caranzam. (f) Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. leg. 2, 3, 4. (g) Above, p. 1. to p. 511. (h) Capitolinus in Antonino Pio, Judæos rebellantes contudit per præfides & legatos. (i) Origen contra Celsum, lib. 2. p. 68. Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. p. 71.

a private Person whom the Defolation of his Country had obliged to shift from Place to Place in Greece; at last *Justin* meets with him. I shall not enlarge upon the Dialogue it self, I only observe, that as *Justin* had exactly read the Writings of the Prophets, so in order to prove that *Jesus* is the *Messias*, he heaps Testimonies one upon another, without any great Art or (a) Choice: He represents to the *Jew*, that their Cities were burnt and desolate, or inhabited by Strangers; that they could no more go to *Jerusalem*; that notwithstanding of these Miseries, they ceased not in their Synagogues to curse to Hell all that believed in *Jesus*; since they were not able to persecute them to Death, they branded them as *Atheists* and impious Men. He represents the Rabbins as poor Divines, running after Trifles (b), and subtle Expli- cations, as they have done ever since, and therefore they had Reason to forbid their Disciples to engage in Conferences with the Christians. *Tryphon* was not able to answer *Justin's* Argu- ments: However, the Conference had no other Effect than that each of the Disputants conti- nued in their Opinion, praying to God for the Conversion and Prosperity of one another. Soon after this *Antoninus Pius* died in the Year of our Lord 160.

Tho' *Marcus Aurelius* the succeeding Emperor was naturally of a mild Temper, yet this freed not the *Jews* from a great deal of Misery in his Reign. He had so bad an Opinion of them, that as he passed thro' *Judea* in his Way to *Egypt*, he cried out, that he had found a People as wicked as the *Marcomans* and *Sarmatians*; and to punish them he renewed *Hadrian's* Laws against them. This hindred them not from signalising their Hatred against the Christi- ans in *Asia*, which particularly appeared at *Smyrna* on the Occasion of *Polycarp's* Martyrdom; where they not only joined their Voices with the Heathens in crying out on the Theatre, *He is an Atheist*, but they were also most vehement round the Pile (c) set for burning him; yea they persecuted him after his Death, by soliciting the Judge to deny his Body to the Christians, under the false Pretence that they would worship it, and forsake *Jesus Christ* for him. At last the Captain of the Guard seeing the bitter Rage of the *Jews* against the dead Body, caused it to be reduced to Ashes. His Martyrdom is placed *February 22*, in the Year of our Lord 166. These Commotions might be made by a mutinous Rabble; but the *Jews* seem to have enjoyed great Liberty at *Smyrna*, since they were present at the Theatre, and there distinguished themselves from the Heathens. We find also some Footsteps of their Au- thority in *Phrygia*, by the Answers that the Orthodox made to the *Montanists*, when they accused the Christians as Murderers of the Prophets, because they did not receive the pretend- ed Prophets of this Party. But let them answer, said the Orthodox (d), *Is there any of them, since Montanus and his Women began to prattle, that has been persecuted by the Jews, or killed by the Impious? Is there any Woman among them that has been whipped in the Synagogues or stoned?* This Author then blames the *Jews* for persecuting the Christians, scourging them in the Synagogues, pursuing them in the Streets with Stones, and even crucifying them. In- deed at this Time there were many *Hellenist Jews* in *Asia*, who had continued there from the Time of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kingdom erected by the Successors of *Alexander the Great*. The Name of *Hellenists* was given them, because they were mingled with the *Greeks*, spoke their Language, and read the holy Scriptures in it of the Version of the Seventy. They join- ed with other *Jews* in the same Religion and Ceremonies, and particularly in hating and per- secuting the Christians. They are called in the *New Testament*, *John*, xii. 20. *Ἕλληνες*, or *Greeks*.

There is little to be remarked concerning the *Jews* in the Reigns of the Emperors *Com- modus*, *Pertinax* and *Julian*. *Severus* an *African* ascended the Throne in the Year of our Lord 195. He being a warlike Prince, defeated *Pescennius Niger*, who was declared Emperor by the Legions in *Syria*, in a great Battle near the Bay of *Iffus*, and afterwards overcame *Albi- nus*, another Competitor, in *Gaul*. He reduced and razed *Byzantium*, and extended the *Roman* Conquests over the *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Arabians*, and other Nations in the East. As he re- turned from these Provinces, he marched through *Judea*; and *Eusebius* (e) says, that he made War with the *Jews* and *Samaritans*. In the same Progress he made severe Laws rela- ting to *Palestine*, one of which prohibited any Person to turn a *Jew* (f). He indeed allowed them to circumcise their Children, but discharged them either to receive Proselytes, or to ini- tiate Strangers by this Sacrament. And *Tertullian* (g) tells us, *That the Jews then were a Par- cel of dispersed Vagabonds, wandring from their own Country over the whole Universe, without a King, having neither the Favour of God nor Man, it being not permitted to them so much as to salute their own Land, nor to set a Foot in it even in the Quality of Strangers or Travellers.* 'Tis true they had some Settlements in *Galilee*; but the Inhibition of living in the holy Land given by *Hadrian* (h), was still in force in the Reign of *Severus*. He seems to have become more favourable to them towards the latter End of his Government, mainly because they had adhered to his Interest in opposition to *Pescennius Niger*; and some rich Persons among them

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(a) Justin Martyr. Dialog. p. 217, — 371. (b) Ibid. p. 256. (c) Vide Epistolam Ecclesie Smyrnenfis de S. Po- lycarpi martyrio, p. 62. edit. Oxoniz. Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 14, 15. (d) Euseb. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 16. (e) In Chronico, ad A. D. 200. (f) Spartianus in Severo. (g) In Apologetico, cap. 21. operum p. 35. (h) Above, p. 511.

bought his Favour : So as he permitted them to enter into Offices (a), but obliged them to pay great Taxes. These Advantages rendered them more insolent to the Christians, whom this Emperor persecuted.

§ 5. *CARACALLA* succeeded his Father *Severus* about the Year of our Lord 212. He proved favourable to the *Jews* : One of them was his Play-fellow (b) ; and they took the Advantage of the Peace they then enjoyed to collect their Traditions in the *Mishnah*, of which we have already (c) spoken, tho' the Book was not published till some time afterwards. They very narrowly escaped a Persecution in *Heliogabalus's* Reign. He had been circumcised, and from a pretended Devotion abstained from Swines Flesh ; but being advanced to the Empire, became a Monster of Luxury (d), yea would have the *Jews* and all others to acknowledge him for a new Deity. But he being hateful to all Men, was put to Death by his own Guard, after a short Reign of three Years nine Months and four Days ; and thus the *Jews* were happily delivered. The Clemency of *Alexander Severus* contributed to their Prosperity, nor doth it appear that any of the following Emperors, viz. *Maximinus*, *Gordian*, *Philippus Arabs*, *Decius* or *Valerian* ever disturbed them. Thus their Tranquillity was continued (even while the Christian Church suffered sore Persecutions) to the Year of our Lord 260.

The famous *Zenobia* Queen of the East is asserted to have been a *Jewess* (e). Though she did not persecute the Christians, she afforded no doubt Protection and Favour to the People of her own Religion. *Odenat* her Husband, with a Son he had by a former Wife, being cut off, *Zenobia* reigned alone. She added *Egypt* to her Conquests, extended her Arms into *Asia minor*, as far as *Tyana* and *Ancyra*, passed into *Bithynia*, and there took *Chalcedon* (f). But the Emperor *Aurelian* restored the Affairs of the Romans, defeated *Zenobia*, took her Prisoner as she was going to pass the *Euphrates*, and led her to *Rome*, there to adorn his magnificent Triumph in the Year of our Lord 274 ; and soon after this *Aurelian* himself was killed by some Officers of his Army. This Glimpse of Prosperity and Authority of the *Jewish* Nation soon vanished : Many of their Doctors retired into the Cities of *Persia*. *Diocletian*, that terrible Persecutor of the Christians, did not attack the *Jews* ; their Numbers being extremely lessened in the Empire, he did not think it necessary to employ open Force against them.

§ 6. IN the fourth Century the Fate of the *Jews* varied according to the different Genius of Christian Princes. *Constantine* the Great contented himself with making some Laws that restrained their Liberty to narrower Bounds, and general Councils were not very favourable to them. In *Spain* Christians and *Jews* used to live socially together ; but the Council of *Illiberis* (g) Forbad Christians to eat at the same Table with a Jew, under Pain of being secluded from the Lord's Supper. And the same Council, by another Decree (h), Forbad the Possessors of Lands to suffer their Fruits to be blessed by the *Jews*, because their Benedictions frustrated those of the Christians ; and threatened absolutely to cast out of the Church those that should not obey this Law. These Canons, especially the first of them, seem very improper Methods to convince the *Jews* of the Excellency of our holy Religion. 'Tis true the *Jews* had taken all Opportunities hitherto of shewing their Hatred to Christians, while they were groaning under the heavy Persecutions of Heathen Princes ; but our Lord hath taught us to render good for evil, to love our enemies, and to shew our selves the children of the Highest, by being kind to the unthankful and to the evil. To go on with our History :

The Emperor *Constantine* also emitted several Edicts concerning them. By one of these he decrees (i), That if the *Jews* shall attack any Person with Stones, or in any other furious Manner, to renounce their Religion ; the Offender with all his Accomplices shall be burnt : And if any Christian shall join their wicked Sett, and apply himself to their Councils ; both he that doth so, and they that entice him, shall be punished. This Law is dated October 17, *Constantine* and *Licinius* being Consuls the fourth Time ; that is, in the Year of our Lord 315. The Occasion thereof seems to be this : One *Joseph*, (of whom we have before (k) heard, having abandoned the Synagogue, to embrace Christianity, the *Jews* were so incensed against him, that they went to insult him in his own House ; and finding that there he was reading the Gospel, they forced his Book from him, loaded him with Blows, hawled him to the Synagogue, and there unmercifully scourged him. Not content with this Violence, they pushed him into the River *Cydnus*, where he was in Danger of being drowned (l). But God having preserved him, he received Baptism, made himself known at Court, and obtained the Emperor's Leave to build Christian Temples in several Places where none had been before : And to prevent the like intolerable Abuses in all Time coming, the Emperor framed this Law. The *Jews* had Settlements at *Dio-Cæsarea*, *Tiberias*, *Nazareth* and *Capernaum*, and had so appropriated these Cities to themselves, as not to admit Strangers, nor even *Samaritans*. *Joseph* undertook to introduce the Christian Religion into all these Cities. The *Jews* resisted him, and made use of magical

(a) Spartianus in *Severo*. (b) *Id.* in *Caracalla*. (c) Above, p. 525. (d) *Lampridius* in *Heliogabalo*. (e) *Athanasius* ad *Solitarium*, Tom. 2. p. 857. (f) *Vopiscus* in *Aureliano*. (g) *Concilium Illibertinum*, A. D. 308. Canone 50. (h) *Ibid.* can. 49. (i) *Codex Theodosius*, lib. 15. tit. 8. de *Judeis*, l. 1. (k) Above, p. 523. (l) *Epiphanius*, Tom. 1. hæc. 30. p. 135 & seqq.

magical Spells to disappoint his Design. But he dissipated their Spells by invoking the Name of *Jesus*, and was mightily supported to restrain their Irregularities, in Places where their great Numbers made them venture to be insolent, by the Help of the above written Law.

The same Emperor forbad Christians to turn *Jews* under the Pain of an arbitrary Punishment. Such who were Slaves to *Jewish* Masters were in greatest Danger; and therefore he prohibited the *Jews* to circumcise any who were in their Service (*a*), and gave Liberty to all who accused their Master of having circumcised them, or that embraced Christianity. *Eusebius*, who must have known this Law, gives it a greater Extent; for he says the *Jews* were not allowed to buy Christian Slaves, nor keep them in their Houses, giving this Reason for it (*b*), *That it was not lawful that those who were ransomed by the Blood of Christ should be subject to them who killed the Prophets, and murdered the Son of God.* Lastly, *Constantine* ordered that the *Jews* might be made *Decurions*, because it was fit they should have their Share in the publick Burdens; but then he exempted the Patriarchs (*c*), the Priests, and those who had considerable Employments in the Synagogues; because they being taken up by their Functions, could not attend the Duties of these Offices; for indeed the Post of a *Decurion* was not an Honour but a Servitude.

At that Time this Nation did undergo a cross Turn of Fortune in the Person of one of her Grandees in the East; this was *Ravena*, or *Rabba Nachmanides*, Head of the Academy of *Sora* (*d*). He wrote a Commentary on *Genesis* of great Esteem with them, and removed so great Difficulties, as he was called a *Leveller of Mountains*: But falling under the Displeasure of *Sapor* King of *Persia*, he was sent into Banishment, under which he died. He left a Nephew whom he called *Avii*, for two Reasons, one, that he had been an Orphan, entertained out of Charity; and the other that he would not let him be known by the Name of *Nachman*, lest the Disciples should be confounded with the Master, the Nephew with the Uncle. He made such Proficiency by *Ravena's* Lectures, as he became the Head of the Academy of *Pumbedita*, in the Year of our Lord 325, which he governed till 339. There was another Professor in the Academy of *Sora*, called *Joseph of great Light*, because he was blind. He was also surnamed *Sinai*, because they pretended he knew all the Traditions said to be given by *Moses* on that Mount; and he is believed to have been the Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphrases upon some of the *Hagiographa*, as on the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ruth* and *Esther*.

In *Constantine's* Reign, the *Jews* who were potent at the Court of *Persia*, revenged themselves for what they had suffered in the *Roman* Empire, by kindling a cruel Persecution against the Christians of the East. They being accused of favouring the *Romans*, then at War with the *Persians*; *Sapor* was so enraged against them, as to burden them with insupportable Taxes, and to order all the Priests and Ministers of the Christians to have their Heads cut off, commanding their Churches also to be demolished, and all that belonged to them to be carried to the publick Treasury; and that *Simeon* Archbishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* should be brought to him as a Traitor to the State, and Enemy to the Religion of the *Persians*. These Orders were executed with great Severity; for *Simeon* was taken and brought to the King in Irons, who refusing to worship the Sun, was condemned to Death, with many other Christians (*e*). And the Persecution was continued till *Sapor's* Death.

Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, died in the Year of our Lord 338. His Son *Constantius* was more severe against the *Jews* than his Father, being provoked by what they had done at *Alexandria*, when *Gregory* the *Cappadocian* went to succeed *Athanasius*; where they joining with the Heathens, then numerous in that great City, burnt the sacred Books, undressed themselves in the Baptisteries, and prophaned them in so impudent a Manner, that *Athanasius* (*f*) was ashamed to speak of it. Their Insolence went so far, as to strip Virgins of their Clothes, and then force them to abjure their Religion. This being done at the Solicitation of *Gregory* the *Arian* Bishop, who had great Interest at Court, no Body punished it. But the *Jews* ventured to go further; for when *Magnentius* a *Barbarian* usurped the Honours and Titles of the Empire, after the Murder of the Emperor *Constans* in the West, in the Year 351; which obliged the Emperor *Constantius* to march all his Forces out of the East against the Usurper: Then they rose in Rebellion at *Dio-Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. Mean Time *Gallus*, whom the Emperor had made *Cæsar*, and ordered to march against the *Persians*, came into *Judea*, defeated the Rebels, and razed *Dio-Cæsarea*, tho' it was some time afterwards rebuilt. *Constantius* having defeated and killed *Magnentius*; and having all the Success he wished for in his Expedition into the West, upon his Return shewed his Displeasure against the *Jews*: For *Hilary*, who wrote about that Time, tells us (*g*), *That by an Edict from the Roman Emperor, they were hindered from entering into Jerusalem.* By which it seems he renewed the Edicts of *Hadrian* against them. He also made it punishable by Death and Confis-

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(*a*) Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 9. Leg. 1, 2. (*b*) Eusebius in vitâ Constantini, lib. 4. cap. 27. (*c*) Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. lege 2. (*d*) Juchasin, Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinnica, Tom. 3. & 4. (*e*) Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 8, — 15. Socrates, lib. 7. cap. 15. (*f*) Athanasius in Epist. ad Orthodoxos. (*g*) Hilarius in Psalmum 58. p. m. 393, edit. 1570.

cation of Moveables, if a Jew should circumcise so much as a Christian Servant (a). He prohibited their having Christians in their Service; and forbade under Pain of Death any Christian to embrace their Religion, and discharged any Jew (b) from marrying a Christian. Finally, he loaded them with Taxes, and had projected new pecuniary Edicts against them when he died. In the same Reign *Epiphanius*, who was born a Jew, embraced Christianity. One *John*, the Author of his Life, hath mixed with it a great many idle fabulous Stories (c), which it is not my Business to repeat: But that he renounced *Judaism*, and became afterwards a famous Bishop, and an useful Instrument in the Christian Church, is evident from his Life and Works.

The Emperor *Constantius* died in the Year of our Lord 361, and was succeeded by *Julian*, commonly called the *Apostate*, his Cousin. The Particulars of his Life, and the means by which he endeavoured to restore Paganism, and how God in Mercy to the Christian Church disappointed them, I have discoursed of in another Essay, and they belong not to my present Undertaking. I shall only at present notice, that he gave all Manner of Assistance and Encouragement to the Jews in Contempt of the Christians; for he hated both: But when he found the former were like to be Instruments to promote his Purpose, he called for them, spoke tenderly to them, pitied their miserable and afflicted State, remitted the Tribute put upon them, desired the Help of their Prayers in his Persian Wars, and wrote to them a kind Letter still extant (d), wherein he commanded them immediately to go repair the Temple, retrieve the Customs of their Ancestors, and worship God according to the Rites of their Religion. This he did to allure them to the Pagan Superstition; or if that failed, to evidence to the World that our Saviour was a false Prophet, who so expressly foretold the final Destruction of that Church and State. The Jews were so glad of these Orders, that they began to triumph over the Christians, threatening to make them feel as terrible Effects of their Severity as ever they themselves had endured by the Romans. When the News came abroad about rebuilding the Temple, Contributions were made by all Hands, the very Jewish Women sold their Ornaments and Jewels to advance the Work; what was wanting the Emperor commanded to be furnished out of his own Treasury. *Alypius* of *Antioch* was Overseer of the Work, Tradesmen were brought from all Parts, Materials were made ready, and the Work begun. *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, minding the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and that of our Lord, told them, *That even now the Time was come, that not one Stone should be left upon another*. The Event justified the Prediction; for when the Builders had cleared the Ground, a sudden Storm arose that carried away these vast Heaps of Rubbish, with a great Quantity of Lime and Sand prepared for the Work. This was followed with a dreadful Earthquake, which cast up Stones from the Foundation, and overturned some adjoining Houses. Several Persons were killed, and others drawn out with broken Legs and Arms, almost bruised to Death. When they attempted again to build, a Fire rushed out upon them that destroyed many, and scorched the rest. These miraculous Interposals of Providence brought over some Jews, who were baptised, and admitted as Members of the Christian Church: But the greater Part continued in Unbelief, and *Julian*, like *Pharaoh*, hardened his Heart. This is attested by Ecclesiastick Historians (e), and the Substance thereof confirmed by the Testimony of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (f) a Heathen. *Sozomen*, after rehearsing the Fact (g), says, *If these things appear incredible to any, we are assured of them by those who heard it from such as were Eye-witnesses, and are yet alive; and is confirmed both by Jews and Heathens, who left the Work imperfect, being scarce well begun*. The Work was interrupted in this Manner some Months before the Death of *Julian*; and therefore the ceasing of it is not to be ascribed, with Mr. *Cru* (h), to the Fall of this Emperor. But I have elsewhere advanced (i) some other Things to confirm the Truth of this Miracle, and see no Reason now to change my Opinion. What *Julian* designed to suppress Christianity, became a Mean to advance it.

Julian was killed in the Persian War, July 26. A. D. 363, in the thirty second Year of his Age, when he had not reigned two full Years. *Jovian* his Successor was obliged to check the Insolence which the Favour of his Predecessor had infused both into the Heathens and Jews over the Roman Empire; but his Reign of eight Months was so short, as little could be done in it, especially since *Valentinian* and *Valens* his Successors restored an intire Liberty of Conscience to the Enemies of the Christians, Heathens, Jews and Hereticks; tho' this afterwards was by Degrees restrained.

Theodosius was invested with the Imperial Purple in the Year of our Lord 379. He not only favoured the Jews, but also being informed that the Christians had burnt one of their Synagogues at *Rome*, he ordered the same to be rebuilt; at which *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* was exceedingly offended, and passionately exclaims against it in a Letter still extant (a) to

(a) *Sozomen* hist. lib. 3. cap. 17. (b) *Codex Theodosii*, lib. 16. tit. 8. leg. 5, 6, 7. (c) *Vide vitam Epiphani* excerptam ex voce Joannis ejus discipuli in edit. *Epiphani* 1632, Tom. 2. p. 318. (d) *Juliani* *Epist.* 25. operum. p. 396. *Juliani* fragmentum, p. 295. (e) *Socrates* hist. lib. 3. cap. 20. *Theodoret* hist. lib. 3. cap. 20. *Sozomen*, lib. 5. cap. 20. (f) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 23. ab initio. (g) *Loco citato*. (h) *Jewish Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 298. (i) *Propagation of Christianity*, Vol. 1. p. 621.

(a), to the Emperor, where he tells him, *That the Jews had burnt in the Reign of Julian two Christian Churches at Damascus, and others at Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus and Alexandria, for which the Church never got any Reparation; and shall these Infidels be so recompensed for the Loss of one Synagogue? Had he not heard how the Temple which Julian had ordered to be built for them at Jerusalem was burnt with Fire from Heaven; and would he receive no Warning?* In the same Reign the Jews were excluded from Dignities, and obliged regularly to pay their Taxes, with which they were loaded even to Excess. And 'tis generally supposed, that the same Prince permitted them to build a Sort of City on that Space of Ground between Constantinople and the Sea-shore, which remained in the Year 1204, when the Crusaders went to the Holy Land, and where many of them live to this Day: And he allowed them to answer before no body but the Prætor, or Judge appointed for that Part. Which Privilege continued till the Reign of Manuel Comnenus, who abolished it about the Year 1150.

Jerom had not the same Abhorrence for the Doctors of this Nation as Ambrose. He travelled into Judea, lived several Years in it, and there hired some Jewish Doctors to instruct him in the Hebrew Language, in which the *Old Testament* is originally written. He with great Labour acquired it (b), and by the Help of these Teachers composed a Latin Version of the holy Scriptures. He was a little lifted up with this Piece of Learning, which was not then common in the Christian Church: But modern Critics must understand it much better, having the great Advantage of studying the Oriental Tongues from their Youth, by the Help of Grammars and Dictionaries, which Jerom was not privileged with. However, his Labours upon the Scriptures, wherein he adheres to the literal Sense, without wandering after far fetch'd Allegories, have been very useful to the Church of God.

§ 7. If we look into the Affairs of the Jews in the fifth Century, we may observe that most of the Edicts published in the preceding Age were executed in this. Some of them were renewed, and others added that were thought necessary to check the Insolence of this People against the Christian Religion. A new Occasion offered: The Jews being convened to celebrate their Deliverance by Esther, and the Feast of Haman, committed innumerable Extravagances: Reading the History of this Enemy, whenever his Name is mentioned they make a frightful Noise (c), beating with their Feet and Stones. After this follows a Debauch, as in most of their Feasts. The Christians took little notice of these Follies: But when the Jews proceeded further, to set up a Gallows, on which they hanged Haman in effigie; this being imagined to be done in order to insult the Christians, and pour Contempt on our Lord's Death, and the rather, because the Jews changed the Gibbet into a Cross, and afterwards burnt the Cross with the Figure fastned to it, attended with many Curles, reflecting on our Saviour: The Emperor Theodosius II. being informed of these Practices, forbade by a Law the raising or burning of those sorts of Gibbets by the Jews, under the Pain of losing their Privileges, because it was not fit that they should insult the Mysteries of Christianity (d). This Law is dated in the Consulate of Bassus and Philippus; that is, in the vulgar Year of our Lord 408. In some Places they obeyed, but new Troubles sprung up in Macedonia and Dacia. In these Countries the Jews continued to insult Christianity; and the Christians burnt their Houses and Synagogues, and even sometimes put the Jews to Death. Theodosius by a new Law (e) condemned this Oppression, forbidding any Magistrate to condemn the Jews for their Religion, or suffer their Edifices to be burnt; and that on the other hand the Jews should not violate the Respect due to the Christian Church. Three Years after this, the Jews at Inmestar, between Chalcis and Antioch, fell into an Excess: Debauchery prevailed over the Respect due to the Prince's Laws; for they fastned a young Christian to Haman's Gibbet, and whipped him so cruelly that he died. The Christians, enraged at this Barbarity, ran to Arms; and the Jews being numerous, there was a warm Engagement. Upon Information given by the Governor of the Province, Theodosius ordered the Guilty to be chastised (f); and thus the Tumult was appeased. In the Year of our Lord 425 the Emperor spent the Winter at Constantinople, at which Time he framed many Ordinances, ratifying the Decrees of his Predecessors concerning the Jews, forbidding them to build new Synagogues, or to circumcise the Children of any Christian (g), and that no Person should presume to burn or destroy their Synagogues, nor any other Way chastise them without special Orders. In the Year 429 the Patriarchal Office among the Jews within the Dominions of the Empire was abolished (h), the Revenues being given to the Exchequer: And I see little more after this concerning them in the Theodosian Code.

In the Year 434 there happened a considerable Revolution in the Affairs of the Jews in the Island of Candia or Crete. Many rich Jews who resided there, being deceived by a false Messiah named Moses, travelling through the Island several Months, and pretending to be the ancient Lawgiver, descended from Heaven to procure them a glorious Deliverance, by lead-

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(a) Ambrosii Epist. lib. 5. Ep. 29. operum Tom. 3. p. 108. — 113. (b) Vide Hieronymum ad Rusticum, in Epistaph. Paulæ, in præfatione ad Daniëlem, & in præfatione in Paralipom. (c) Above, p. 545. (d) Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. l. 18. (e) Ibid. l. 21. A. D. 412. (f) Socrates, Hist. lib. 7. cap. 16. (g) Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 8. l. 25, 26, 27. (h) Ibid. l. 29. See above, p. 522.

ing them through the Sea home to the holy Land, as had been done when they came out of Egypt; in one Year's Time he persuaded all the Jews in the Island to believe him, and the Infatuation was so great, that they followed their Leader (a), with their Wives and Children, to a Rock hanging over the Sea, and were persuaded to leap into the Ocean, where many were drowned, others were saved by Christian Fishermen who happened to be there with their Boats. The Impostor vanished; *which made some affirm, says Socrates (b), that he was a Devil named Alastor, assuming a Man's Shape to deceive this credulous Nation.* Others think that the cunning Cheat took timely Care to save himself by Flight. The greater Part of the Jews in that Place, moved by this Calamity, renounced *Judaism*, and embraced the Christian Faith.

Socrates (c) also tells us of a Jew at Constantinople, who had been paralytic for many Years, and in vain had used the Help of Physicians. Expecting to recover the Use of his Limbs by the Virtue of Christian Baptism, he applied to Atticus the Bishop for this Sacrament. The Patriarch caused him to be instructed and baptized: And he no sooner came out of the Font, than he found himself cured. Many Gentiles were so struck with this Cure, that they received the Christian Faith, and were baptized: But the Jews, though fond of Miracles, persevered in their Infidelity. Whether the Historian hath been too credulous in this Point, or no, I shall not determine; only we have a more sure word of prophecy to confirm the Christian Faith, to which we shall do well to take heed.

In the same Age we may find in the East several Examples of the tumultuous Disposition of the Jews, particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where there were reckoned a hundred thousand of that Nation, who equalled the Heat of the Climate in their Tempers. Commotions frequently happened between them and the Christians, which seldom ended without Bloodshed. Saturdays were noted as so many Days of Battle: There being then theatrical Shews in that City, the Jews chose rather to be present at them, than to be observing their Devotions in the Synagogue, spending their Time in Idleness and Debauchery. Upon one of these Days, Orestes the Governor of the City came to the Theatre, to make some Regulations concerning the publick Games (d). At the same time Hierax a Schoolmaster was present. He was a Hearer and Flatterer of Cyrilus the Bishop, who taught the People to applaud him when he was preaching. The Jews seeing this Man upon the Theatre, cried out against him as coming to insult them. The Governor did not love him, thinking the Bishop by his Advice assumed too much Power; and therefore he seized Hierax, and publicly scourged him. Cyril not bearing that his Friend should be so abused, blamed the Jews as the Cause of the whole Disorder. But they despised the Bishop, and even resolved to massacre the Christians. In order to this end, they ran through the Streets of the City in the Night-time, crying out that the principal Church of Alexandria was on fire. Upon which the Christians ran almost naked to extinguish the imaginary Flames; and the Jews having agreed on a Sign to know one another by, killed them as fast as they came. Cyril having notice of this Murder, with a great Multitude attending him rushed in upon the Synagogues; plundered and destroyed them; with many of the Jewish Houses, driving the Circumcised quite out of the City. Orestes the Governor being highly displeased with this Conduct, and that such a Multitude of Jews, whose Predecessors had inhabited that City since the Time of Alexander the Great, should be now driven away, sent Complaints to the Emperor's Court at Constantinople: And on the other hand Cyril sent Information of the Insolence of the Jews, which had occasioned all this Tumult; and in the mean time, with the Gospels in his Hand, offered to be reconciled to the Governor, whom he found inflexible in his Resentments. Upon this five hundred Monks came down in Arms from the Mountains of Nitria, and attacked the Governor as he was going to his Coach with a thousand Reproaches, calling him Heathen and other Names. It was in vain for him to cry out he was a Christian, baptized at Constantinople; for they straight fell upon him with a Shower of Stones, wounded him in the Head, and covered him with Blood; and he would have perished, if the People had not run to his Assistance. Ammonius, one of the Rioters, was seized, and tormented to Death; an Information was sent of the whole Affair to the Court, and in the mean time Cyril caused carry the Body of Ammonius into one of the Christian Churches, where he praised him as a Martyr. In another Tumult, Hypatia, the Daughter of Theon the Philosopher, a learned Woman who taught a Platonic School at Alexandria, was fallen upon as a Friend and Informer of Orestes the Governor, and miserably destroyed. These things were done in the fourth Year of Cyril's Patriarchate, in the Year of our Lord 415. Upon the whole, as I cannot with Mr. Toland, in his Hypatia (e), allow that this should be improven against the Christian Religion; which is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits; so on the other hand I cannot vindicate the Jews who occasioned these Commotions, nor Cyril, who ought not to have praised a seditious Monk, nor to have punished, robbed, nor expelled the Jews

(a) Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 38. (b) Ibid. (c) Ibid. cap. 4. (d) Ibid. cap. 13, 14, 15. (e) Printed at London, 1720.

Jews out of the City, who were not under his Jurisdiction. When Ecclesiastics begin to meddle in civil Affairs, which do not belong to them, they ruin their own Reputation, and bring Reproach upon Religion.

Leaving the East, if we take a View of the State of the *Jews* in the Western Empire in the fifth Century, we may find the Government of the Emperor *Honorius* so disturbed with Insurrections and Tyrants, that he had little Leisure to think upon this People: Only he would not give any new Encouragements to this Religion, and therefore forbade the building of Synagogues, and deprived the *Jews* of the Privileges of being Officers in the Militia, or Agents to raise Taxes in the Provinces, or Purveyors of Bread for Magazines and Armies, or Couriers of Princes, which Trusts they had formerly exercised, as they do at present in many States abroad. He more severely restrained the Sect of the *Calicolæ*, or Worshipers of Heaven, as they were called, who began to appear in his Reign. Some contend that they were *Jews*; others, that they were Schismatics from the Christian Church, who impugned the Sacraments, with the Worship and Veneration of God, very like the *Donatists* in *Afric*. They continued but a short Time, and are little known. *Honorius*, by a Law, bearing Date when himself was the eighth Time, and *Theodosius* the third Time Consuls, (that is, in the Year of our Lord 409) ordered, *That the Coelicolæ, in the Limits of one Year, should return to the Church, to the Worship and Veneration of God, as became Christians (a); otherwise they should be animadverted upon conform to the Laws against Heretics.* In the Time of this Emperor, who died in the Year of our Lord 422, the *Jews* were so powerful at *Port-Mahon*, that they arrived at the Honour of Counts of the Empire, and to enjoy civil Dignities.

Valentinian III. who succeeded *Honorius*, came to be Emperor when he was but a Boy. When he was of Age he confirmed the *Jews* at *Rome*, and in the rest of the Empire under his Obedience, in the Privileges they had formerly possessed, and continued their Synagogues that had been built in the preceeding Reigns; but at the same Time he opposed Innovations; and understanding that the *Jews* were building a Temple, he caused it to be pulled down, and fined the Undertaker. When the Western Empire changed its Masters, by the *Goths* seizing on *Italy*, the *Jews* still found Protection from these barbarous Kings. *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, defended them against the Insults of the People and Church-men: He often represented to them their excessive Love of Riches, while by denying our Saviour they lost eternal Happiness; but would never compel them to embrace Christianity by Violence. He maintained their Cause against the Citizens of *Genoa*, and permitted them to rebuild their Synagogue there, provided (b) that they added no new Ornaments to it that were not therein before. Thus the *Jewish* Affairs concluded in the fifth Century within the *Roman* Empire.

If we return to look into the State of the *Jews* in the remoter Provinces of the East at the same Time, there we may find their Academies flourishing under the Conduct of *R. Asce* (c), Compiler of the *Talmud* of *Babylon*. This City was the Place of his Nativity, but he taught at *Sora*. He was elected President of the Academy in the fourteenth Year of his Age: His Electors seem to have done him a greater Honour than they did to themselves, by giving a Child a Trust of their Traditions and Religion. They give him great Encomiums, *for with him, say they, was found the Law, Devotion, Humility and Magnificence, four Things never meeting together in one Person but in himself.* He invented a new Method of Instruction; for instead of fixing his Disciples constantly to the College, and reading them Lectures all the Year over, he only did it in the Months of *February* and *August*, giving his Scholars a Treatise to read at home in the rest of the Year. At their Return they gave Account of their Proficiency, were examined, disputed in his Presence, and afterwards he removed the Difficulties that occurred to them by the Decisions of preceeding Doctors. Ten Persons were seated over against him, seven whereof were called *Princes of the Crowns*, whose Office it was to paraphrase upon the Dictates of their Master, and to repete them to the Scholars whose Number amounted to 2400. These that distinguished themselves by their Diligence were praised and rewarded. The President made a Collection of all the Subjects that had been handled, and from this the *Babylonian Talmud* was composed. *Asce* having taught in this Manner sixty Years, published a Collection of his Decisions; but he died in the Year of our Lord 427, before he had finished his Design. The *Jews* make *Morimar* his Successor; others say that the Feet of *R. Hovna* hastned, that is, this Master was made President of the Academy of *Sora* in *R. Asce's* Place: His Son *Thobiomi* ascended the Throne of his Father in the Year 455, and governed thirteen Years, during which this Nation enjoyed so great Tranquillity that they called this Doctor their *daily Prosperity*. This is Rabbinical Stile, to give great Ideas of their Masters, caressing them with magnificent Titles, tho' they had been Teachers or only Ushers of a School, and to call their Scholars *Princes of the Crowns* because

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(a) Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 8. l. 18. (b) Cassiodor. lib. 2. cap. 27. (c) Juchasin, p. 124. Bartolucci bibl. Rabbinica Tom. 1.

they had been in the uppermost Class : And 'tis no Wonder that other Historians mind nothing of such petty Teachers. The finishing of the *Talmud* was interrupted by R. *Asce's* Death, and especially by a Persecution which lasted seventy three Years, which was so violent that the Sabbath was taken away, that is, the Celebration thereof was forbidden, the Synagogues were shut up (a), the Holy Houses were given to the *Magi*, and the principal Doctors of the Nation were made Prisoners. *Amimar Mar*, *Asce's* Disciple, and *Huna* his Son, Prince of the Captivity, suffered courageously ; but the Youth more addicted to the Pleasures of Life deserted their Religion, so as *Israel* was in great Affliction towards the End of the fifth Century : But they resumed Courage soon afterwards. The *Talmud* was accomplished about the Year 500, and it was dispersed over all the Nation ; which agreed that no Addition nor Diminution should be made to it for the future.

§ 8. THE sixth Century commenced with the Persecutions which the ten Tribes suffered in the East. *Cavade the Persian*, a violent and haughty Prince, who could not bear any Religion but his own, caused many Christians to be ham-strung (b). He designed to have forced the *Isabarians* to abandon Christianity ; but they submitted to the *Romans* to be protected against his Cruelties. We must not then wonder that he tormented the *Jews* in his Empire ; and to this may be ascribed the frequent Alterations which happened among the Princes of the Captivity ; for in less than six Years we find four of these pretended Princes succeeding one another (c). The Persecution continued during the whole Reign of *Cavade*, which was thirty Years. *Chosroes the Great* was not more favourable to them than his Father, tho' they had endeavoured to purchase his Favour by betraying the Emperor *Justinian*. He had sent Ambassadors to negotiate a Peace with the *Persian* ; but the *Jews* told *Chosroes*, that if he would continue the War, they would furnish him with fifty thousand Men in *Judea* : He accepted their Offer ; but they being unable to perform what they had promised, were put to great Hardships in (d) *Persia*. *Chosroes* shut up all their Academies, and we don't find that there was then any Prince of the Captivity, since *Zutra* the second had been obliged to retire to *Judea*, where he lived in a mean Condition, far below what he would have enjoyed at *Babylon* if he had been suffered there. *Hormisdas III.* restored them the Liberty they had lost ; for the Academy of *Pundebita* was opened, and the Doctors called *Gaons*, or Excellents, appeared. This Prince reigned only twelve Years ; his rebellious Subjects took him Prisoner, and his own Son *Chosroes II.* deprived him of his Life by Bastinado. *Varame*, who had been his Father's Enemy, expelled this young Prince out of *Persia*, having defeated his Army. He was obliged to throw himself into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Mauritius*, then Emperor of *Constantinople* lent him Troops and Officers, by whose Assistance he several Times fought and at length overcame *Varame*, who had got a considerable Party in the State, and behaved himself with great Bravery. The *Jews* were in the Interest of this Usurper. This faithless, restless, imperious, jealous, covetous, and implacable Nation, saith a Greek Historian (e), was then so powerful in *Persia*, as to raise the People against their Princes, and to fortify the Rebels, because they had amassed prodigious Wealth, and were prodigiously multiplied. *Chosroes* gaining the Victory revenged this Treachery with their Blood. Those of *Antioch*, a Syrian City built by *Chosroes's* Father, fell first into the Hands of a Roman General, who put abundance of them to the Sword, destroyed others by different Punishments, and reduced the rest to a miserable Slavery. But *Chosroes* being resettled in his Throne, was reconciled to them, and employed them to serve his own Designs. This Prince, who delighted in War, gave it out that he took Arms to revenge the Death of *Mauritius* his Benefactor, upon *Phocas* who had killed him and made himself Master of his Empire. Thus a heathenish King detested the Injustice, Murder and Usurpation practised by a Christian, and which Pope *Gregory the Great* stirred up and praised. The *Persian* broke into *Syria* and *Judea*, where he made terrible Execution. He returned again in the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*, about the Year of our Lord 615 (f). He seems to have had a Correspondence with the *Jews* ; for upon his being Master of *Jerusalem*, he delivered to their Hands all the Christian Prisoners, whom they bought to satisfy their Hatred, by unmercifully murdering them ; for 'tis said ninety thousand Persons perished by their Hands on this Occasion.

If we look to the State of the *Jews* in the Roman Empire in the sixth Century, we may observe that the Emperor *Justinian* took Pleasure in making Decisions and Laws concerning Religion. *John* the Schoolman in his Reign, made a Collection of Edicts called *Nomocanon*, which was to serve as a Rule for Bishops. The Christians complain that he abused his Power against the Church, and reproach the Bishops for suffering him to do it. The *Jews* have no less Ground of Complaint ; for he enacted Laws and executed them by military Force against them. *Procopius* (g) says, that he forbade them to celebrate their Passover on a Day different from the Christians ; but their Calculations differing, (for the *Jews* religiously ob-

(a) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 121. (b) Theophanes Chronicon, p. 137, 145. ad annum Christi 512. Procopius de bello Persico, lib. 1. cap. 12. (c) Ganz Tsemach David. (d) Theophanes, p. 152. (e) Theophilus Simocatta, lib. 5. cap. 7. (f) Theophanes, p. 252. (g) Hist. arcana, cap. 28. p. 82.

serving the fourteenth Day of the Moon, the Feast rarely happened on the same Day) this then seemed to be a depriving them of Liberty to keep it at all, especially since he amerced those in great Fines who did eat the Paschal Lamb. He also prohibited Magistrates to receive the Testimony of *Jews* against *Christians*, and deprived the former of their natural Right in making Wills and Donations. There were none but Labourers among the *Samaritans* whose Children were allowed to inherit their Fathers Goods. Some add, that he ordered their Children to be catechised from two Years old and upwards, the more effectually to advance their Conversion; but this is not among *Justinian's* Novels. Finally, he deprived them of the publick Exercise of their Religion in *Africa*; for he gave Orders to the Præfect of the *Prætorium* there (a), *To suffer no Hereticks to baptise, to shut up the Synagogues, or to change them into Christian Churches, and forbidding the Jews to meet in Caves, and perform Service after their Way, because the Impious should not be suffered to do holy Acts of Religion.* This Reason of the Edict seems absurd. However, hence we learn, that the *Jews* were then in a low Case in several Parts of the Empire. The Law was executed at *Borium* a City of *Africa*, which bounded *Pentapolis* on the West-side. Here the *Jews* for some Time lived peaceably, because no imperial Collector came thither to gather Taxes; and there they had a stately Temple, the Foundation whereof they reterred to the Reign of *Solomon* (b), signifying that they had a Settlement there for a long Time. *Justinian* undertook the Conversion of that Place as well as of *Aigula*, where Heathenism still subsisted. He succeeded in his Design; the *Jews* and Heathens embraced Christianity; the Synagogue or Temple became a Church, and the Emperor caused the City to be walled, to make it more safe. *Evagrius* relates (c) some Stories of miraculous-like Conversions made about the Year of our Lord 530, by one *Simeon* of *Emesa*, a Man who behaved not with the Rules of common Prudence: But since learned Men question the Reality of the Facts, I shall not insist on them. In the same Reign of *Justinian*, the *Jews* made several Insurrections, of which one was caused by a false *Messiah* named *Julian*, who appeared in *Palestine*, and deluded the People by the Title of a Conqueror. He stirred up the credulous Mob to arm themselves, and fall unexpectedly upon the *Christians* so as to commit a great Slaughter. The Emperor's Troops ran to the Relief of the Oppressed; and in a little Time dispersed the Rebels, who wanted Experience. Their Leader was taken and put to Death, which ended the Affair. There was another Disturbance in the Year 555 at *Cæsarea*, where the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, tho' Enemies to one another, united against the *Christians* in that City; they pulled down the Churches, murdered many, and killed the Governor in his Palace, whose Wife escaping, informed the Emperor, who gave speedy (d) Orders to *Adamantius* his Deputy in those Parts, to take Cognizance of the Affair, and punish the Guilty. In Prosecution of which Orders, the *Jews* being convict of cruel Violence, the Deputy confiscated the Estates of the rich, put to flight a great Number of the Mutineers who had a Share in the Action, and took off the Heads of others. The Execution was so bloody, as it made all the *Jews* of that Country to tremble, and retained the Seditious in Obedience.

In *Italy* the *Jews* declared most loudly against *Justinian* and *Belisarius* when he besieged *Naples*. This famous General having recovered *Africa* to the Emperor's Obedience, and vanquished the *Vandals*, in the Triumph decreed for him at *Constantinople* for these great Victories, brought out the sacred Vessels of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which *Titus* had carried to *Rome*, and *Gezeric* had carried away when he plundered that great City. This Sight, which revived the Remembrance of the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the Ruin of its Temple, disturbed the *Jews* at *Constantinople*; so that one of them cried out (e), *These precious Things can't be preserved in any other Place than in that where Solomon consecrated them; for this Reason Gezeric took Rome, and the Romans seized the Country of the Vandals. This being reported to the Emperor, he believing the Jewish Prophet, sent off these sacred Vessels to the Temple of the Christians at Jerusalem.* But they are not now to be found, as hath been formerly (f) observed. *Belisarius*, upon carrying the War into *Italy*, besieged *Naples* with great Vigour; and the *Jews* valiantly defended that Part of the City that lay towards the Sea; and being persuaded that they could have no Quarters, since they were the principal Cause of the Resistance, they fought like desperate Men till the City was taken, and then most of them were put to the Sword (g). *Justin* succeeded his Uncle *Justinian*, ascending the Throne in the Year of our Lord 565. Historians say (h), That he bought a fine Synagogue of the *Jews* at *Constantinople*, and turned it to a Christian Church. *Mauritius* came to be Emperor in the Year 586, under him the *Jews* enjoyed Tranquillity and Ease at *Constantinople*: Perhaps the Avarice of this Prince contributed to it; for his Temper enabled them to purchase their Peace and Liberty, without any great Difficulty.

§ 9. *MAHOMET* that grand Impostor appeared at the Beginning of the seventh Century

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(a) Theophanes ad annum Justiniani 14. p. 190. (b) Procopius de ædificiis, lib. 5. cap. 2. (c) Evagrii hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 34, 35, 36. (d) Cedrenus, p. 316. (e) Procopius de bello Vandalico, lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 255. (f) Above p. 508. (g) Procopius de bello Gothico, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9, 10. (h) Theophanes ad annum 569, Paulus Diaconus, lib. 18.]

ture: The *Jews* and heretical Christians are accused to have furnished him with that System of his Religion, which was afterwards diffused by Force of Arms over several Parts of the World. But I do not go upon the Life and Actions of *Mahomet*, nor upon the Evidences of the Impiety of his Religion, which I have discoursed of in another Essay (a). Now I only notice some Things which concern the History of the *Jews*. They were very powerful in *Arabia*, particularly in *Hegiasa*, which Name signifies Separation, because it separates between the *Desart* and the happy *Arabia*, without belonging to either. There the *Jews* had Fortresses, Castles, Armies and Captains, when *Mahomet* laid the Foundation of his Empire. They being dazzled with the Victories he boasted of, and with his Pretences to be a *Messiah*, followed him (b); yea the *Arabians* boast that the *Jews* sent twelve Persons of their Body to instruct him in their Religion, and to join with him in composing his *Alcoran*, tho' I cannot easily reconcile this with the *Mahometans* Pretensions, that this Book was dictated to their Prophet by the Angel *Gabriel*; and indeed 'tis no great Honour to their Prophet to be the Author of so confused a Medley as is there contained.

The Flight of *Mahomet* from *Mecca* to *Medina* gives the *Arabians* a new Period for calculating Time, which coincides in its Commencement with the 622d Year of the Christian *Æra*. After this they made great Conquests; and the *Jews* in the East universally changed their Masters. *Omar* the second Calif took *Damascus*, notwithstanding all that *Heraclius* the Greek Emperor could do for its Relief. He conquered *Syria*, and entered *Jerusalem*, where he pulled down the Christian Temples (c), and set up *Mahometan* Mosques. About the 653d Year of the Christian *Æra*, he subdued the *Persians*, having routed *Isdigerdes* in several Battles. He pushed his Conquests into *Egypt*, where he reduced *Alexandria* to his Obedience. Other Califs extended the *Saracen* Dominions into other Parts. But without enlarging on their History, let us consider the Conduct of the *Jews* in this great Revolution. 'Tis asserted by their own Historians (d), That they rejoiced at the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire, because *Isdigerdes* and other Princes of that Race had persecuted them with great Cruelty. Their Synagogues were given to the *Magi*, their Academies shut up, and many of their great Men cut off: Yea, they are accused not only of rejoicing at the *Saracen* Conquests, but also of associating with these Infidels (e), of taking on their Mark, and encouraging them to carry Arms into the Empire. *Bede* complains of it (f), and compares it to the Friendship between *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*; tho' one would think the *Saracens* had Inclination enough to enlarge their Dominions by Oppression and plundering their Neighbours, and did not need any others to prompt them to it. 'Tis true the *Jews* highly extol the Humanity of the *Mahometans*, who condemned the Violence offered to Conscience, and restored them to the free Exercise of their Religion. They lived peaceably under the first Califs, and had their Academies open; for *Chanina* governed that of *Nabardea*, while *Mahomet* was founding his Empire. *Chana*, one of the Excellents, taught at *Pundebita*, in the Reign of *Omar* (g); *Mar Rabba* another Excellent succeeded him, while *Chanina Surfaeus*, the Son of *Calipta*, taught at *Sora*. They gained by the Disputes which the *Saracens* had among themselves, and flourished in *Egypt*, where the *Ommiades* had made themselves Masters.

Tho' the *Mahometans* had made great Conquests in *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and in the Eastern Part of the World in the seventh Century, yet the *Roman* Empire still subsisted at *Constantinople*; and if we look into the State of the *Jews* in these Parts, we may find, that in the Beginning of this Age, when *Phocas* mounted the Throne, by assassinating his Master *Mauritius*, and murdering his Children, the *Jews* in *Syria* finding themselves powerful enough at *Antioch*, laid hold of this Opportunity, and armed against the Christians. The Sedition was general; they fought resolutely on both Sides: But the *Jews* being the stronger Party, killed a great many Christians, and burnt others in their Houses which they had set on Fire (h). *Anastasius* the Bishop of that Place was dragged from his Seat along the Streets, and after a thousand Indignities done him, they threw him in the Fire and burnt him. *Phocas*, tho' a Tyrant would not pardon such Barbarity. He sent *Bonofus* his Lieutenant to *Antioch*, who not being able to persuade the *Jews* to lay down their Arms, defeated them by his Troops with a great Slaughter; the Prisoners were executed, maimed, and banished the City.

About the Year 606, the *Jews* found Means to re-establish themselves in the Isle of *Cyprus*, where they became numerous and formidable, notwithstanding the Emperor *Trajan's* Edict about 488 Years before this (i) forbidding them, so much as Travellers, to touch that Island. *Leontius* Bishop of *Naples* published an Exhortation to reduce them into the Christian Church, of which we have a Fragment remaining in the Acts of the second Council of *Nice* (k): But I will not affirm that it is genuine, since none was ever so bold as to publish false Pieces as that Council, their only Aim being to gather all that they could, right or wrong, for their *Dagon* of

(a) History of Propagation, vol. 1. p. 81.—96. (b) Bibl. Rabbinica Tom. 5. (c) Theophanes ad A. D. 637. Paulus Diaconus, lib. 18. p. m. 390. (d) Solomon ben Virgæ. (e) Paulus Diaconus, lib. 18. (f) Bede in Luc. 23. (g) Ganz Tsemach, p. 122, 123. (h) Nicephorus Callistus hist. Eccles. lib. 18. cap. 44. (i) Above, p. 511. (k) Bini Concilia, Tom. 3. p. m. 566.

of Image-worship. Gregory the Great was for gaining the *Jews* by gentle easy Methods, as giving them Pensions and Preferments (a). The *Jews* praise him for his Lenity ; but I don't find that his Proposals had great Success.

The Emperor *Heraclius* came to the Throne about the Year of our Lord 610. He changed the Countenance of the Empire and of the neighbouring Kingdoms towards the *Jews*, by declaring himself their Enemy. Coming to *Tiberias* he found there one *Benjamin* a *Jew*, so rich, as to have been able to supply the Army and Court with Provisions out of his own Stock ; but being a mortal Enemy to the Christians, he often embroiled and persecuted them. *Heraclius* being informed of the whole, and not loving the Nation, notwithstanding the Services that he had received from this Man, cited him before him, and asked the Reason of his unjust Proceedings against the Christians ? To which he answered, *That he hated them, because they were Enemies to his Religion* (b). But the Emperor so powerfully exhorted, and so effectually convinced him of his Error, that he was persuaded to be baptised : And to punish the whole Nation, he banished them from *Jerusalem*, forbidding them to approach within three Miles of that Place. The Prediction of a Sooth-sayer gave him greater Provocation, who told him, *That the Empire would be ruined by a circumcised Nation* ; and indeed the *Saracens*, who were circumcised as well as the *Jews*, overturned the Empire.

Heraclius not content to persecute them in his own Territories, carried his Zeal to the neighbouring Kingdoms ; for he wrote to *France* to oblige them to be converted ; and addressed himself also to *Sisebut* King of *Spain*, a prosperous Prince, who had gained many Victories over the *Romans*, and extended his Conquests as far as *Portugal*. The Affairs of the Empire were then in so wretched a Posture, that this Emperor was glad to make Proposals of Peace to him ; one of which was, *That the Jews should be expelled out of Spain* ; which *Sisebut* granted, forcing them to depart from the Dominions of the *Goths*, or quite their Religion. They addressed the Court weeping (c), and offered Money to the Ministers to stop the Persecution. But the King told them, that he was obliged to make them be baptised ; and if they were Masters, they would not fail to force the Christians to embrace their Religion. At last weary of reasoning, he made the principal Men among them Prisoners, where they languished a long Time. Some abandoned their Religion to avoid Punishment, others retired into *France*, where *Heraclius* caused them to be prosecuted. *Isidore* of *Sevil* (d), one of *Sisebut's* great Admirers, condemned his Zeal, who instead of imprinting Faith on the Hearts of this People, commanded it under severe Punishment. The same *Isidore*, at the Head of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, held in the Year of our Lord 632, made several Regulations concerning the *Jews* ; for there we find it enacted (e), *That no Body should be forced to believe, since God hath Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will be hardneth ; that if any Jew vote against or condemn the Christian Faith, he shall be secluded from the Christian Church. Jews who have made a Profession of Christianity, if they practise Circumcision, or other Jewish Rites, shall be corrected by the Pope's Authority. If the Children of Jews be baptised, they shall be separated from the Company of their Parents : Nor must their baptised Children be secluded from their Inheritance, even tho' the Parent should be an Apostate ; for the Son must not bear the Iniquity of the Father ; with other Canons of the like Nature ; for they reprobate the Testimony of the Jews, who prevaricate in the Faith ; and decree, That the Jews may not enjoy publick Offices, nor keep Christian Servants. The sixth Council of Toledo, under King Chintila, in the Year 638, in Opposition to the Jews (f), Commend the King, who was enflamed with a persecuting Zeal, and blest God for having given him a Soul so full of Wisdom, and so inflamed with the Ardour of Faith. They ratified the Law that this Prince had made to banish all the Jews out of his Kingdom : And finally that no King for the future should ascend the Throne, till he had taken an Oath never to violate this Law, and threaten him with Anathema maranatha if he broke it. It seems that *Isidore* of *Sevil* was now dead, or that the Prelates were very inconstant, leaping from Moderation into Violence. The *Visigoth* Kings authorised the Severity by a Law, giving this for their Reason, *That the violent take the kingdom of heaven by force*. The eighth Council of *Toledo*, in the Year 653, made further Decrees concerning them ; and *Julian* of *Toledo*, finding that the *Jews* who turned Christians only dissembled, wrote against them, proving that the *Messiah* promised in the Old Testament is come. He asked them, *Where was their promised Land, since they are driven out of it ? If we look, said he, for the Kingdom of the Jews there is no such Thing. We look for their Altar, and there is none to be found, for their Priesthood, and discover it no where. Where are the Sacrifices ? No body Answers, because all these Things are abolished, as Daniel foretold*.*

They were not much easier in *France* than in *Spain* ; But they commonly brought the Miseries upon themselves. When this Kingdom changed her Masters, the *Romans* being expelled

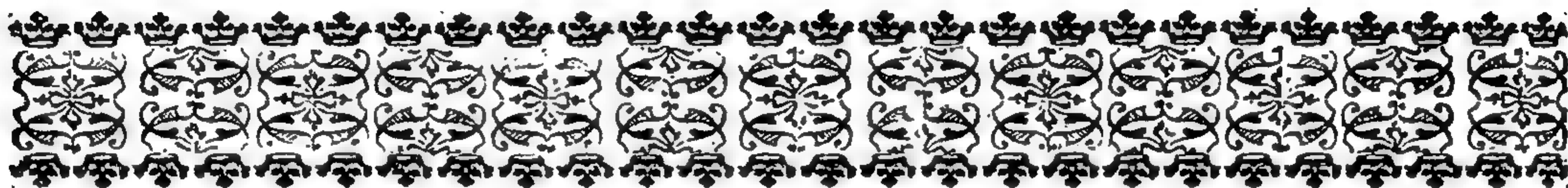
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led

(a) Gregorii epist. lib. 4. Indict. 13. epist. 56. & lib. 1. Ep. 34. & lib. 7. Ep. 5. (b) Theophanis Chronicon, p. 273. (c) Solomon ben-Virga Schever Jehuda. (d) Isidori Chron. Gothorum, p. 202. (e) Concilium Toletanum 4tum, Can. 55,—65. Vide Caranzam in summa, fol. m. 281. (f) Bithii Concilia, Tom. 2. parte 2. p. 370. Act. 3.

led and the *Visigoths* depressed by the *Franks*, the *Jews* laid hold on this Revolution to make their Way into several Places where they had no Settlements before ; for after *Clovis I.* Kings and Councils in *France* made many Regulations concerning them. *Lunel*, a City in the Neighbourhood of *Montpelier*, and *Nismes* became one of the most famous Academies of the *Jews* in the West. *Benjamin of Tudela* affirms, that the Doctors maintained their Scholars all the Time they staid in the College, and supplied them with Clothes. If this be true they were very liberal. 'Tis said among them that *Solomon* the Son of *Isaac* or *Jarki* was from this Place called the *Lunatick*; others affirm that he was of *Troyes* in *Champagne*. The Christians do not like his Commentaries, because he hath filled them with *Talmudick* Notions. *Dagobert* King of *France*, about the Year of our Lord 630, at the Desire of *Heraclius* Emperor at *Constantinople*, declared he would not suffer the *Jews* in his Kingdom, unless they became Christians (a). The King notwithstanding his Debauches, embraced this easy Occasion to please the People, and to give a Testimony of his Zeal. The Clergy approved the Resolution ; and it was executed with a great deal of Rigour. Some suffered the Hardships of a second Flight ; for they had come into *France* to avoid *Sisebut's* Persecution in *Spain* : Others yielded to the Temptation, and preferred Diffimulation to Banishment. The Sequel of their History we shall have afterwards.

(a) *Gesta Dagoberti*, p. 580.



CHAP. IX.

The History of the Dispersions of the Jews in the East and West, from the eighth to the eighteenth Century, with some Occurrences to the present Time.

THE Conversion of the King of *Cozar* makes one of the most considerable Events in the *Jewish* History. They place this Prince in the eighth Century, and tell, that after he had examined all Religions, he determined himself in favour of that of *Moses*. The Dialogue pretended to have been published between him and a *Jew* hath been printed and published by the learned *John Buxtorf* the Son, in *Hebrew*, with a *Latin* Version and Notes, at *Basil*, in the Year 1660. The Author of the Book was one *R. Jebudab Hallevi*, the Son of *Saul Aben Tybon* (a). *Hallevi* was a *Spanish* Poet, who composed this Dialogue in *Arabic* about the Year of our Lord 1140, from whence it was translated into *Hebrew*. After writing the Book, he resolved to make his Journey into the holy Land. Upon sight of *Jerusalem* he tore his Cloaths, and continued his Pilgrimage bare-footed, singing a Song of his own making, with these Words of the Psalmist, *Thy servants think upon the stones thereof*; till a *Mahometan*, taking him for a Madman, killed him in the fiftieth Year of his Age.

The Book of *Cofri*, now before me, explains several Articles of the *Jewish* Religion, and hath several Digressions on their Theology, Philology, Philosophy, *Cabbalistic* and other Affairs, in 386 Pages, and is not unprofitable to those who desire to be acquainted with their Matters. But the Question is, Where the Kingdom of *Cozar* lies, and if the Facts there related concerning it be real or not? *Buxtorf*, after a large Enquiry into this Point, and after supposing that it may be in *Persia*, taken from *Cosroes*, which Name was born by several Kings of that Country, adds (b), *But it is a Wonder, that a Kingdom said to be so large, so flourishing and rich, should be known by no seafaring Man, no Merchant, no Traveller, who have seen and described all Parts of the habitable World. If the Emperors of Constantinople have had so great*

(a) *Liber Cofri*, ab initio. *Ganz Tsemach*, p. m. 136. (b) In præfatione ad librum *Cofri*.

Commerce with this Kingdom, if their Ambassadors were sent to it, if it had Wars with its Neighbours, or assisted them against the Turks and Saracens; why do no Annals make mention thereof? The Jews need not glory in this pretended Kingdom, as if the Sceptre of Judah did subsist there; for, even according to this Author, the Subjects of the King of Cozar were not Jews, nor of the Posterity of the ten Tribes, but Profelytes of the Posterity of Japheth. Yea there is no Evidence of the Reality of the Fact, save Tradition without Proof, as may further appear from the Book it self, where the Sum of the Story is: *That the King of Cozar, about the Year 740, resolved to acquaint himself with all Religions, in order to chuse the best, being so determined by a Dream. He was a devout Prince, and sacrificed to false Gods, with an upright Heart. But an Angel advertised him, that his Devotions were not acceptable; whereupon, to please the Deity, he held Conferences with a Philosopher, a Christian and a Mahometan, all in a very little Time, and in very few Words. Disliking all these Religions, he sent for a Jew, for whom at first he had a vast Contempt. But Sangari (for this was the Rabbin's Name who disputed with the King) soon persuaded him that Judaism was the best of all Religions. He insisted much upon the Preference God gave the Jews, who can no more be compared with other People, how devout soever these be, than a dead Image with a living Body. He maintained that Judea was superior to all other Countries in the World, because Adam was created in it, and buried there in Abraham's Sepulchre (a). This Author must have been ill acquainted with the Situation of the terrestrial Paradise, to place our first Parents in Judea. However he adds, That the Dispute that arose between Cain and Abel proceeded from their Desire each of them to have the holy Land for their Share. Cain went out from the Face of God; that is, from Judea. By these and the like Arguments the Rabbin convinced the King of Cozar; who departed privately, with the General of his Army, and arrived at certain Mountains in a Desert near the Sea; where the Night surprising them, they found Jews keeping the Sabbath; before whom the King and his General abjured their own Religion, and being circumcised, returned to their Capital. Thereafter the whole Nation embraced Judaism. This Story was told, two hundred and fifty Years after the Fact happened, to Chasdaï a Spanish Rabbin; and long after that was written, or rather invented by Judah Hallevi. What can be liker a Fable? And the Misfortune of all is, that all Pains to find out the Kingdom are fruitless. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, who travelled over the World in the twelfth Century to try out his own Nation; could discover no Footsteps of this Kingdom; and no other Traveller could ever get a Sight of it.*

§ 2. To find out what really happened to the Jews in the eighth and ninth Centuries, we may observe their State in the Dominions of the Saracens, which were by this Time very far extended. Abdalmelec was Calif of the Saracens about the Year 705. He is said to have had such a stinking Breath, as to kill Flies with it; and his Avarice was so exorbitant, that nothing would content it. He was a violent Enemy to the Sect of Ali, and pushed his Conquests as far as Spain, triumphing where-ever he carried the Terror of his Arms. In the Height of his Victories he preserved a great Moderation, neither persecuting Jews nor Christians. He allowed the former their Academies and Privileges, and would not take from the latter one of their Churches at Damascus, which they had refused him, but left them in the peaceable Enjoyment thereof. Valid the eldest of sixteen Sons succeeded his Father. Tho' he reigned but nine Years, he conquered many Provinces. Spain, Sardinia, with Majorca and Minorca were reduced to his Obedience; and his Troops penetrated into the Narboneze Gaul. He was so bad a Scholar, that he could never learn Arabic; and had so little Regard to the Christians, that he erected a Monument at Damascus upon the Ruins of a Church, and built a Mosque at Jerusalem (b). Nevertheless, under him and several of the succeeding Califs the Jews enjoyed great Tranquillity, particularly in the Reign of Almanzor, who was a Man of Letters, and drew to his Court the most learned Men of his Time. The Jews took Advantage of these Circumstances to bring their Academies into new Reputation. R. Joseph and Samuel, the Excellents, presided at Pundebita. Doræus, another Excellent, with Ananias and Mahba, succeeded them, from the Year of our Lord 740 to 770. There were likewise two famous Men at the Head of the Academy of Sora, the one called Judab the Son of Nachman, and the other Judab the Son of Outbrinæus. Some Writers (c) assert, that the first of these was Author of the Book called *The great Lessons*; which others attribute to Simeon Reiara. It was received with so great Applause, that Judab called *The great Light*, because he was blind, made an Abstract thereof; which was approved by another great Doctor of the same Century, R. Mari, whom they called *The Light of the Eyes*, because he had lost his Sight; for under such honourable Titles they cover their Imperfections.

Giagar a Saracen, surnamed *The Just*, who lived about the 770 Year of the Christian Æra, heavily afflicted the Jews of Arabia and Persia. He was the sixth of the Imams: So the Mahometans in those Parts call their supreme Pontiff, who presides over the Mosques; and give him a temporal as well as a spiritual Authority. He made an Order, *That both Jews and*

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Christians

(a) Liber Cosri, part. 2. p. 83, — 86. (b) Abulpharagius, p. 129. (c) Ganz Tsemach, p. 124, 125.

Christians *who turn* Mussulmen *should be sole Heirs of their Family*; which Law being exactly executed, it caused a great many Children to apostatise, that by so doing they might succeed to such Estates as they could not obtain in a lawful Way. *Almanzor* died, having reigned twenty two Years. His Son *Mohadi* succeeded in the 777th Year of our Lord, and was as liberal as his Father was covetous, spending six Millions of Gold Crowns in one Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, having conveyed thither Snow and Ice, which surprised the Inhabitants, who had never seen any before. He obliged the Empress *Irene* to pay him a Tribute of seventy thousand Gold Crowns, to be free of the Incursions of the *Arabs*, who gave her troublesome Visits even to the Gates of *Constantinople*. He was an Enemy to the *Jews*, compelling them either to embrace his Religion, or wear a Badge to distinguish them from the *Mahometans*. He sent *Thabseas*, one of his Captains, with this Commission; which he executed with great Severity. The Christians boast that they withstood this General, and produce a long Catalogue of Martyrs who suffered on this Occasion: But whether the *Jews*, who invoke neither Saints nor Martyrs, were unconcerned to transmit their Names to Posterity; or whether they were guilty of a Weakness common to them, of yielding to avoid Persecution, it does not appear by any of their Monuments that they stopped the Execution of *Mohadi's* Orders. In his Reign appeared the Impostor *Hakem*, surnamed *Burka*, or *Mask*, who is said (a) to have been a *Jew* by Birth, or at least he borrowed from them the Notion of the *Shechinah*, or the Divinity resting upon the ancient Prophets, pretending that the same rested upon him. With this foolish Opinion he deceived a great many, whom he caused wear a white Habit, to distinguish them from the Followers of *Ali*, who wore black. Having lost one of his Eyes in a Battle, he used a gilded Mask on his Face, to conceal the Deformity: But his Disciples maintained that he did it with the same Design as *Moses*, that he might not dazzle the Eyes of Beholders with the Majesty of his Countenance. He had the Art, 'tis said, every Night to produce a luminous Body like the Moon, from the Bottom of a Well, which diffused its Light at the Distance of some Miles. At last he went into the Field at the Head of an Army: But one of *Mohadi's* Generals pursued him, and he was obliged to retire to a Fortress that was almost inaccessible. Finding himself besieged, he poisoned all his Associates, and burnt their Bodies, and afterwards threw himself into a great Tub of *Aqua fortis*, in the Year of our Lord 779, presuming that it would be believed he was returned to Heaven, because his Body could not be found. And he maintained the foolish Opinion of the Transmigration of Souls. But a Woman who had hid herself to avoid Death, discovered the Secret, and in the *Aqua fortis* they found the Hair of the Impostor unconsumed.

Aaron surnamed *The Just* succeeded to the Califfship after the Death of his Brother *Mohadi*, in the 786th Year of the Christian *Æra*, and was one of the greatest of the *Arabian* Princes. *Charlemagne* made an Alliance with him, thinking it his Interest to secure so powerful a Friend in the East, that with the better Success he might carry on his Conquests in the West. *Isaac* a *Jew* was the principal Person entrusted with this Embassy (b); and the *Saracen* Prince by this new Alliance became so bold as to push his Conquests near the Gates of *Constantinople*. Under his Government the *Jews* enjoyed so profound a Tranquillity, as made their Synagogues and Academies to flourish. His Son *Amin* succeeded him about the Beginning of the ninth Century; but was so weak a Prince, and so addicted to his Pleasures, as to neglect State-affairs. His Brother *Maimoun* revolted against him, and was so successful as to ascend the Throne in the Year of our Lord 827. He was a Prince eminent for great Actions; and being a Lover of Learning, endeavoured to bring it into Esteem with the *Arabs*, by causing the best Books of the *Jews* to be translated into that Language. This created some Trouble to this Prince by his own People, who were already uneasy to see their black Habits changed into green, the black being the Colour of the *Abassides*, and the green that of the *Omniades*, the Successors of *Aly*. *Mashalla*, an eminent *Jewish* Astronomer, appeared at his Court with great Reputation. He had been known before to *Almanzor*, and had seen seven Califs on the Throne; but he principally distinguished himself in the Reign of *Maimoun*, who had a great Regard for him. In the same Reign the famous Impostor *Moussa*, the Son of *Amram*, affected to make a Figure, asserting that he was *Moses* the great *Jewish* Legislator, whom God had miraculously raised from the Dead. Finally, The *Excellents* continued to render famous the Academies of *Sora* and *Pumbedita*. We have a Catalogue of the Heads of these Houses by a *Jewish* Chronologer (c), and I find the same inserted in *Hottinger's Ecclesiastical History* (d); but as it consists only in a bare List of Names we know little of, it is not necessary to insert the same here. *Maimoun*, when he died, preferred his Brother *Motasssem* to his own Son *Abbas*; and the latter not only took an Oath of Fidelity to his Uncle, but obliged all his Party to do the same. *Motasssem* assumed the Name of *Billah*, importing, *A Prince preserved by the Grace of God*. *Vatbesk*, who began to reign in the Year 841, declared himself openly against the *Jews*, because they

having

(a) Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental. p. 412. Abulpharagius, p. 150. (b) Du Haillan, Hist. de France, l. 4. p. 175. (c) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 125 & seqq. (d) Hottingeri Hist. Eccl. part. 1. cap. 8. p. 534. & cap. 9. p. 663. & seqq.

having managed the Revenues of his Predecessor, he being dissatisfied with their Administration, resolved to squeeze great Sums out of them; and persecuted them also because they would not receive the *Alcoran*. *Motarkel*, who succeeded him in the Year 846, declared likewise against the *Jews*; for he ordered every Man of them within his Empire to wear a leathern Girdle, as a Mark of Distinction; he excluded them from all Offices of the Divan and Government, by which, it seems, they had been admitted to such Posts before; he forbade them to have iron Stirrups at their Sables, or to ride upon Horses, permitting them only the Use of Asses and Mules: Yea he stigmatized them with Marks of Infamy; and, which was of the worst Consequence, his Law spread it self not only through his own, but through neighbouring Dominions, and is observed at this Day in many Places of the *Turkish* Empire. In the Reign of this Calif a Faction was kindled in one of the *Jewish* Academies. *Menachem* the Son of *Joseph*, about the Year of our Lord 861, one of the *Excellents*, being sole President at *Pandebita*, the People gave him a Partner called *Matthaias*. He looking on him as a Competitor, could not bear it; and hence violent Disputes arose: But at last *Menachem* carried it. He died two Years after, leaving the Place and Authority to *Matthaias*, who enjoyed it a longer Time. *Motarkel* the Calif became very cruel, tormenting and killing many of his Subjects with an iron Stove. His Vizier died by that Engine, and his own Son *Montasser* had a Trial of it; who being wearied with these Hardships, killed his Father: But he was not long Gainer by this Parricide, being tormented by cutting Remorses. His Brother *Mothas* was as unfortunate as he; for the *Turks* and *Egyptians* revolting from him, tho' under Pay, entred into his Palace, dragged him from his Throne, and put him to Death. *Mothadi*, who succeeded him, was soon deprived by *Mothamed*, a weak Man, addicted to Pleasures, but governed by his Brother and Nephew. In his Time *Egypt* was dismembred from the Califship, and *Mothamed* died in the Year 891.

Having seen the State of the *Jews* in the Dominions of the *Saracens* during the eighth and ninth Centuries, I shall next consider their Condition in the *Roman* Empire, and in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany* and *France* during the said Period. It is groundless to charge this Nation with raising the Controversies concerning Images, managed at this Time with so great Warmth, yea with Arms and Effusion of Blood: But this Point of Church-history comes not within the Compass of my present Undertaking. It is more to our Purpose to observe, that *Leo I. sauricus*, who reigned at *Constantinople* from the Year 716 to 741, and was a great Opposer of Image-worship, commanded the *Jews* and *Montagnards* or *Manichees* to embrace Christianity. Upon which many *Jews* were baptized, and received the Lord's Supper (a): But I fear their Conversion was too hypocritical. *Nicephorus* ascending the Imperial Throne about the Year 800, protected the *Jews*; and they lived unmolested during his Reign. *Michael Balbus*, or, *The Stammerer*, coming to the Throne in the Year 821, was still more favourable to this People than his Predecessor. It is even said that he was half a *Jew*, coming from *Amorium*, a City of *Phrygia*, where many *Jews* had taken Sanctuary. Indeed if we notice the many Barbarities, Murders and inhumane Actions committed among these Emperors at *Constantinople*, even upon one another, about this Time and for some following Ages, which may appear by reading the *Byzantine* Writers; or even by the Continuator of *Eachard's Roman History* (b), 'tis no great Wonder that such a Set of Princes could do no great Service to any Religion: And in these tragical Actions this *Stammerer* had his own Share; for he murdered his Master *Michael Curopalates*, and usurped his Throne.

In *Spain* *Roderick* the thirty third King, having ravished *Florinda* the fair Daughter of Count *Julian*, in revenge of this Injury, her Father invited the *Saracens* and *Moors* from *Africa*, who landing at the Foot of the Mountain *Calpe* under *Tark* their Captain, gave the Name of *Gibal-Tar* or *Gibraltar* to that Place. They having overcome the *Goths* about the Year of our Lord 712, spread themselves over that whole Country, and possessed it for a long Time. A *Jew* called *Serenus* resolved to take Advantage of this Revolution, and upon the Wars which these new Governors made on the French in *Languedock* (c), about the Year 724: For he pretending to be the *Messiah*, found abundance of People in *Spain* ready to believe him, and to follow him into the Holy Land; where he was to establish his Empire. *Ambisa*, who was then Governor, made Advantage of this Desertion, seizing the Estates the *Jews* had abandoned by their Folly. Many of these Pilgrims died by the Way; others of them returned to bewail their Loss. In the Reign of *Moavias* Calif of the West, appeared R. *Judab*, who distinguished himself by his Learning; for he published an *Arabian Dictionary*, and translated other Books from that Language into *Hebrew*; which shews that Sciences then flourished in the *Spanish Synagogues*, and that the first Califs were then favourable to them. From *Spain* the *Saracens* made IncurSIONS into *Languedock*, and making themselves Masters of *Narbonne* came and besieged *Tholouse*. 'Tis said the *Jews* assisted, upon Condition that all the Christians in the Town should be murdered as soon as it was taken: But M. *Basnage* is of Opinion (d),

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that

(a) Theophanes, p. 327. (b) Vol. 4. 5. (c) Marca hist. of Bearne, lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 137, 138. See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 3. (d) Ibidem.

that the Ground of this Story is, that after the *Saracens* had taken the City, they killed all the Inhabitants except the *Jews* who had called them in, to whom they religiously performed a Promise they had made of preserving them.

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§ 3. I proceed now to consider the State of the *Jews* in the tenth and eleventh Centuries. The tenth Age which is under such Discredit among Christians for Ignorance, is not so with the *Jews*; for they boast that they never had such excellent Doctors as at that Time. They erected a new Academy in the East, because these that had subsisted for many Ages, were not then sufficient to contain the Number of Professors and Scholars that was requisite. The *Arabians* applied themselves to Learning, and there appeared among them able Logicians, skilful Physicians, and Men cunning in vain Astronomical Predictions. The *Jews* imitated them; but their Quiet was interrupted by a Division that happened between their Professors, and Heads of the Captivity, which was attended with very bad Consequences; for their Academies tumbled down, and the whole Nation being expelled the East, was forced to seek a new Refuge in *Spain*, *France* and other Parts of the West. They did undergo fresh Miseries thro' the Zeal of the *Crusadoes* (b), who made it a Piece of Devotion to massacre the *Jews*, before they proceeded to conquer *Judea* out of the Hands of the *Mahometans*.

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They did undergo a fresh Persecution in the Reign of *Hakem* the third Calif, of the House of the *Fatbemites* in *Egypt*. He declared himself an Enemy both to the *Jews* and Christians; for he ordered the former to wear a Mark of Distinction, whereby they might be known, caused their Synagogues to be demolished, and forced them by Bastinado's to quit their Religion: But being inconstant, he quickly changed his Conduct, and permitted them to return to their old Way, and died in the Year of our Lord 1026.

As to the *Jews* in the West during the 10th and 11th Centuries, the Divisions and Wars that troubled *Spain* in the first of these Ages, gave the *Jews* a great deal of Rest and Tranquillity. They were also supported by the Authority and Number of the *Rabbins* which was considerable, especially about the Year of our Lord 967: For besides those who were Natives of *Spain*, they were furnished with a famous one, commonly named *Moses clade with a Sack*. This Man having left the East, was taken by the Privateers, and carried with his Son to the Coast of *Spain*, where he was ransomed by the *Jews* of *Corduba*, without any Knowledge of his Merit. He putting himself in the Corner of one of their Schools, in the Habit of a Lay-beggar, wrapped in a Sack to cover his Nakedness, disputed so profoundly upon all Questions that offered, that the President of the School, full of Admiration, yielded his Place to him; and he was created Judge of the Nation with a liberal Salary. But having a greater Inclination to die in his own Country, he resolved to return thither, which the Calif would not allow him for a Reason of State: For at that Time the *Talmud* was very little known even among the *Jews* in *Spain*; and therefore when any Controversy arose, the Synagogues sent their Deputies to *Bagdet* to have it decided. Hence the Prayers which the *Spanish* Synagogues repeated in the Days of Affliction, and particularly on the Day of Expiation, were composed by *Armissim*, Head of one of the Academies at *Babylon*. *Hakem* Calif in *Spain*, not being pleased with his Subjects passing so frequently to the East, where the *Abassides*, who were Enemies to his House, reigned, was overjoyed, hearing that *Moses clade with a Sack*, taught the *Talmud* to the *Spaniards*, and therefore detained him within his Dominions to the Day of his Death, which was about the Year of our Lord 997, and he was succeeded by *Enoch* his Son. *Hasshem* the second King of *Corduba*, to prevent Pilgrimages to *Bagdet* and *Jerusalem*, caused the *Talmud* to be translated

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into

(a) Biblioth. Orientalis ad Tit. Schiabor p. 763. (b) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 121. (c) Solomon ben Virga Scher ver Jehudah, p. 307. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica Tom. 2. p. 385.

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(a) Vide Agobardum de Insolentia Judæorum. (b) See of the Crusadoes, Hist. of Propagation, Vol. 2. p. 182, — 184. (c) Ganz Tsemach, p. 130.

frequent among the *Jews*, since there are few Cities in these Parts of the World that contain so many Inhabitants, far less such a Number of *Jews*. Some Authors are of Opinion that the Name of this City is derived from *Sapor II.* who took the Emperor *Valerian* Prisoner, and treated him cruelly. Others (a) derive the Name from one *Schiabour*, or *Sapour* a *Rabbin*, who founded an Academy there. *Scherira*, who was President of this School, made it to flourish till the Year 997. He was a mortal Enemy to the Christians, and particularly to the Monks; for he wrote against them, and called them Forgers. Finding himself overladen with Years, he resigned his Place to his Son *Hay* the most excellent of the Excellents. *Cader* the Son of *Mottader* was then the *Saracen* Calif; he reigned above 40 Years, and resolved to give a Check to the *Jews*, who had made too great Advantage of the troublous Reigns of his Predecessors, to usurp an undue Authority. *Scherira* and *Hay* were both accused as Men of Wealth and Power, who governed the Nation, the Calif caused put them in Prison, fleeced them of their Wealth, and caused old *Scherira* to be hang'd. *Hay* had the good Fortune to escape, and went on with his Lectures in the Academy till the Year 1037, being the last of the Excellents. After *Hay's* Death, *Ezekias* was elected Head of the Captivity (b). His Government was short and miserable; for after two Years therein the Calif arrested him with all his Family, and put them to Death, except two Sons who fled into *Spain*. The Academies were shut up, and the learned obliged to seek a Sanctuary in the West, whither the persecuted People followed them. In the Time of this *Ezekias*, the Schism arose between the Children of *Asker* and *Naphtali* (as they're commonly called) and are thought to be the first *Masoreths*. Persecution against the *Jews* in the East being begun, it never ceased till their Affairs were quite ruined. The House of the *Mahometan Abassides*, who had always favoured the *Jews*, being sunk from its Authority, the Sultan *Gela le Doulat*, who reigned by the Name of *Cajem*, resolved to extirpate them; and to that Purpose he shut up their Academies, which have never been opened since, killed the Prince of the Captivity with his Family: The People also suffered extremely. In a Word the Persecution was so bloody, as to reduce them to a handful of Men, to disperse them into the Desarts of *Arabia*, and to drive them into the western World. The Sceptre many Ages before this was departed from *Judah*, and the Lawgiver from between his Feet; but when the Heads of their Academies are abolished, and the Power given by the Califs to the Princes of the Captivity extinct in the Person of *Ezekias* the Son of *David*, as happened in the Year of our Lord 1039, even by the Acknowledgment of the *Jewish* Historians (c) there can be no longer any Pretence that this Nation hath either Sceptre or Lawgiver remaining.

They did undergo a fresh Persecution in the Reign of *Hakem* the third Calif, of the House of the *Fatimites* in *Egypt*. He declared himself an Enemy both to the *Jews* and Christians; for he ordered the former to wear a Mark of Distinction, whereby they might be known, caused their Synagogues to be demolished, and forced them by Bastinado's to quit their Religion: But being inconstant, he quickly changed his Conduct, and permitted them to return to their old Way, and died in the Year of our Lord 1026.

As to the *Jews* in the West during the 10th and 11th Centuries, the Divisions and Wars that troubled *Spain* in the first of these Ages, gave the *Jews* a great deal of Rest and Tranquillity. They were also supported by the Authority and Number of the *Rabbins* which was considerable, especially about the Year of our Lord 967: For besides those who were Natives of *Spain*, they were furnished with a famous one, commonly named *Moses clade with a Sack*. This Man having left the East, was taken by the Privateers, and carried with his Son to the Coast of *Spain*, where he was ransomed by the *Jews* of *Corduba*, without any Knowledge of his Merit. He putting himself in the Corner of one of their Schools, in the Habit of a Lay-beggar, wrapped in a Sack to cover his Nakedness, disputed so profoundly upon all Questions that offered, that the President of the School, full of Admiration, yielded his Place to him; and he was created Judge of the Nation with a liberal Salary. But having a greater Inclination to die in his own Country, he resolved to return thither, which the Calif would not allow him for a Reason of State: For at that Time the *Talmud* was very little known even among the *Jews* in *Spain*; and therefore when any Controversy arose, the Synagogues sent their Deputies to *Bagdet* to have it decided. Hence the Prayers which the *Spanish* Synagogues repeated in the Days of Affliction, and particularly on the Day of Expiation, were composed by *Armissim*, Head of one of the Academies at *Babylon*. *Hakem* Calif in *Spain*, not being pleased with his Subjects passing so frequently to the East, where the *Abassides*, who were Enemies to his House, reigned, was overjoyed, hearing that *Moses clade with a Sack*, taught the *Talmud* to the *Spaniards*, and therefore detained him within his Dominions to the Day of his Death, which was about the Year of our Lord 997, and he was succeeded by *Enoch* his Son. *Hassem* the second King of *Corduba*, to prevent Pilgrimages to *Bagdet* and *Jerusalem*, caused the *Talmud* to be translated

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(a) Biblioth. Orientalis ad Tit. Schiabor p. 763. (b) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 121. (c) Solomon ben Virga Schever Jchudah, p. 307. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica Tom. 2. p. 385.

into *Arabick*. *R. Joseph*, *Moses's* Disciple, performed this Work (a) with good Success, but grew so haughty upon it, that he could not bear that *Enoch* should be preferred to him as Judge of the Nation. The Synagogues engaged in the Difference; but *Enoch* had the more numerous Party, who excommunicated *Joseph*; and he appealed to the King, who would not meddle in the Affair: And therefore *Joseph* took the Road to *Bagdet*, where *R. Hay* refusing to receive him, he staid at *Damascus* to the Day of his Death, without being able to obtain a Revocation of the Sentence pronounced against him.

Divisions among the *Saracens* in *Spain* encreased in the eleventh Century, *Alphonso V.* King of *Castile* had consented to call several Parties of them in: But he found them so troublesome Guests, as to kindle a War in his Bosom, and to bring Christianity in his Dominions within a Hair-breadth of Ruin. This made him repent of his Folly, and to endeavour to retrieve by his Courage what his bad Conduct had brought upon him. During these Commotions, the Affairs of the *Jews* had a favourable Aspect in that Country: For *R. Samuel Levi* became Secretary and Minister of State to the King of *Granada*, who afterwards made him Prince of the Nation, about the Year of our Lord 1027; and he employed his Credit at Court to protect his own People. His Son succeeded him in these Posts about the Year 1055: But his Riches made him too haughty. An unexpected Turn of Affairs disturbed the Tranquillity of the *Jews*. *Joseph Hallevy*, one of their learned Men, set up for a Converter of the *Mahometans*, about the Year 1064; the Translation of the *Talmud* into *Arabic*, gave him some Hopes of Success, but his Design miscarried. The King of *Granada* could not bear this Insult of a tolerated Religion; and to resent it, he clapt the Converter into Prison and hang'd him. Fifteen hundred *Jewish* Families in *Granada* suffered very much, and were the more sensible of their Hardships, after Prosperity had made them rich and powerful. When the *Crusades* were published in *Spain*, to recover the holy Land from the Hands of the Infidels; these who embarked in this Design resolved to put the *Jews* to the Sword before they marched: But Pope *Alexander II.* prevented the Execution of this Design in great Measure, by writing to the *Spanish* Bishops (b) to hinder the Execution of such a bloody Project against the *Jews*, since they ought not to be deprived of their Lives on whom God will one Day or other bestow Salvation and Immortality. Notwithstanding this Message, the *Crusaders* killed the *Jews* in several Parts of *Spain*.

This Country had Abundance of *Jewish* Doctors in the eleventh Century, as *Samuel Cophni*, born at *Corduba*. He published a Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, the Manuscript whereof is said to be in the *Vatican* Library. He died in the Year 1034. There were also five *Isaacs*, very famous Men, and several others. *France* also produced a great many *Jewish* Rabbins, as *R. Gerson*, afterwards called the *Light of the French Captivity*, who published a Book of Constitutions. *Jacob* the Son of *Jekar*, a great Musician was his Disciple. One *Solomon* studied under these Masters; he had another famous Disciple called *Abarcellonita*, who wrote concerning the Privileges of Women, and of Times and Epochas used by the *Jews*; and *Moses Hadrascian*, that is, the Preacher, who died in the Year of our Lord 1070, with the Honour of leaving *Solomon* the *Lunatick* his Disciple. These, and many other *Jewish* Rabbins who lived after them, were great Enemies to the Christians; for they maintained that the *Italians* and all other Christians are *Edomites* (c); that the Spirit of *Esa* hath passed into them, and even into our Lord and Saviour; with many other Calumnies not necessary to be here repeated: Nor do their Blasphemies deserve to be answered; only we pity their blind Malice, and heartily pray that they may fear the Lord and his Goodness in the latter Days.

Joseph the Historian, the Son of *Gorion*, is one of the Doctors that *France* produced in the eleventh Century. It may seem degrading of him to make him be born in *France*, and depriving him of a venerable Antiquity which he pretends to, namely, to have lived at the Siege of *Jerusalem*: For he says (d) *I am that Ben-Gorion whom Titus and Aspasiani carried Captive from Jerusalem*. But it appears pretty plain from his own Book, that he was born in *Bretany*, a Province of *France*; for he tells us (e), *That the Children of Riphath are the Britains that inhabit Bretany by the Loire, whose Waters as well as the Seine fall into the Ocean, which is the great Sea*. This looks like a Respect to his Birth-place; And in describing the Roman Empire, he always speaks of *Bretany* as of considerable Consequence, and makes twenty thousand *Bretains* to march to the Siege of *Jerusalem* under the Command of *Titus*. Which also discovers that this Author cannot be of that Antiquity which he pretends to; For this Province got not the Name of *Bretany* before the Year 690. Besides, he hath many Names of Countries; Rivers and Places in barbarous *Hebrew*, that must be of a late Date, as, *Francks*; *Francia*; *Bretones* (f), *Bretania*, the River *Loyre*, *Po*, *Tesino*; *Bulgar*, *Turks*, *Toscana*, *Englishich*, *Alemannia*, *Lombardy*, *Danish*, *Denmarkia*, *Dena*, *Croatæ*, &c. The Description he gives of *Vespasian's* Coronation (g), agrees to the Investiture of some of the German Empe-

(a) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 130. (b) Epist. Alexandri II. decima apud Binium Conciliorum Tom. 3. parte 2.
(c) Vide Isaaci Abarbanelis Dissertationem ad Esaie cap. 34. in Mantissa Buxtorffii ad librum Cozri, p. 389, 400.
(d) Bengorion, lib. 1. p. 27. (e) Idem, cap. 1. p. 1. (f) Ibid. cap. 1. passim. (g) Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 77. p. m. 340. & seqq.

Emperors, but no Way to the Coronation of *Vespasian*; for there we have Account of *Seven Kings* serving the Emperor as his principal Officers; that two of these Princes present him with a white Horse, other two of them hold a Ladder of Gold, which he makes use of to mount the Horse; two Horsemen scatter Handfuls of Flowers of Gold, that is, Florins. The Princes present him with a Book of Roman Privileges. He kissed all the Pages, and swore to observe the Privileges, without violating one of them. Above all these Officers is the Father, the Pope, whom the Greeks call Patron, who presents the Emperor with a sceptre of gilt Wood, puts a Ring on his Finger, and in his left Hand a gilded Globe, crowneth him, and establisheth him Sovereign, &c. This seems to be a Description of the Coronation of the Emperor *Otho I.* or of his Son *Otho II.* performed at Rome about the End of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh Century, with great Ceremony, at which this Author might have been present. As to the Book it self, it contains a Kind of History of the Jews from the Creation of the World to the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* in six Books, in which there are ninety seven Chapters. The learned *Jobin Gagnier* hath published it with a Latin Translation, and learned Notes and Prefaces now before me, printed at the Theatre at Oxford, in the Year 1706. But there are so many fabulous and ridiculous things in it, as make the Reading thereof rather a Toil than a Pleasure. As for Example, he tells us, *That Alexander the Great was begotten by an Angel in the Similitude of a Serpent (a); that when he was born, the World was darkned, the Sun appeared red like Fire. When he advanced in Tears, his Hairs were like a Lion's Main. One of his Eyes was black, and another blue. His Teeth were great; his Voice like the roaring of an Ox. That the King of Pelusia, one of the Cities of Macedonia, sent him a Horse named Butsephal, which killed Men; but Alexander, when he was fifteen Years of Age, rode on him, and went to fight with Nicholas, and King Andrias, who met him with a great Army, &c.* Here we have Alexander the Great represented rather as a Monster than as a Man; and there are many other Narratives in the Book of the same Kind. What was this Impostor's Motive to write such a Book, I shall not determine; perhaps finding the History of his Nation well done by *Josephus* the Son of *Mattathias*, and little known by the Jews for whom it was composed, he resolved to compose one like it in Hebrew; wherein he transcribes Greek and Latin Nouns in Hebrew Letters, giving them a Termination like that Language. Little Credit being like to be given to a modern Historian without Vouchers, concerning Facts so far removed from the Time in which he relates them, he assumed the Name of *Josephus*; but to distinguish himself from that Historian, he takes the Sirname of *Gorion*, an ancient illustrious Family among the Jews. The Design had all the Success could be expected; for the Jews neglect *Josephus* the Son of *Mattathias*, whom they consider as a Foreigner writing in Greek, and extol this Impostor to the Skies (b); and even some Christians have been deceived by him, tho' his Book be a constant Blunder in History from first to last, except where he copies *Josephus* the Son of *Mattathias*, concerning the Wars of the Jews. But I leave this Author, and proceed with our History.

§ 4. THE Jews exceedingly multiplied in Germany in the eleventh Century; where they built Synagogues in most of the considerable Cities; particularly in *Friers*, *Cologne* and *Mentz*. They penetrated into *Franconia*; thence into *Bohemia*, where they performed such Services to the Christians against the Barbarians; that they were allowed the Privilege of a Synagogue. They entered into *Hungary*, where some of them turned Christians. A Priest named *Goteskal*, put himself at the Head of fifteen thousand Robbers in Germany, where he declared War against the Jews, run over *Franconia*, and thence passed into *Hungary*; but when it was perceived that his Army plundered the Houses, and ravished the Wives of the Christians, they killed *Goteskal*, and cut off the best Part of his Troops. The Count of *Linnengen* made the like Attempt against the Jews (c), and had also a tragical End. The Crusaders going to recover the holy Land from the *Mahometans*, kindled a fresh Zeal against the Jews: 'Tis said that these Votaries at *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Worms*, and *Spies* in three Months Time; stabbed and drowned five thousand Persons; and that the Number of those who were forced to abjure their Religion cannot be reckoned. Women seeing these Crusaders coming, killed their own Children; saying, *It was better to send them thus into Abraham's Bosom, than to abandon them to the Christians.* Yea some Authors say (d); That twelve thousand Jews perished in *Bavaria* on that Occasion; and that the Number of such who were destroyed all over Germany was incredible. These Calamities were very general, being felt not only in Germany, but also in France, in Spain and in Italy, where great Numbers were killed, and others were driven into such Despair as to murder (e) themselves.

In the same Age the Jews came into England. *William the Conqueror* about A^o. 1070 brought them over from *Roan*, making Room for them by the Havock of the English, and using them as Sponges to suck up the Treasure of his new Acquisitions (f), that from them he might draw it

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(a) Ben-Gorion, lib. 2. cap. 6, 7. p. 46. & seqq. (b) Vide Elogia in Gorionidem in Præfatione Gagnier, p. 38. — 50. & in præfatione R. Tham. ibid. Basnage hist. of the Jews, Book 7. cap. 6. (c) Shialschalet Hakkabala, p. 110. (d) Aventinus Annalium Bojorum, lib. 5. p. 361. (e) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 133. (f) Anglo-Judæus, or, The History of the Jews in England, printed 1656.

again into his own Coffers. We may meet with them afterwards in this Country in the Progress of this History.

§ 5. IN the twelfth Century the Crusaders were not more favourable to the Jews than in the former Age; only their Sufferings were not so universal. *Rodolphus* a Hermit, who preached up this Expedition, recommended to the Undertakers to kill the Enemies of Christianity at home, before they marched against the *Mahometans* at a distance. The Jews took Warning, so as to flee to *Nuremberg* and other Cities depending upon the Emperor, where they found Protection. *St. Bernard* (a) also wrote to the Bishop and Clergy of *Spire* to stop this Violence; for the Jews, to whom pertaineth the adoption and the promises, whose are the fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever, ought not to be so dealt with: And to the Archbishop of *Mentz* he says, It is greater Glory to the Church to convert one Jew, than to kill a Multitude of them; and minds him of the Words of our Lord, Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.

In the same Age *Benjamin of Tudela*, born in a City of that Name in the Kingdom of *Navar*, travelled into all Places where he hoped to meet with Jewish Synagogues; and omits nothing in the Account we have of his Travels that can raise the Lustre and Reputation of his Nation. 'Tis true he sometimes departs from the beaten Path of Geographers and Historians, and hath imagined new Countries never before heard of; but still his Narrative is valuable. To begin with the East: Upon the Banks of the *Euphrates*, in the City *Petbora*, famous for the Seat of *Balaam*, he finds a Tower which answered to all the Hours of the Day (b); tho' 'tis difficult to conceive how a magical Tower could have subsisted so many Ages. At *Almozal*, where formerly stood the ancient *Nineveh*, were many Jews. At *Pundebita* in *Nebardea*, being then called *Aljobar*, there were only two thousand Jews; of whom the chief Doctors were named *Hen*, *Moses* and *Eliakim* (c): But their Schools were empty. The same was to be observed at *Sora*. He ascribes the Foundation of *Obkera* to *Jeconias*; tho' it is not very probable that a captive King would build a City. From thence he passed to *Bagdet*, the chief City of the *Babylonian* *Irack*, formerly *Chaldea*, where he gives a particular Account of the Magnificence and State of the *Saracen* Califs, which is not to our present Purpose. He goes on to the ancient *Babylon*, where were the Remains of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Palace, now become a Habitation of Serpents and Scorpions (d). Four Miles from this the Foundations of the ancient Tower of *Babel* are discovered, which was built soon after the Flood of *Noah*, before the Confusion of Languages. From thence he came to *Nopha*, and then to *Ezekiel's* Tomb, upon the Banks of the River *Chebar*, where People from all Parts resort to worship. It is a kind of Sanctuary; and there is a rich Library, which those who die childless augment, by sending their Books thither. In the City *Chebar* he says there are near fifty thousand *Israelites* (e). *Egypt* is one of the Places where the Jews have subsisted longest; and here our Traveller found them: For he reckons thirty thousand of them in one single City (f), which he calls *Kouts*, and two thousand of them, with two Synagogues, at *Mitfrain* on the Banks of the *Nile*, which we suppose to be the same Place that is now called *Grand Cairo*. Here resided the Head of all the Synagogues in *Egypt*, who at that Time was called *Nathaniel*. He created the Doctors, and supported the Interest of his People with the Calif. Our Author forgets not the Land of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* dwelt so long. He imagined that he observed some Tracts of their ancient Buildings, and two hundred of them in one Place, seven hundred in another, five hundred in a third, and near three thousand in the City of *Goshen*, as many in *Alexandria*, but very few at *Damiette*.

Benjamin also travelled into the Land of *Judea*. At *Tyre* he found several of his Nation, who were for the most part Glass-makers. The *Tyrian* Glass being then in vogue, it was made and transported into other Parts by the Jews. The *Samaritans* had abandoned their principal City; but there were some of them at *Cæsarea*, and about a hundred of them at *Shechem* (g), which they had made the principal Seat for those of their Religion. At *Jerusalem*, where God had formerly put his Temple and his Name, he found very few Jews, only about two hundred of them in a Corner of the Town, under *David's* Tower, who for most part were Dyers of Wool, which Privilege they purchase of the *Turks* by a yearly Tribute of Money. If *Jerusalem* had so few Jews in it, the rest of the holy Land was in the same Condition: Two of them he found in one City, twenty in another, most of which were Dyers. At *Ascalon*, now built four Leagues from that which the holy Scriptures often mention, he discovers two hundred *Rabbinists* (h) or Traditionists, forty *Caraites*, who adhere to the Letter of the Law, and three hundred *Samaritans*. In *Galilee*, where the Nation was once in great Repute, and where they had their famous Schools, eminent Doctors, and where the *Jerusalem Talmud* was composed some Ages after the Birth of Christ, there our Traveller observed only fifty Persons of his Nation, and some ancient Tombs.

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(a) Divi Bernardi Epistolæ 322, 323, operum col. m. 1637, — 1640. (b) Benjaminis Itinerarium in Hornii Ulyssæ, p. m. 378. (c) Ibid. p. 380. (d) Ibid. p. 386. (e) Ibid. p. 391. (f) Ibid. p. 415. (g) Ibid. p. 360, — 362. (h) Ibid. p. 371, 372.

The same Traveller also passed through *Greece*, where he finds *Parnassus*, the old Seat of the Muses, inhabited by two hundred *Jews*, three hundred of them at *Corinth*, at *Thebes* about two thousand, tho' now there are no *Jews* there : At *Ægriphon*, the ancient *Chalcis*, he observes about two hundred. The Cities he calls *Jabasterifu* and *Rabbinica* are unknown. But *Constantinople* is better understood by the Description of others than of this Author. He finds in or near it two thousand *Jews* (a), for most part Silk-weavers and Merchants, of whom five hundred were *Caraites*. They all lived at *Pyra*, or in the Suburbs of *Galata*, a Seat long before assigned them by the Emperor *Theodosius*, where they are kept in a sort of Servitude. In *Italy* he finds *Jews* at *Genoa* and at *Rome*, which he represents as the Capital of the *Edomites*, and the Pope as the Head of their Religion. Thus he speaks from the Hatred the *Jews* bear to the Christians. He finds also *Jews* at *Capua*, and in several Cities of the *Neapolitans* ; in *Sicily*, and particularly at *Messina* and *Palermo*, where they paid no Tribute. He meets with them in most of the great Cities in *Germany* ; and takes notice of them at *Narbonne* and *Montpelier*, and some other Parts of *France*. His Travels end in the Year of our Lord 1173, and now we leave him.

The twelfth Century was very fruitful of learned *Jewish* Doctors, tho' we are not to expect too much from them ; for except the *Old Testament*, (the Benefit whereof, blessed be God, we enjoy as well as they) there is no Monument they possess ancients than Christianity ; and when they pursue mystical Meanings of Scripture, they lose the literal Sense, and the Design of the Spirit of God. Among their chief Doctors in this Age, we may reckon *Nathan*, Head of an Academy at *Rome*, who hath explained the difficult Terms in the *Talmud*, in a Book called *Aaruch*, and so exhausted that Subject, that those who come after him are obliged to copy him. He died at *Rome* in the Year 1106. *Aben-Ezra* is called *The Wise* by way of Excellency (b). He died at *Rhodes* in the Year 1174, being seventy five Years old, and ordered his Bones to be carried to the holy Land. He was one of the greatest Men of his Age and Nation. Being a good Astronomer, he made some valuable Discoveries in that Science. He excelled in Medicine ; but especially distinguished himself by his Explications of the holy Scriptures, adhering commonly to the literal Sense, without regarding the mystical Meanings of his Predecessors, judging the *Cabbala* uncertain, tho' he was afraid altogether to reject it, for fear of incurring the Hatred of his own People. *Abraham Hallevi* was a zealous *Rabbinist*. He put himself at the Head of that Party for Traditions (c) ; but perceiving himself unable to answer the Reasons of the *Caraites*, he employed all the Interest he had with *Alfonso VII.* called *The Fighter*, that Silence might be imposed upon his Adversaries ; and so the Controversy ended. *Judas Hallevi*, a Native of *Cologne*, embraced Christianity, and taught *Latin* in his own Country under the Name of *Herman*. Another *Judas Hallevi* was a good Poet. He composed the Dialogue with the King of *Cozar* which we have formerly (d) noticed.

In the same Age *Maimonides* appeared with great Lustre among the *Jewish* Doctors. He was born at *Corduba* in the Year of our Lord 1131, and boasted of his Descent from the House of *David*, as did most of the *Spanish* Doctors. *Scaliger* asserted that he was the first of the *Jews* who left off playing the Fool. Indeed he found a great deal of Folly in the Study of the *Gemara*, or Comments upon the *Talmud*, which made him regret this mis-spent Time, and apply himself to the more solid Studies of the sacred Scriptures. He understood *Greek*, and read the Philosophers, and particularly *Aristotle*, whom he often quotes. He occasioned such violent Commotions in the Synagogues, that those of *France* and *Spain* excommunicated one another mainly on his Account. At last he left *Spain*, and retired into *Egypt*, where he remained the rest of his Days ; which hath given him the Name of *R. Moses the Egyptian* ; he is also called *Rambam* or *Rabbi Moses ben Maimon*. He was a long Time in *Egypt* without any Employ, which made him essay the Trade of a Jeweller. However he ceased not to continue his Studies, and completed his Commentary upon the *Mishnah*. At last, having obtained Favour at Court, *Alphadel* the Son of *Saladin* made him his Physician, and bestowed on him a liberal Pension. He died in that Country in the Beginning of the thirteenth Century, and gave Orders for his Burial at *Tiberias*. Besides his Comment on the *Mishnah*, he wrote other Pieces ; as, *Gad Chazzekab*, or, *The strong Hand* ; *More Nevochim*, or, *The Doctor of doubtful Questions*, translated into *Latin* by *Buxtorf*, and several other Treatises. *David Kimchi*, a learned Doctor of the same Age, wrote an useful Book on the Grammar, and a Commentary on the *Psalms* ; which, with some other Pieces of his, have been inserted in the great Bibles printed at *Venice* and *Basil*. His Brother *Moses* composed a Book, intituled, *The Garden of Pleasure*, where he discourses of the Estate of Souls ; but it was never printed, only it is to be seen in the *Vatican Library*. *Solomon Jarkhi*, or, *The Lunatick*, was another learned *Jew* of *Champagne* in *France*. He wrote upon the *Gemara*, and some Notes upon the Scriptures ; which are so crowded with Fables and *Talmudical* Visions, as make him to be esteemed by some,

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(a) Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. m. 353. (b) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 132 & 138. (c) Solomon ben Virgæ. (d) Above, p. 574, 575.

and despised by others. At the same time flourished *Jacob of Orleans*, commonly called *Rabbi*. In fine, this Century produced *Jews* who distinguished themselves almost in every Science: For they had eminent Grammarians, as, *Kimchi*; famous Poets, as, *Judah, Alcharisi, Halle-vi, Joseph Hadaijan* of *Corduba*: They had Astronomers; as, *Abraham Chija, Abraham Nafi* and *Aben-Ezra*: They had famous Professors; as, *Isaac the Old*, and *Hazzeferen* (a), who had sixty Disciples so well vers'd in the *Gemara*, that they could dispute upon all Subjects proposed to them, and draw Arguments out of it against itself: They had *Cabbalists*, and Women learned in the Law: They had Generals; as *Dom Solomon* the Son of *Jechaia*, whom the King of *Portugal* made Lieutenant General of his Army, which Trust he discharged with great Success. Lastly, they had also famous Deserters; as *Asmonil*, or, *Samuel ben Jeboadab*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, and Physician by Profession, who quitted the Synagogue, and turned *Mahometan* (b), yea wrote against the *Jews* in the Year 1174, accusing them of having corrupted the Law of *Moses*; which Charge was received with great Applause by the *Mussulmans*; tho' tis probable the Alterations he complained of respected only the false Interpretations of the *Talmudists*.

These great Men prevented not the appearing of Impostors and false *Messiahs* in this Age, whom the credulous *Jews* easily followed. One of them in *France*, in the Year 1137, engaged the *Jews* his Admirers to make unlawful Assemblies; and therefore *Lewis* the young, who then reigned, caused the Synagogues to be pulled down. *Maimonides*, thirty Years after this Impostor affirms (c); That the *French*, into whose Hands he fell, killed him: But the Execution did not stop there; for another *Jewish* Historian (d) complains, that for the Fault of this Impostor, they had levelled a great many Synagogues in *France*. The Year following another Cheat appeared in *Persia* with a numerous Army attending him; but the King forced them to lay down their Arms; and 'tis said their Leader lost his Head. *Maimonides* (e) speaks of a third false *Messiah*, who appeared in *Spain* in the Year 1157; and drew upon all his Nation in that Country a heavy Persecution. One of their Doctors authorised their Delusions, by a Book he wrote to prove by the Motion of the Stars, that the Coming of the *Messiah* was at Hand. Ten Years after that another proclaimed the Coming of the *Messiah*; and this was a new Source of their Miseries (f). At the same time an *Arabian* perswaded the *Jews* that he was sent by the *Messiah* to call them together to meet their Saviour: He pretended to work Miracles, and to foretell that tho' he should be killed he would rise again; but his Head being struck off, he was never more heard of (g), only his Folly drew Calamities upon his credulous Followers. A little after a Leper, who in one Night's Time was cured, cherished an Opinion, that he himself was the *Messiah*, which he published to the *Jews* living beyond *Euphrates*, perswading Multitudes to go after him; which brought on new Miseries: And their Historians (h) affirm, that ten thousand of them overborn with these Hardships, forsook the Law, which made the Memory of this Seducer odious. Their Calamities broke out again in *Persia* upon account of a seventh Deceiver, who imposed upon them in the Year 1174; but he was afterwards looked upon as a Magician or a Devil. An eighth Impostor was seen in *Moravia*, called *David Almuffer*, who boasted that he had the Power of making himself invisible when he thought fit: Multitudes followed this miraculous Man, who had the Art to deceive and steal out of their Sight. The Prince of *Moravia* had great Difficulty to seize him; but at last he was caught and imprisoned, and whether he had lost or exhausted his Art, he could not then flee nor escape the Hands of the Hangman. The most famous of all these Deceivers in the twelfth Century, was one *David Elroi*, or *Eldavid*: He is commonly placed in the Year 1199; but *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who travelled in the Year 1173, having mentioned him as one that appeared ten Years before, he must be a little elder. He was born in the City *Amaria*; in which are reckoned a thousand *Jewish* Families, who paid Tribute to the King of *Persia*. The Impostor having learned some Secrets of the *Talmud*, and several Magical Arts, gained a Number of *Jews* to take up Arms, with a Shew of false Miracles. The King of *Persia* being informed of the Insurrection, summoned the Seducer to Court, with a Promise that if he should prove himself to be the true *Messiah*, he would submit to him. *Eldavid* appeared, and maintained his Position; but was cast into Prison, from which he made his Escape: The King marched a Part of his Army in Pursuit of him, but could not apprehend him, and therefore wrote to the *Jews* in his Kingdom to deliver him up, under Pain of being massacred without Mercy; but still he continued his Disorders, till his Father-in-law, tempted by the Offer of ten thousand Gold Crowns invited him to Supper, where he made him drunk and cut off his Head (i), which he sent as a Present to the King of *Persia*, who ordered all his Followers also to be delivered; but this being impossible, abundance of *Jews* were murdered all over *Persia*.

Other remarkable Events happened to the *Jews* in the twelfth Century, both in the East

(a) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 134, 138. (b) Herbelor. Bibl. Oriental. (c) Maimonides, in Epist. de Australi Regione, apud Vorstium in notis ad Tsemach, p. 233. (d) Solomon ben Virga Schiver Jehudah, p. 169. (e) Maimonides, ibid. (f) Ben Virga ibid. (g) Maimonides, ibidem. (h) Ibidem. (i) Solomon ben Virga Schiver Jehudah.

the East and West. One *Herman*, a Jew of *Cologne*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Henry V.* was converted to Christianity, of which himself hath given (a) a large Account. *St. Bernard* who flourished about this Time, being displeased with the Persecution raised against the *Albigens*, took also Part with the *Jews*, dissuading Hardships used against them, and the Violence of Zealots bent upon their Destruction; and alledging, that the Hopes of their future Conversion (b) did render their present Toleration necessary. These Letters being read at different Assemblies and Places, did the *Jews* special Service. They paid respect to Pope *Innocent II.* when he was obliged to retire into *France*; and he shewed them Favour. Pope *Alexander III.* also granted them his Protection, which was easily gained, because Rabbi *Jehiel* was Superintendent of his House and Finances. Under his Shadow they flourished in *Italy* during the rest of this Century. Their Case in *Spain* took different Turns in the Reign of *Alphonso VIII.* For while *Joseph* the Jew was Chief Minister of State to that Prince, they were favoured; but *Gonzales*, an Officer under *Joseph*, having prevailed over his Master, he offered great Sums of Money to the King, providing he would give him eight Heads of the *Jews* at his own Choice; which being granted, and their Estates confiscated, he did more than compensate all that he had given to the King. Upon *Gonzales's* falling into Disgrace, *Alphonso* fell in Love with a beautiful Jewish Woman, by whose Means the *Jews* became again very powerful; so that *Eliakim* (who at that Time wrote a Ritual of Ceremonies observed in the Synagogue) reckoned twelve thousand Persons of his Religion in the City of *Toledo*. They were also very numerous in *Andalusia*, where they applied themselves to Learning; but were much divided into Sects and Parties.

In *France* they were accused at *Paris* of murdering *St. William* (c), and for their Punishment were condemned to the Fire, which they deserved if really guilty of that Crime. At *Beziers*, every Year a Game commenced on *Palm Sunday*; the People flocked out at Night, scoured the Streets, stoned those that came in their Way, and broke their Windows. The *Jews* being especially aimed at, the Bishop agreed to free them of this Insult, for Payment of a yearly Tribute of two hundred Sols; and to this End concluded a Treaty at *Beziers*, in the Year 1160, which made them pretty easy for a while. But *Philip II.* surnamed *Augustus*, in the Beginning of his Reign, about the Year 1180, assuming Airs of Devotion, banished the *Jews* out of his Kingdom, and confiscated their Estates, only permitting them to sell and carry away the Money, which was reducing them to the last Extremity: For the People taking Advantage of these Circumstances (d), refused either to purchase or pay. The *Jews* complain (e), that their Enemies robbed them of their Money, and that some of their eminent Doctors, lost their Lives, as *Jacob* of *Orleans*, in the City that gave him his Birth and Name. *Rigord*, who writes the Life of *Philip Augustus* tells, that this Prince was moved to exile these People, to revenge the Death of a young Man named *Richard*, whom they had crucified at *Paris*, and that by this Example he was convinced of the Truth of what he had often heard, that the *Jews* every Year committed such a Murder. It was also represented to the King, that they were so rich and powerful, that they possessed the one Half of *Paris*, and obliged the Christian Slaves to Judaize. Being banished, some of them temporized and embraced Christianity; such continued in the peaceable Possession of their Estates: But others left the Kingdom, and their Synagogues were turned into Churches. *Philip* did not always continue an Enemy to this Nation; for the exiled *Jews* returned (f) some Years after this.

We have heard how the *Jews* came into *England* in the Reign of *William* the Conqueror (g); and we may further observe, that in this Century, when ever they had the Encouragement of the Sovereign, they became very insolent. For we are told that when *William II.* called *Rufus*, gave them leave to enter into a Dispute with the Bishops; and swore by the Face of *St. Luke*, That if they should get the better, he would himself turn a Jew, they ridiculed the Christian Religion, and scoffed at the Bishops, thinking by a Sum of Money to corrupt the King (h); but they were deceived, and forced to flee out of *London* to shelter themselves against the Rage of the People. In the Reign of *Henry II.* in the Year of our Lord 1160, they petitioned for new Burying Places: For at that Time they had only one at *London*, whither they were forced to carry their dead from remote Countries, or to leave them without Burial; upon which the King assigned them Places to bury their dead, in all the Cities where they were settled. Upon *Henry II's* Death, *Richard I.* called *Cœur de Lyon*, came to the Throne in the Year 1189, in whose Reign the *Jews* were more hardly dealt with; for the People having sucked in an Opinion, that they were all Conjurers, who had been guilty of poisoning Wells in *Germany*, and would practise Murders in *England*; they were forbid under severe Penalties to be present at the King's Coronation. Notwithstanding this Prohibition, some of the *Jews* who had come a great Way to see the Ceremony, thrust themselves

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(b) Hermannii opusculum de sua conversione, a Carpzovio editum. Balnage's History of the Jews, Book 7. chap. 10.
(b) Divi Bernardi epistolæ 322, 323. (c) Sigebert ad annum 1177, p. 661. (d) Rigord de gestis Philippi Augusti, Tom. 5. (e) Ganz Tsemach, p. 139. (f) Ibid. p. 140. (g) Above, p. 581. (h) See a Historical Treatise against the Jews, printed at London 1721.

selves in among the Multitude ; but being discovered, they were dragged out of the Church at *Westminster* half dead. This set the Populace in an Uproar, so as they broke open the Houses of the *Jews* (a), killed these they met with, and the Tumult spread from *London* to the Country, where great Numbers were slain. To stop these Disorders, the King emitted a Proclamation, that no body might hurt or molest a *Jew* under Pain of Death ; but it was not possible to put a sudden Check to the Fury of the People. The King taking on him the Crusade to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels, new Calamities beset the *Jews*. They thought they had purchased the Favour of this Prince, by the great Sums they had contributed for his Expedition, till the People rose to massacre them, which was begun at *Norwich*, carried on at *Stanford* and *St. Edmonds*, and the Mischief was most terrible at *York*, where fifteen hundred had seized the City to defend themselves ; but being besieged, and unable to hold out the Place, they offered to capitulate and ransom their Lives with Money. This Offer being refused, one of them cried out in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the Law, than to fall into the Hands of the Christians. Whereon they stabbed their Wives and their Children : The Men retired into the King's Palace, which they set on Fire, consuming themselves with the House and Furniture. The Besiegers entered the desolate Houses, loaded themselves with Plunder, and discharged their Debts by burning the Notes given to the *Jewish* Bankers. King *Richard* having then crossed the Seas on his Way to *Palestine*, upon Notice of these Commotions, ordered the Bishop of *York* to see them punished (b) ; but every one excusing themselves from what was done in a Tumult, what was past could not be remedied. Thus ended the twelfth Century.

§ 6. I proceed now to consider the History of the *Jews* in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries. They have ever subsisted and still subsist in the East, tho' we know little of their Transactions in these latter Ages ; they being weakened by Dispersions, and confined to their Synagogues, have had but little Share in publick Events. Their Academies being entirely ruined, scarce any Doctors have come from these Parts who have raised the Reputation of their Nation. However, some Gleanings concerning their Affairs may be gathered. *Petachia*, who travelled to many of the *Jewish* Synagogues affirms (c), that he saw a Prince of the Captivity in the East, but he is little known ; and a Persecution raised in the End of the twelfth or in the Beginning of the thirteenth Century, completed the Ruin of this Nation in these Parts. *Nassac Lednillah*, one of the *Abassides*, being then the *Saracen* Calif at *Bagdet* for forty seven Years, during all that Time, out of his Zeal for *Mahometism*, and out of Hatred to the *Jews*, and Love to their Money (d), he declared against them, and at last commanded them to depart all his Provinces, or turn *Mussulmans* ; many of them went into exile, and the rest chose to dissemble. The Holy Land was much depopulated by the Wars which the *Saracens* and Christians had made there, as well as in *Syria*. Nevertheless there were still some Synagogues in that Country. Thither the famous *Moses Nachmanides* retired : He was born at *Gironne* in the Year 1194 ; applied himself first to Physick, but made greater Progress in the Study of the *Jewish* Law. A Sermon which he preached before the King of *Castile*, gave him the Title of *The Father of Eloquence*. He commonly goes by the Name of *Ramban*, which is a Contraction of these four Words, *Rabbi, Moses, Ben, Nachman*. We know not the Reason why he who enjoyed such Reputation in *Spain* should leave it ; but 'tis certain that he retired to *Jerusalem*, where he built a Synagogue and died. He composed several Treatises, as, *A Prayer of the Ruin of the House or Temple* ; *Letters to induce Men to Piety* ; *The Secrets of the Law* ; *The Garden of Pleasure, or of the Eden of God* ; full of Cabbalistick Notions, of which Science he was a great Admirer.

The Tranquillity of *Egypt* was no less disturbed than that of the Holy Land. *St. Lewis*, or *Lewis IX.* King of *France*, endeavoured to make a Conquest of this Country from the Infidel *Mahometans* : He took *Damietta*, and overcame *Almohadan* who reigned in *Egypt* in the Year of our Lord 1250 ; but was himself defeated in a second Battle, and taken Prisoner. When the *Mamelucks*, who were Renegado Christians, became Masters of the Country, they oppressed the *Jews*. It is true they preserved some Synagogues ; but these made no Figure in *Egypt*, nor did any learned *Jews* then appear in that Country ; only in the fourteenth Century one *Simeon Duran* became conspicuous in *Africa* ; having past thither from *Spain*, he wrote *A Chronology of the ancient Rabbins* ; *The Buckler of the Fathers* ; *Diligent Judgment* (e), and *the Judgment of Justice*.

The *Tartars* or *Moguls* formed a new Monarchy in *Asia* in the thirteenth Century, and took *Chorazan*. As these Barbarians depopulated all Places under their Power, so they destroyed the Settlements which the *Israelites* had in that Country, and dispersed the Nation : But they devoted themselves to the Service of those new Masters, and sometimes found Favour at their Hands. In the Year 1287, a *Jewish* Physician named *Saade Doulat*, ingenious and agree-

(a) Matthew of Paris, p. 108. (b) Anglo-Judeus, or the History of the Jews in England, p. 12, 13. (c) Petachia circuitus seu Itinerarium, apud Wagenfeil in Sorah. (d) Herbelot Bibl. Oriental. (e) Bartolucci Bibl. Rabbini-
ca, Tom. 4. p. 411.

agreeable in Conversation, became first Minister to the Sultan *Argoun Khan*. He deprived the Christians of nothing they possessed in the Empire, but chiefly he employed his Credit to raise his own Nation, and to procure them new Establishments. Thus the *Jews* in those remote Parts of the East began to breathe again, and to enjoy the Advantages they had so long wanted. This Calm did not continue long; the Sultan took Sicknefs and died; and though *Saade Doulat* had done all he could to gain the Affection of the People, they accused him of Poysoning his Master, murdered him, and then fell upon the *Jews*, making a great Slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended Injustice that the Physician had done them. In the *Greek Empire of Constantinople* the *Jews* had entire Liberty of Conscience in those two Ages; yea the *Greeks* accused the *Latins* of doing Violence to the *Jews*, by forcing them to receive Baptism, which was done especially by those who undertook the *Crusade* for recovery of the Holy Land.

In the Ages we are now discoursing of, the *Jewish Nation* was numerous and powerful in the West, and particularly in *Spain*, where they maintained themselves almost equally with the Califs and Christian Princes, because the different Exigencies of State rendered them necessary to both, tho' their Numbers and Authority sometimes excited the Jealousy of Ecclesiasticks to persecute them. This happened in the Year 1209 at *Toledo* (a). The Archbishop of that City being a Man of a warm and restless Temper, was vexed to see his Diocese filled with Multitudes of rich *Jews*; and being desirous to bring their Treasures into his own Coffers, put himself at the Head of a Rabble which he had raised, entred the Synagogue, and dispersed the Assembly, and thence proceeded to plunder their Houses. This Misery was followed with another; for the *Crusaders*, while preparing for their Expedition, having their Rendezvous near this great City, thought Devotion obliged them to massacre those who had crucified the Lord of Glory, hoping that the first Fruits of their Blood would draw down a Blessing upon their Endeavours to rescue the holy Sepulchre out of the Hands of Infidels; and therefore these Voraries (b) prescribed no Bounds to their Cruelty. *Abravanel* (c) looks upon this Persecution as one of the most cruel that his Nation ever suffered; for according to his Account, it made a greater Number of *Jews* go out of *Spain*, than were conducted out of *Egypt* by the miraculous Ministry of *Moses*. The Nobility withstood the Torrent of these Cruelties: But King *Ferdinand*, who endeavoured to gain the Love of his People by persecuting the *Albigensis*, and who himself set Fire to the Pile in which they were burned, was not favourable to the *Jews*, the most odious of Hereticks. 'Tis said that the *Jews* may blame themselves for these Calamities: They were become exceeding Fond of their *Tephilim*, and of many superstitious Rites and Cabbalistick Dreams. They married strange Women, both from among the Christians and *Mahometans*; and the *Spanish* Historians charge them with carrying away a Child from the Choir of *Saragossa*, and crucifying it: And to crown all, they obstinately refused to be converted. *Raymond de Penna Forte*, General of the *Dominicans*, persuaded *James I.* King of *Arragon*, to forbear violent, and to use rational Methods for their Conviction. This produced a Book called *Pugio Fidei*; but his Poynard of Faith did not so wound their Conscience, as to produce a Change. Upon the whole, I am not to justify the *Jews* in these Matters; but in the mean Time, the Practice of such Inhumanities against them as these have been named, will rather harden and inflame them with Hatred to our Religion, than soften and convert them.

Alphonso X. King of *Castile* was so mightily delighted with the Contemplation of the Stars, that he is ordinarily called *the Astrologer*. The *Rabbins* being skilled in this Art, found no Difficulty to insinuate into his Favour. *Juda de Toledo*, about the Year 1255, by his Order translated some Books of Astronomy, composed by *Avicenna* in *Arabick*, and penetrating further into that Science, he counted the Stars, and divided them into forty eight Constellations. The same Number is to be found in the Writings of the venerable *Bede*, tho' perhaps this *Rabbi* had never read *Bede's* Books, they being then scarce, and Correspondence not easy. *Alphonso* employed another *Rabbin*, *Isaac* the Son of *Sid*, who made Astronomical Tables that have been since called *Alphonfine*, and are in Esteem among the Learned in that Science (d). *Moses* the Son of *Tibbon*, who then lived in the Kingdom of *Granada*, translated also *Euclid's Elements*, the Manuscript whereof is said to be still at *Rome* (e). Nor was it only at the Court of *Castile* the learned *Rabbins* appeared and were regarded; *James I.* King of *Arragon* loved them to that Degree, as to receive moral Lectures from them, and to desire the Books of Devotion which they had composed. *R. Jona* about the Year 1264, wrote to another *Jona* of *Girone* for Advice how he ought to answer the King of *Arragon's* Intention, commanding him to write a Book to instruct Man in the Duties of Religion and Piety. 'Tis believed that this *Jona* wrote a Book upon religious Fear, which is translated into *Spanish*, under the Title of *Tratado del Timor divino*. It seems the Clergy then in that Country applied themselves little to the Study of Devotion, when they were so far outstripped by the *Rabbins*.

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(a) Mariana, Tom. 1. p. 487. (b) Ibid. lib. 11. cap. 22. (c) In *Esaïam*, cap. 46. (d) *Ganz. Tsemach*. p. 141. (e) *Basnage hist. of the Jews*, Book 7. cap. 15. p. 662.

This favourable Juncture for the *Jews* was disturbed by a famous Impostor who formed a Design to deceive all the Synagogues in *Spain*, not by setting up for the *Messiah*, but by promising his speedy Appearance upon their observing the Conditions he imposed. This Deceiver named *Zachary*, imagined that he had found out the ineffable Name *JEHOVAH*, by the Help whereof he would work Miracles, and obtain the absolute sovereign Power, conform to an antient Tradition. Then he, with one who was his Accomplice, notified the Day on which the *Messiah* was to appear: And the *Jews* were so credulous, that having prepared themselves by Fasting and Alms, they went to their Synagogues dressed in white, to wait for the Performance of the Promise, but found themselves miserably cheated. A *Jew* who turned *Monk*, and wrote against his Nation (*a*) asserts, that they were strangely surpris'd to find Crosses upon their white Clothes, and upon all the Linen they had left at home: But 'tis more probable that they were afflicted when they found themselves deceived of their vain Hopes.

§ 7. THIS Misfortune was not comparable to that which they felt in the beginning of the fourteenth Century, the Effects whereof spread very far. It was occasioned by a Gang of Shepherds who set up for Votaries, boasted of Miracles, formed numerous Armies, and could not be dispersed without a prodigious Effusion of Blood. The *Jews* were great Sufferers in the Cruelties they committed. Some Authors contend (*b*) that this Assembly of Shepherds began in *France*, in the Reign of *Philip the Long*, making the Conquest of the holy Land their Pretence. They were headed by a deposed Priest, and a Benedictine Monk, a Deserter of his Order, who so abused the Credulity of the People, as to be counted miraculous Men. The Peasants quitted their Labour and Plough to follow them, and great Lords gave them their Protection, till they found it their Interest to destroy them, to prevent being plundered. They ravaged *Languedoc*, and the neighbouring Provinces, breaking the Prison-Doors, and releasing Malefactors, to enlarge their Company. They made themselves Masters of several Cites, in which they exercised the utmost Barbarities, particularly against the *Jews*. A Number of this Nation retiring to a Castle, under the Protection of the King of *France*; the Shepherds came and invested it, with a Resolution to destroy them. The Besieged defended like desperate Men; and when their Arms failed, they threw their own Children from the Top of the Walls to move Compassion: But this was an unprofitable Sacrifice. The Shepherds set Fire to the Gates; and having gained the Castle, found nothing there but dead Bodies with some Children, and one Man, who having killed his Companions, could not resolve to kill himself; him they took and cut in Pieces. At *Navarre* their Cruelties were redoubled, because their Numbers were become considerable. Six thousand *Jews* were murdered at *Estella*; none escaped but such as could purchase a Retreat into some fortified Castle or other. *R. Menachem* found a Soldier more merciful than the rest, who saved his Life: His Father and Mother, with four Brothers had been stabbed, and he was left naked and wounded, till one of the Gang, hearing his Groans, moved with Compassion carried him to a House, where he was cured; and he afterwards became Head of the Academy of *Toledo*, and famous among his own People for Learning. The Shepherds proceeded from *Navarre* to *Languedoc*, where they committed the like Ravages. They assaulted the *Jews* to enrich themselves by their Spoils: But the Christians were not secure; for the least Pretence was a sufficient Motive to pillage their Houses. Application was made to the Pope, then residing at *Avignon*: But the Shepherds despised his Thunderbolts of Excommunication. At last the King of *France* being vexed and tired with these Barbarities exercised over all his Kingdom, ordered his Troops to pursue this lawless Gang, and give them no Quarter. His royal Army, assisted by the Nobility of the Country, obliged them to retire into *Navarre* and *Arragon*, where they renewed their Disorders, till the King of *Arragon* having set his Son the Prince at the Head of his Army, killed the Leader of the Shepherds, and dispersed the rest. Part of them were destroyed by the Sword, and others by the Pestilence which then raged.

This Plague was a Spring of fresh Misery to the *Jews*; they were accused of conspiring with the Peasants of *Mejura*, to poison the Waters of the River, and of furnishing them with the Poison. They were cast into Prisons, and long Informations made against them. When the Accusations could not be proved, it was said they had been shut up only to convert them (*c*); and upon their Refusal to embrace Christianity, fifteen thousand of them were sentenced to the Fire. They were on the Brink of another Persecution in *Alphonso XI's* Time, but *Joseph* a *Jew* of *Astigi*, who had got into Favour with that Prince, being made intendant of his Finances, protected them.

No sooner had they escaped this Danger but they fell into another; there was a Mutiny against them at *Toledo*, to which *R. Ascher* had fled from his native City of *Northembourg* with his eight Sons. One of them observing the Christians breaking open his House, in order to murder him, fell into such an Excess of rage, as to kill all his Relations who were shut up with him.

(*a*) Alphonfus de Spina, fortalitiū fidei, Tit. 3. (*b*) Du Hailan hist. du France, p. 613. Ezovii Annal. Eccles. ad annum 1320. (*c*) Solomon ben Virgæ hist. Judaica, p. 181.

him; he stabbed his own Wife, and his Brother *Jacob's*, a Man who taught *gratis*, and left behind him a valuable Book called *Turim*, containing a Body of their Civil and Ecclesiastical Law; and last of all this Jew killed himself, that he might not fall into the Hands of the *Nazarenes*. This happened about the Year 1349. Another Calamity followed them; *Martin* Arch-deacon of *Astigi*, preaching in the Streets of *Sevil* and *Corduba* inflamed the Spirits of the People against the *Jews*, so as to massacre some of them. This Flame was carried as on the Wings of the Wind to *Toledo*, *Valencia* and *Barcelona*, where some were plundered, others were killed, while the more politic changed their Religion to escape the Fury of the Rabble. The Synagogues of *Sevil* and *Corduba*, which had been very numerous, were dispersed by a Multitude of Deserters. *Henry III.* King of *Castile*, called by some Authors *the cursed*, by others *the sickly*, pursued those who retired to *Andalusia* and other Parts, where they were knocked down by the People. *Bzovius* in his Annals placeth this in the Year 1396. *John* the Son of King *Henry* was as cruel to the *Jews* as his Father: Many of them perished in his Time by being denied the Necessaries of Life, and were easily known by a red Badge which they were forced to wear. They were not more happy in *Arragon*; new Taxes were laid upon them, and the *Moors*, and Farmers of the Revenue think they can never be too severe against those who are the Object of the publick Hatred.

Notwithstanding all these Oppressions, the *Jews* in *Spain* during these two Ages we are discoursing of, had some learned Men, as *Isaac Scirput*, who wrote against Christianity, *R. Jacob*, who composed his Course of the Law, entituled, *Turim*, or *the four Orders*, about the Year of our Lord 1340. *Solomon* the Son of *Chonar*, who went from *Constantinople* to *Burgos* (a) to reveal the Profundity of the Law, his Son *Schem Thou* published the *High Way of Faith*, in which he endeavours to prove the *Jewish* Religion by Philosophical Demonstrations. Lastly, the King of *Castile* had two *Jewish* Physicians in his Service, one of them called *Meir Algudes* was Intendant or Head of all the *Spanish* Synagogues. He translated *Aristotle's Ethics*, and was much esteemed.

From *Spain* we may pass into *Italy*, and there consider the State of the *Jews* in these two Ages, where it may be remarked, That among all Sovereigns, scarce any can be found more indulgent to this Nation than the Popes at *Rome*, who while they persecute Christians who differ from them in their Opinions, do grant the circumcised great Privileges, and leave them to a full Liberty in their Infidelity. *Clement V.* who removed his See to *Avignon*, because of the Troubles in *Italy*, about the Beginning of the fourteenth Century, protected them as far as he was able against the Fury of the Shepherds. He took also Care of their Instruction; for he appointed Professors in all Universities to explain *Hebrew*, and to teach their Scholars to be able to dispute with these Infidels and convert them. *John XXII.* who succeeded *Clement* about the Year 1320, took a different Course, for he thought the surest Way was to burn all the Copies of the *Talmud*, and that the Bishops should oppose all the *Jewish* Superstitions; but still he was for tolerating the *Jews*, and not for using any violent Measures against them. *Clement VI.* about the Year 1342, succoured them when they were massacred for having poisoned Fountains and Rivers in *Spain* and *Germany*, tho' still 'tis hard to conceive how Rivers can be poisoned; but many died at that Time, and the *Jews* must be guilty. This Pope was their Father and Comforter, who kindly received them at *Avignon*, while they were burnt at other Places. The *Inquisitors* in *Italy*, who persecuted the *Albigensis*, meddled not with the *Jews*. They presented *Emeric*, Director of the Inquisition with a Bible, writ, as they pretended, by the Hand of *Esdras*, still preserved with great Veneration. And we shall afterwards find, that when *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* expelled all the *Jews* out of *Spain*, the Pope who then reigned received them with great Civility into his Territories; and laughed at the Folly of this polittick Prince, who unpeopled his Dominions of a great Number of rich trading People, while he commended his Piety.

From *Italy*, if we pass over the Mountains into *France*, we may see *Philip Augustus* reigning there, in the Beginning of the thirteenth Century; and many Petitions were presented to him against the Usury of the *Jews*, who not content with the excessive Interest and Mortgages of the Church-plate, made their Debtors Slaves. Princes winked at these Extortions, because the Usurers bought their Protection; and on the Complaints of the People, were frequently condemned in great Fines, and Confiscation of their Estates to the Treasury. At length Laws were made to hinder these Abuses; and the most effectual was that in the Assembly of the States of *Britanny*, in the Year 1239, where it was enacted (b), That at the Request of the Bishops, Abbots, Barons and Vassals of *Britanny*, the *Jews* should be banished out of this Province for ever. Their Debtors were discharged from the Debts they had contracted with them; and those who had received Pawns from them were allowed to keep them (as if it were lawful to dispose of another Man's Goods without his Consent.) Any body that killed a Jew was de-

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(a) Bartolucci Bib. Rabb. Tom. 4. p. 376. (b) D' Argentre hist. of Bretagne, lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 207. apud Bafnage hist. of the Jews, p. m. 671.

declared innocent ; and Judges were forbidden to take Informations against them, in order to bring them to Trial. The Duke of Brittany engaged for himself and his Posterity to maintain these Ordinances ; and in case of Violation the Bishops had not only Power to excommunicate him, but even to confiscate his Lands in their Diocese. Finally, all his Vassals were obliged to take an Oath before two Bishops and two Barons to observe this Law, and not to suffer any Jew upon their Lands. The great Council of Lyons, in the Year 1245, where the Emperor Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV. with extinguished Torches, made new Decrees concerning the Jews ; for, first (a), These Princes who had Jews to their Subjects, were commanded to oblige them to return to the Crusaders all the Money they had from them, and to remit all the Usury that was due under Pain of Excommunication, and being deprived of Civil Society. Next the Jews were inhibited from demanding their Debts owing by the Crusaders till their Return, or till they had an authentick Certificate of their Deaths. This was unjust, for the Council could not suspend the Effect of Contracts made before it convened, nor dispose of the Estates of private Persons as they pleased. Notwithstanding these Decrees, the Jews had so great Liberty, that sometimes they enjoyed Offices and Dignities. At Montpelier a circumcised Person was seen at the Head of the Magistracy : The Christians had Jewish, and the Jews Christian Slaves. St. Lewis King of France, about the Year 1228, was zealous for his own Religion, but suffered others to be persecuted. While he was busy about the Crusade, Multitudes of Jews were massacred in his Kingdom. In the Reign of Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, which continued from the Year 1270 to 1285, the Jews had more Peace ; for he recalled some, whom his Predecessor St. Lewis had banished. In his Time flourished Levi the Son of Gerson, Grandson of Nachamanides (b), who wrote a Commentary on Samuel, and other Pieces, and lived to the fourteenth Century, being witness to part of the Miseries which ruined his Nation in that Country.

In the Reign of Philip the fair, which began with the Year 1286, the Jews were so powerful as sometimes to make Conquests upon Christianity, which obliged Pope Nicolas IV. to give Orders to the Inquisition to be more severe against them ; and King Philip drove all of them out of his Kingdom in the Year 1306. This is reckoned one of the four great Miseries the Jews have suffered ; and some of their Authors say (c), That the Numbers which then left France were twice as great as those who followed Moses to the Passage of the Red Sea. But they amplify too much, for they were never so many in that Kingdom (d). Platina says (e), that they were punished for Magick. But the true Cause was the King's Covetousness, desiring to enrich himself by their Estates ; for he banished the Jews under Pain of Death or Conversion, confiscating the Goods of the Exiles to his own Use, permitting them only to carry their Clothes away, with a Sum of Money to help them out of his Kingdom. Part of them died by the Way of Fatigue and Hunger ; the rest retired into Germany. Hence the Jews in that Country look on themselves as originally of France, descending of these persecuted People. Some turned Christians, to prevent the Misery they thought unavoidable in foreign Countries, as Nicholas de Lyra, who wrote a Treatise against the Jews. He at last turned Monk ; and died in a Convent in the Year 1340 ; but most of the rest retained the Judaism which they had abjured. The same Avarice and worldly Interest that had occasioned the Expulsion of the Jews out of France, gave rise to their being recalled in the Year 1314 : For Lewis Huttin, or the Mutineer, then succeeding his Father Philip the fair, and finding his Kingdom exhausted of Money, and the People ready to rebel, upon the fugitive Jews giving him a large Sum, recalled them into his Dominions, where they lived peaceably during his Reign, which was very short ; for he died in the Year 1316. In the 1320, they laboured under a new Persecution by the Shepherds, of which we have before (f) discoursed. This was no sooner over, but they fell into another Misfortune ; for the Saracen King of Granada, being often defeated by the Christians, is said to have hired the Jews to poison his Enemies (g), and that they employed some Lepers who put together humane Blood, Urine, three Sorts of Herbs, and an Hostie all dried in a Bag, which being put into a Well rendred the Waters hurtful. Tho' this Story looks like a monkish Tale, yet the People were so provoked as to seize and burn several Jews upon that Score ; and others of that Nation dissembled their Religion, to prevent falling into their Oppressors Hands. Charles VI. in his younger Years was favourable to the Jews, allowing them to live in France, only they were to wear a Badge of Distinction ; but afterwards this Prince, by some melancholy Accident or other, lost his Wits, and had Fits of Madness with lucid Intervals. The Jews were accused of killing a new Convert at Paris (h), for which they were severely fined in the Sum of eighteen thousand Crowns. This was but the Beginning of their Sorrows ; for in the Year 1395, they were banished out of this Kingdom, never to return again. 'Tis true they have been since tolerated in France, and some

(a) Concilium Lugdunense apud Binium, Tom. 3. parte 2. p. m. 716. cap. super cruciata. (b) Ganz Tsemach. p. 145. (c) Ibidem. (d) Vide Bzovium ad annum 1306. No. 8. (e) Platina in vita Clementis V. p. m. 216. (f) Above p. 588. (g) Chron. Guliel. de Nangis ad annum 1321. (h) Du Hailan hist. of France, lib. 17. p. 804.

some of them have staid there in Disgrace, but from that Time they never had any entire Liberty.

From *France* we may pass over the narrow Seas into *England*; and there take a View of the State of the *Jews* during the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries; where we may find King *John* the Brother of *Richard* reigning, who about the Year 1210 commanded all the *Jews* of both Sexes within his Kingdom to be apprehended and imprisoned; yea he caused severe Punishments to be inflicted upon them, that they might empty themselves to fill his Purse. Some he commanded to have an Eye pulled out (a). Of one rich *Jew* at *Bristol*, he demanded ten thousand Merks, who refusing to redeem his Liberty at so dear a Rate, the King ordered him to have a Tooth pulled out every Day till he consented (b): The poor Man stood it out seven Days, and then having but one Tooth left him, to save that he agreed to pay the whole Sum. In the War between the King and the Barons, the City of *London* being taken by the latter, they fell upon the *Jews* as the common Plague, razing their Houses to the Ground, out of which *Ludgate* was afterwards (c) repaired. After King *John*'s Death, in the Year 1216, the *Jews* were little molested during *Henry III.*'s Minority, till the Year 1230, when the King being to go to *France*, in order to raise Money, he confiscated a third Part of their Estates. Five Years thereafter, the King keeping his *Christmases* at *Westminster*, five *Jews* were accused before him by one *Toylie* (d), that they had stolln away a Child at *Norwich*, whom they circumcised and kept, intending to crucify him at the next *Easter*, whereupon they were cast in Prison during Pleasure. The King being frequently straitned for Money, obliged them at several Times to pay seven thousand Merks *Sterling*, besides two hundred in Gold given to the Queen. In the Year 1239, they were again fined in the fifth Part of their Moveables, and on many other Occasions were severely squeezed (e), particularly when the King lifted himself for the Holy War. In the Year 1255, there was a Fact discovered at *Lincoln*, which if true, makes the *Jews* very inexcusable, namely, that in the said City they caught a Boy named *Hugh* (f) of eighteen Years of Age, whom after cruel Scourging, Whipping and Torture they crucified to Death, throwing his dead Body into a Well, where it was found. Being convict thereof, and it being alledged that once every Year they committed the like Crime in Derision of our Saviour, two hundred of them were cast into Prison, of which eighteen were hanged, and the Lad buried. Two Years thereafter, a *Jew* fell into a Privy at *Tewksbury* on *Saturday*, which is their Sabbath, but declined to be taken out for fear of breaking the rest of that Day; the Earl of *Gloucester* hearing this forbade him to be taken out next Day, being the Lord's Day, and the poor Man died in this Pickle before *Monday*; on which a Poet wrote the Lines at the Foot of the Page (g). King *Henry III.* found them too useful in advancing him Money to part with them all his Time: But when King *Edward I.* came to the Crown, in the Year 1272, their Case altered; for in the seventh Year of his Reign the Parliament found the Coin grievously defaced and clipt, and upon narrow Enquiry, several Barrels full of Clippings, with the Instruments for that Work, were discovered in the Possession of the *Jews*, whereon two hundred and four of them were hanged at *London*, and others in divers Parts of the Country (h). This gave Occasion for several Penal Laws to be enacted against them (i), and opened a Door for their general Expulsion out of *England*: But the King wanting to drain as much of their Treasure as he could into his own Hands, the Execution was delayed for some Years. At last their Banishment was decreed and accomplished in the eighteenth Year of *Edward I.* in the Year of our Lord 1290; at the Feast of *All Saints* or *Hallowday*, all the *Jews* being then peremptorily obliged to depart out of *England*. The following Causes are given for this Procedure (k): First, for their blaspheming the Name of *Jesus Christ*. Secondly, for their cohabiting with and debauching *Christian Women*. Thirdly, for their defacing the Coin. Fourthly, for betraying the Secrets of *Europe* to foreign *Infidels*. Fifthly, for stealing, crucifying and mangling *Christian Children*, and for mocking the Crucifixion of our Saviour on Good Friday. Sixthly, for perverting *Christians* to *Judaism*. Seventhly, for undermining Trade and engrossing all Commodities, and for sending Arms and Ammunition to the Enemies of the *Christian Religion*. For these and the like Reasons, the *Jews* were all obliged to leave *England* (l), to the Number of 16511 Persons. Being admitted by *William* the Conqueror, in the Year 1070, and expelled by *Edward I.* in the Year 1290, they consequently continued in *England* 220 Years, and were again re-admitted in the Year 1656, in the Time of *Oliver Cromwell* the Usurper.

Various were the Events that happened to the *Jews* in *Germany*, in *Hungary* and in *Poland*, in these two Ages we are discoursing of. They were accused of enormous Crimes, whereof a Part was true, and others only alledged. The *Tartars* having made an Inroad into *Hungary*

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(a) *Anglo-Judæus*, p. 14. (b) *Matthew Paris*. (c) *Stow's Survey*. (d) *Polydor. Virgil. Anglicæ Historiæ lib. 16. p. m. 769.* (e) *Idem ibidem*, p. 789. (f) *Anglo-Judæus*, p. 18. 19. *Matthew Paris. Holinshed & alij.* (g) *Tende manus, Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam. Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo: Sabbata nostra quidem Solomon celebrabis ibidem.* (h) *Matthew Westminst. ad annum 1279. Stow, p. 200.* (i) *Historical and Law Treatise against the Jews*, p. 14, 15. (k) *Ibid.* p. 20. (l) *Polydor Virgil, lib. 17. p. 834.*

and some Parts of *Germany*, the *Jews* conceiving that these Barbarians came to their Assistance, resolved to join them with Supplies of Provisions and Arms ; but to cover their Design, offered to the *German* Princes to poison the Wines they carried, and thus to destroy their Enemies. Mean time they had put Arms into the Casks, till being stopped on a Bridge by a Customhouse-officer, and the Carriages narrowly searched, the Fraud was discovered, the *Jews* were made Prisoners (a) ; and being delivered to the Executioners, died by their own Swords. They were accused about the same time of hindring the Conversion of a young Man of their Nation, who had a mind to be baptized at *Francfort*. It is, no doubt, usual with them to prevent their Children turning Christian if they can. But this Opposition cost the City of *Francfort* and the *Jews* very dear : For the People being disturbed that a Conquest of this kind should be carried out of their Hands, mutinied, and ran to Arms. Some Christians were killed in the Fray : One hundred and eighty *Jews* were destroyed by the Sword, or by a Fire that they had kindled ; which continuing, and passing from House to House, consumed half of the City, and put the rest of the *Jews* into new Danger (b). About twenty four of the more prudent of them were baptized to prevent Death. They were frequently accused of murdering Children at the Passover. In *Bavaria* an old Woman confessed that she had delivered a Child to the *Jews*, who had drained off all the Blood with Needles to make a Sacrifice. The People of *Munich* being inflamed with this Report, rose, and without staying for the Sentence of a Judge, knock'd all the *Jews* o' th' Head they could meet with (c). The Officers, in vain opposing the Fury of the Mob, advised the rest of that Nation there to take Sanctuary in a Synagogue. But the People in a Rage set fire to the Place, and burnt all those who had retired to it.

Notwithstanding these Calamities, the *Jews* continued to multiply in *Germany*, and Learning flourished in the Synagogues, which were governed by illustrious Rabbins. In *Germesheim* flourished one *Baruch de Germesheim*, (for then they took Surnames from the Cities where born and taught) and *Eliezer de Germeciman*, one of the great *Cabbalists* of the Age. He wrote a Book about the Year 1240, called, *The Cloak of the Lord* ; at least *Ganz* (d) thinks so. *Isaac of Vienna*, not content with *Sowing the Light*, (for this is the Title of one of his Books, taken from *Psal.* xcvi. 11. *Light is sown for the righteous*) also took Pains to transcribe Books for the Synagogue to make them more correct and exact. He had *Meir de Rottemburg* for his Disciple, who excelled his Master : For he became the Judge and Doctor of his Nation ; which drew several Misfortunes on him : For being thought rich, and to have the Management of the Purfes of his Disciples, the Emperor, who loved Money, laid a great Tax upon him, and imprisoned him for not paying it. Besides the Advantage of having several learned Men in the thirteenth Century, they had another : For *Boleslaus*, surnamed *The Chaste*, because he lived honestly with his Wife, gave them Liberty of Conscience in *Lithuania*, with the Addition of many Privileges, which were continued for many Ages. Several Regulations were made about them at *Ausburgh* in the Year 1267 ; for when they observed that Oaths by the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints (very common in those Days) did not bind the *Jews*, they obliged them to swear by God, and by the Law of *Moses*. There were then also warm Disputes between the *Traditionists* and the *Caraites* : The latter were headed by a learned Man called Doctor *Abaron*, who exposed the Extravagancies of the *Talmud*, and explained the Articles of Faith in a Book called *The Tree of Life*, which is said (e) to be in Manuscript in the *Leyden* Library.

There came a greater Mischief upon them than the Disputes of their learned Men ; for about the Year 1294 a Peasant named *Raind Flaisb* went a preaching in the Upper *Palatinate*, That God had sent him to destroy the *Jews*. He run over *Franconia* and the neighbouring Provinces proclaiming the same Thing ; and to give it the more Weight, said they had stohn an Hostie, which cast out Blood when they beat it in a Mortar. The People rose, and without examining the Matter, seized as many *Jews* as they could, and burnt them to Death (f). Some of these unfortunate People chose rather to burn themselves and their Houses, than to fall into the Hands of the Christians. The famous *Mordecai* of *Austria*, a learned Man among them, about ten Years after this lost his Life in such a Tumult. The *Jewish* Historians make a Martyr of him ; for they say (g) that he died for the Sanctification of the Name of God. These Confusions increased. One *Armleder*, in the Neighbourhood of *Nassau*, encouraged some Peasants to take Arms against the *Jews*. They run over several Places, unmercifully killing all of them who were so unlucky as to come in their Way, and enriched themselves by the Spoils, till the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* put a Stop to these Commotions, by taking off *Armleder's* Head (h). Pope *Clement V.* having called an œcumenical Council against the *Templars* at *Vienna*, made a Decree against Usury, and those that exacted it (i). This being published,

(a) Matthew of Paris, p. 382. ad annum 1241. (b) Additiones ad Lambertum Schaffnaburgensem, p. 257. Basnage, History of the Jews, p. 683. (c) Aventin. Annalium Bojorum, lib. 7. p. 441. (d) Ganz Tsemach. (e) Basnage, History of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 20. (f) Aventin. Annalium Bojorum, lib. 7. p. m. 735. (g) Ganz Tsemach, p. 147. (h) Bzovius ad annum 1338. No. 20. (i) Concil. Viennens. anno 1310. apud Binium in Conciliis, Tom. 3. part. 2. p. m. 786.

blished, the *Jews* felt the Effects thereof, being brought before the Tribunals, and their principal Sums disputed for having violated the Laws of the Christians.

The Devotion of the *Flagellants* was a fresh Source of their Miseries. This Sect, which had been almost extinct, resumed Vigour in the Year 1349, and caused new Massacres. They mustered under certain Leaders twice a Day, and stripping themselves stark naked before the People, whipped themselves with Cords loaded with Nails and Spurs, always stirring up the Mob against the *Jews*, so that some of them were seized and burnt in *Turingia*. But their greatest Calamity happened at *Francfort*, where the *Flagellants* having committed many Disorders, at last consented to an Accommodation: But a *Jew* named *Cicogne*, to avenge his Brethren who were numerous in the Place, threw a Squib into the Town-house; the Fire took, and the Archives were consumed; the Flames reached the neighbouring Church, which was presently reduced to Ashes. Such a Crime as this could not be suffered to go unpunished, not only all the guilty perished, but also all the *Jews* in the City except a few that escaped into *Bohemia*. At the same Time they were accused of poisoning Wells, Fountains and Rivers; and a Plague swept away many of them, as well as of other People. These who fled into *Bohemia*, did not find long Quiet there: The People of *Prague* seeing them celebrate the Passover, chose that Day to burn their Synagogue, and those who performed Devotions in it. Two Years after this, *Wenceslaus* Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Bohemia* (a), discharged the Nobility and Cities from all Debts due to the *Jews*. This made the People believe they might attempt any Thing against a Nation whom the Emperor had refused to protect; and therefore at *Gottha*, *Spire* and other Places, they took the Liberty to put them to the Sword, without any Distinction of Age or Sex, excepting some Children whom they carried to the Church to be baptised. But a Stop was put to these Executions, by punishing some of the Authors. The fourteenth Century ended with these and the like Disorders; And I humbly conceive they cannot be accounted for, but by observing that the cruel Disposition of Popery in these dark Times had almost banished the meek Spirit of Christianity.

§ 8. I proceed now to consider the History of the *Jews* in several Parts of the World during the fifteenth Century: Beginning with *Spain*. In this Country they had lived and multiplied for a long Time: Here they had their Synagogues, famous Doctors, and considerable Settlements. The Anti-Pope *Benedict XIII.* was then in *Arragon*, the only Place that stood by him to that Time. He about the Year 1413, desired to signalize his Zeal by attacking the *Jews*, which he began with Conferences. *Jerom de Sancta fide* (who before his turning Christian was named *Jehoshuah Hallorki*) being then his Physician, put him upon this Design, assuring him he would convince all the *Jews* by Passages out of the *Talmud*, that *Jesus Christ* was the *Messiah*. *Dom Vidal* on the other Part was chosen Defendant in the Dispute: The *Jews* then affected pompous Titles, as *Dom* or *Dominus*. *Jerom* had a good Cause to manage, but straitned himself too much by engaging to prove his Point out of the *Talmud*. The Conferences began in *February* 1413, and ended in *May* 1414, which *Jerom* afterwards published (b). The Christians tell of a great Number of *Jews* converted by this Book; but the *Jews* give no such Account. As this People have been brought in for their Share of Calamities in all the Kingdoms wherein they have lived, so they had a considerable one in the Insurrection at *Toledo* (c). The City complained that their Privileges had been violated by the Imposition of a Tax; upon which the mutinous People rose and plundered the Houses of the richest Citizens, knocking o' th' Head those that resisted. The *Jews* were not spared, the Violence being carried even to the Posterity of the Converts. When Matters were a little calmed, Laws were published, excluding both *Mahometan* and *Jewish* new Converts from all Offices.

But a greater Calamity came upon this Nation when they were expelled out of *Spain* by King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and Queen *Isabella*: They having put an End to the War against the *Moors*, thought of ruining the Synagogues, and getting rid of the *Jews*. *Ferdinand* in *March* 1492, issued out an Edict, Commanding all that Nation to depart the Kingdom of *Spain* in four Months, or embrace Christianity. *Turrecremata*, who promoted the Persecution, advised to shorten the Time, and forbad the supplying of those who were to be banished with Provisions. The *Jews* are said to have carried off thirty thousand Millions of Ducats; they were obliged to pay some Ducats per Head to the King for their Freight; and those who would not, or could not pay this, became Slaves, and had their Goods confiscated, which was rigorously executed, so as two Vessels being loaden, and not able to pay their Freight, all the *Jews* aboard of them were sold. *Mariana* in his History of *Spain* (d), affirms, that One hundred and seventy thousand *Jewish* Families, or eight hundred thousand Persons, left *Spain* upon the Execution of this Edict. The *Jews* reckon One hundred and twenty thousand Families, or Six hundred thousand Persons. The Favour that the learned *Abrabanel* had with the King and Queen, could not hinder him from the same Fate with the rest; for he was obli-

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(a) *Aeneæ Sylvii hist. Bohemica*, cap. 34. (b) Vide *Hieronimum de Sancta Fide, adversus Judæos*. (c) *Mariana*, lib. 22. ad annum 1449. (d) *Mariana* lib. 26. cap. 1.

ged to retire to *Italy*, where shifting from Place to Place, he died at *Venice* in the Year 1508; and is among the best of the *Jewish* Commentators. *Isaac* the Son of *Aram*, a great Philosopher and Cabbalist, was another of these Refugees. *R. Meir* his Son, Author of a Commentary upon *Job*, *Josepb Gigatella*, the divine Cabbalist, as they call him, *Isaac Káro*, and *Abraham Zacuth* (a), were also among the learned *Jews* who went into Exile. *Zacuth* when in *Portugal* composed his *Fuchasin*, or a Book of Generations, from the Creation of the World to the Year 1500. There were many who complied with the Times, chusing rather to take on an external Mask of Christianity, than to expose themselves to all the Miseries of Fugitives. The Truth is, their Calamity was very great; for we are told, that the Fire seized some Transport Vessels, and consumed all the Passengers: Many were shipwreck'd and perished at Sea, thro' the Fault or Design of the Pilots. The Pestilence having infected the rest; and being set on Shore, part of them died of Hunger; others arrived at *Fex*, where the Inhabitants frightened with such a Multitude of Fugitives, shut their Gates, and forced them to live in Tents, on such Herbs as the Ground afforded, which by Reason of the Drought and Barrenness of the Soil were not many. These who made their Way to *Italy*, arrived at *Genoa*, where Famine rendred Provisions extremely dear. The Inhabitants observing their Distress, and want of Money to buy Food, went into the Streets with a Piece of Bread in the one Hand, and a Cross in the other, offering them Food if they would worship the Cross. And these who had forsaken their Estates in *Spain*, rather than abandon their Principles, had not the Courage to resist this Trial. The *Spaniards* murmured against the Politicks of their Sovereign, who depopulated his own Kingdom, by banishing so great a Number, who with their Predecessors had been born and resided many Ages among them: Besides, he run the Risk of a Rebellion, since so many hundred thousands driven to despair might make a dangerous Insurrection. The Wealth he gained by it probably did not answer Expectation. Indeed he obtained flattering Compliments from the *Romish* Clergy, with the Title of *Catholick* some time thereafter from Pope *Alexander VI.* who laughed in his Sleeve to see the *Catholick* King thrust out so many People, whom his Holiness cordially received to replenish his Territories. I may also observe, that the Banishment of so great a Number of *Jews* by *Ferdinand*, and of rather a greater Number of *Moors*, by his Great Grandchild *Philip II.* in the Year 1609, at large described by Dr. *Geddes* (b), with the numerous Colonies transported to *America* and the *Indies*; and the terrible Havock made by the Courts of Inquisition, hath so exhausted the Blood and Vitals of *Spain*, that this great Kingdom appears to this Day extenuate and wasting; like a Body under a Decay.

John II. King of *Portugal*, lying at the very Gates of *Spain*, was willing to enrich himself on this Occasion, and to that End gave a Retreat in his Territories to considerable Numbers of these exiled *Jews*, whom he employed in his Service to discover the Coasts of the East *Indies*; tho' still he loved them not, and therefore imposed on them most rigorous Conditions, as that each of them should pay eight Gold Crowns for the Privilege of Refuge, and moreover fixed a Time beyond which it was not lawful for them to continue in his Dominions without entering in Slavery. These hard Conditions were complied with by Abundance of them, who chuse rather to endure Servitude, than to expose themselves to unknown Misfortunes as Exiles in a foreign Land. *Emanuel*, *John's* Successor, in the Beginning of his Reign shewed some Compassion to these oppressed People, restoring them their Liberty: But upon marrying the Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, he changed his Conduct. The old Queen refused him the *Infanta*, unless he would, expell out of his Dominions both the *Jews* and the *Moors*, they being Enemies to Christ and his Kingdom. Tho' Religion was pretended, the main Cause of this Zeal seems to have proceeded from a Jealousy that *Portugal* received too much Strength and Riches by entertaining so great a Number of industrious People. However *Emanuel*, to gain his Bride; and the new Alliance, which he had so much at Heart, ordered both the *Jews* and *Moors* to depart out of his Dominions in a limited Time, which he promised them. He kept his Word to the latter, fearing Reprisals would be made in *Africa* upon the Christians; but he did not so with the *Jews*; for he deprived them of Liberty to carry away their Children, except those who were above fourteen Years of Age, which reduced them to that Despair, that some killed themselves, others proved Executioners to the Fruit of their own Bowels. Besides, after he had assigned them Liberty to embark at three Ports, he reduced them to one, which obliged them to make double Journeys, exhausted their Treasure, and made many of them miserable. This made a considerable Number call themselves *Christians*. And these feigned Conversions had the following Effects; first, That they were not trusted; and hence many of them were massacred upon very frivolous Occasions, particularly at *Lisbon*, where there was in the Church an Image of a crucified *Jesus*, having the Wounds covered with a Glass; some Bigots imagined they saw a glaring Light proceed from the Glass, and cried out *Miracles!* A *Jew* impudently denied the Fact; which made two *Dominican Monks*

(a) Bartolocci Bibl. Rabinica. (b) Geddes Miscellany Tracts, Vol. 1.

Monks so enflame the People against these new Converts, that they fell upon them, and in three Days Time killed above two thousand of them (a). The King, to settle this Sedition, punished the two *Dominicans* with Death who had caused the Commotion, and deposed the Magistrates who had not suppressed it. 2dly, These pretended Converts frequently take the first Occasion to throw off the Mask and return to *Judaism*, of which there are many Instances, as *Joseph* the Son of *Joshua* the Historian, who continued his Chronology till 1554; *Joseph ben Virgæ*, who collected Rules for understanding the *Gemara*; *Isaac Cardoso*, a Descendant from those *Portuguese* Dissemblers, a Physician, who wrote a Tract in *Spanish*, of the Usefulness of Water and Snow, and of hot and cold Drink. 3dly, Hence the Inquisition watches over these new Converts, and this cruel Tribunal enrich themselves by their Spoils. The least Suspicion makes them guilty; the People accuse them of Judaizing in secret, and bringing down Divine Vengeance; and the *Jews* preserve Dypsticks or Catalogues of Martyrs who have suffered by this Court; and sometimes some of their cunning Men endeavour to get into the Court in order to preserve their Friends. Thus we have seen how the *Jews* lost their Liberty in several Parts of *Europe*, and were expelled out of *France*, *England*, *Spain* and *Portugal*.

§ 9. We may next consider what became of them in the East, in *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Media*, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth Century inclusive, and in other Parts of the World. They suffered very much by the rapid and violent Conquests of *Tamerlane*, who having fixed his Capital at *Samercand*, passed to *Chorazan* (b), where they were very numerous. He seized upon *Bagdet*, and all the *Babylonian* *Irack*: Thence he went into *Syria*, where he plundered *Damascus*; and at the Desire of the Greek Emperor at *Constantinople*, he attacked *Bajazet* the fourth Emperor of the *Turks*, with an Army of 800000 Men, entirely routing him in the great Battle near Mount *Stella*. In all Places where his Army marched the *Jews* were dispersed, and in some Measure ruined. The Conquests of *Tamerlane* after his Death were divided between his Sons and Grandsons, who weakened themselves by their Differences. However they subsisted a hundred Years, till a Commander of the *Usbecs* entred *Chorazan*, and took it from them. *Arbek*, a Descendant of *Tamerlane*, was obliged to flee to the *Indies*, where he erected the Empire of the Great *Mogul*. Some tell of the Province of *Cachemire* in the *Indies*, full of *Jews*; but I see no good Evidence for it. But the Body of this Nation remained in *Persia* and *Media*, tho' their Academies being destroyed, their learned Men and Heads of the Captivity for many Ages having disappeared, no Sciences flourished among them, and even their private Men made but a poor Figure. They raised their Head under *Ishmael Sophy*, Founder of the Family that long reigned in *Persia*. *Ishmael* dying in the Year of our Lord 1523, his Successors being wholly employed in Wars, we hear little more of the *Jews* till the Reign of *Schack Abbas*, about the Year 1585. The *Persian* Emperor then finding his Country very much depopulated, resolved to grant Privileges to all who would come and settle there (c). Upon which a Multitude of People resorted to his Territories, and particularly *Jews*, who enriched themselves by Trade, and thereby raised the Jealousy of other Inhabitants so far, that they complained of them to the Emperor, who being of a cruel Temper would have cut them off, but could not do it, without violating the Privileges promised to Strangers, to encourage them to plant his Country. Only he called for the *Kacame*, and Sages of the Nation, and examined them why the Sacrifices and other Rites of the *Mosaic* Law were abolished since the coming of *Jesus* whom *Mahomet* had succeeded? The Sages said, *They expected the Messiah, but could not receive Christ whom their Fathers had crucified*. *Abbas* was provoked with this Answer, especially because the *Alcoran* makes honourable Mention of *Jesus Christ*. However he further interrogated them, *Why will ye not believe on Jesus Christ since I believe him?* They replied, *Christians are so many Idolaters, who worshipped an accursed Man, who was hanged on a Tree?* Very well, said the *Sophy*, *believe not the Messiah of the Christians, since you have no Mind to it, but what think ye of Mahomet?* This Demand confounded them, perceiving their Danger if they spoke out their Mind upon this Point; wherefore having conversed together, they answered, *That Moses was the great Prophet, and the only one they ought to follow; but that they did not absolutely reject Mahomet, because he was the Son of Abraham by Ishmael*. To the Answer they added humble Supplications to the *Sophy* (d), to have Compassion on his Slaves and Subjects, who had settled in his Dominions only to please him. *Abbas* reproached them with their Incredulity, but added, *Fix a Time for the coming of your Messiah, and I'll tolerate you till the Accomplishment of that Period; but if the Messiah deceive you once more, you must embrace Mahomet's Religion, or lose your Estates, your Children and Lives*. After a mature Deliberation they determined that the *Messiah* was to come in seventy Years; and they consented to lose their Lives and Liberties if he did not appear before the End of these Years. On the other Hand, *Abbas* promised for himself and his Successors to turn *Jews*, if the *Messiah* appeared in that Time. The Agreement was signed

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(a) History of Portugal, Book 4. chap. 9. (b) Vattiers Hist. of Tamerlane, lib. 1. (c) Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, part 3. chap. 2. p. 435. (d) Basnage, Hist. of the Jews, Book 7. chap. 22. p. 697, 698.

ed by both Parties, laid up in the Archives, and the *Jews* taxed in two Millions till their Promise was performed. This *Sophy* died in the Year 1629, and the Agreement was little minded, because of continual Wars between the *Turks* and the *Persians*, till in the Year 1662, *Abbas II.* having obtained Peace with his Enemies, took Leisure to turn over the Registers of his Palace, where he found the Contract as above between *Schack Abbas I.* and the *Jews*; which surprised him the more, because *Zabbathai Tzevi*, a *Jewish* Impostor, was then making a great Noise. Whereupon the *Persian* Council resolved that this Nation, so abounding with Cheats and Impostors, should be destroyed without Delay, except such as should turn *Mussulmans*. The Execution began at *Ispahan*; and in the Space of three Years (*viz.* from 1663 to 1666) went over all the Provinces of *Persia*, where the *Jews* were settled. Some escaped the Barbarity by flying into the Dominions of the Grand Seignior and to the East *Indies*: But the Hatred of the *Persians* is so great to them; as there is little Hope of their settling there again. I have related the Story as I found it, tho' at the same Time I own there are some Things in the Treaty between *Abbas I.* and the *Jews* that look like a Fable. *M. Basnage* is of the same Opinion (*a*), only he thinks it true that *Abbas II.* persecuted the *Jews* in his Dominions, unless they would turn *Mahometans*: But having observed, that almost all the Deserters of *Judaism* dissembled, he gave up the Design of converting them, and restored them to the Liberty of Conscience he had taken from them. This they enjoyed till a Minister of the *Persian* who hated this Nation, and designed to enrich himself by their Spoils, engaged his Master to torment them. 'Tis certain that there are still many *Jews* at *Sbiras*, at *Ispahan*, and at *Lar* in *Persia* (*b*), and some of them on the Coast of *Ormus*. They have a Synagogue at *Bagdet*, tho' that Place be not now considerable. There are also many of them scattered up and down in *Armenia* and *Media*; and they have some Synagogues at *Damascus* in *Syria*; but in most of those Parts they are reduced to the meanest Offices to gain their Bread, and have little Correspondence with their Brethren in the West.

The *Jews* have been, and at present are numerous in *Aleppo*. This City produced the famous Impostor *Zabbathai Tzevi*, who deluded this Nation in the last Century, pretending to be the *Messiah*. His Father was only a Poulterer, yet his Son had the Ambition to go about perswading the People that he was the Redeemer of *Israel*, promised by the Prophets, and expected for so many Ages. He learned betimes what was necessary to be known to act so vile a Part: Scarce was he come from School but he set up for a Teacher, preached in the Fields in Sight of the *Turks*; who laughed at him while his Disciples admired him. At twenty four Years of Age he married a young *Jewess*, whom he divorced without knowing her, and took another with whom he also lived in Abstinence. It seems he designed to amuse the People with his Love of Chastity. He fell upon the Study of the Prophecies; which perfectly turned his Head; for by applying them to himself, he imagined that he was to ascend above the Height of the Clouds, as *Isaiah* had foretold (*c*); and asked his Disciples one Day whether or not they had seen him carried up in the Air (*d*). He was cited to appear before the Heads of the Synagogue at *Smyrna*, where he was condemned to Death; but because no Body would execute the Sentence, they only banished him. He went to *Thessalonica*, a City full of *Jews*, which he thought a proper Stage to act his Part on; but was expelled from thence as well as from *Athens* and several other Parts of *Greece*, which obliged him to retire to *Alexandria*, where he gained greater Reputation. There he married for the third Time a lewd Wench who had run thro' *Germany* and *Italy*, and had Influence to have her received as Queen of the Empire that he was to conquer. At *Gaza* he found a *Jew* called *Nathan Levi*, who favoured his Design; and they found by the *Cabbalists* on *Daniel*, that the *Messiah* was to come in the Year 1675. Part of the *Jews* were over-reached by him, and by this *Nathan* pretending to be *Elias* the Fore-runner of the *Messias*; but the wisest of the Nation feared that this Affair would draw upon them new Calamities. He told to such as he had deluded, the Fall of the Grand Seignior and the Ruin of the *Ottoman* Empire; and to beget further Credit pronounced the Name *Jehovah* several Times, and changed some Words of the Liturgy. When he came to *Constantinople*, the Sultan having Notice ordered the Vizier *Azem* to arrest him Prisoner, and to give him a sound Bastinado, which was done. This did not discourage his Followers, who boasted that the Grand Seignior had no Power to put their King to Death. At last, at the Request of the principal Officers, he sent for him to *Adrianople*, and ordered a Sword to be run thro' him, to try if he was invulnerable. This so affrighted poor *Tzevi*, that he turned *Mahometan*, and his Wife did the same. Nevertheless his Followers were not intirely undeceived; for some of them fancied after he was gone, that he was not dead, but only hid some where from whence he would come out again (*e*). So far concerning this Impostor.

One would think that the greatest Number of *Jews* might be found in *Judea*; but we deceive

(a) Basnage Hist. of the Jews, Book 7. chap. 22. p. 698. (b) Thevenot's Voyages, lib. 3. (c) Isaiah, xlv. 14. (d) Thevenot's Continuation of his Voyages to the Levant, lib. 1. (e) See Mr. Couper's Letter at the End of Basnage's Hist. of the Jews.

ceive our selves if we seek them there. Their Passion for the Holy Land is wonderfully cooled, since it no longer flows with Milk and Honey. 'Tis made a Piece of Devotion in the Synagogue, as well as in the Church of Rome, to make a Pilgrimage to these Bounds, and be buried; but there are few that settle in that Country, because it affords not many Ways of subsisting and growing rich. *Sapheta* is one of the most remarkable Cities, where there are the greatest Number of Jews (a). It is situate in the Bounds of the ancient Tribe of *Nephtali*, nine Miles from *Bethsaida*, upon a Mountain of three Tops, of so difficult Access as to shelter them from the Incurfions of the *Arabians*, who plunder and lay waste any City where they can enter. Here they have an Academy, which seems not to have been erected at the End of the twelfth Century, since *Benjamin de Tudela* does not mention it; but it is now become famous. Thither the Jews send their Children to study, as believing the *Hebrew Tongue* is here learned in its Purity, as if that Language were annexed to the Holy Land. Here taught the most famous *Cabbalist*, since *Simeon Jochabdes*, called *Moses Cordoverus*, being born at *Corduba*; but quitting *Spain* towards the End of the thirteenth Century, he became one of the Pillars, and perhaps one of the first Founders of this Academy. He took for his Text, *Song* iv. 13. *An Orchard* (or *Paradise*) of *Pomgranates*, where from the *Hebrew Pardes*, signifying *Paradise* in *English*, he found every Thing he had a Mind to; the *P.* signifies the literal Sense, *R.* the mystical, *D.* the ænigmatical, and *S.* the secret Sense. We may judge of the Cloth by the Swatch. *Dominick of Jerusalem* taught in the same College. *Moses de Trany*, and *Joseph de Karo* had the Conduct of it about the middle of the sixteenth Century. The one was born in a City of *Apulia*, and taught with so great Applause at *Sapheta*, that the Jews named him (b), *The Light of Israel, the Sinaite of Sinai, the Doctor that plucks up Mountains*, because he resolved Difficulties raised upon their Law. He published Sermons, and an Abstract of the *Jewish Civil Law*. *Joseph de Karo* was a *Spaniard*, who travelled into *Galilee*, where he died in 1575: He explained the Law of the Nation with so much Applause, that he was called *The Prodigy of the Universe*. *Moses Alschich* was born at *Sapheta* in the Year 1599, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth Century, not only by the Eloquence of his Sermons, but also by his Commentaries on a Part of the Law. The Titles of his Works are metaphorical, as *The Eye of Moses, The Rose of Sharon, The Lilly of the Valleys*. He owns that the *Messiah* ought to be afflicted (c). *Samuel Ozida* was another Preacher who thrived at *Sapheta*, the Place of his Birth: He explained the Lamentations, calling his Commentary *the Bread of Tears*. *Moses de Nagiara* also taught there, and hath left Notes on the *Pentateuch*, which the Jews esteem. There they had a Press, wherein they printed the Ritual which *Moses Gallant*, Head of this Academy, composed in 1560. Lastly, *Judas Jona*, who after his Conversion became the learned *Bartolucci's* Master, and put him upon the Design of his Rabbinical Library, was born at *Sapheta*, and took his Degree of Doctor or Rabbini in this College. He was descended of a *Spanish* Family, which after *Ferdinand's* Expulsion travelled into the East, where this *Jona* was born. Having gone thro' his Studies he came into the West, and at *Amsterdam* determined the Validity of a Will made by a Father in behalf of a Bastard Child. The Jews of *Hamburg* made him afterwards their Judge, and assigned him a Salary. From thence he went to *Poland*, where he became a Christian, and turned Jeweller to *Sigismund III.* At last he settled at *Rome*, where he taught *Bartolucci* the *Hebrew Tongue*, and died in the Year 1668.

There are fewer Jews at *Jerusalem* than at *Sapheta*; however they reckon about a hundred Families of them, who have their chief Habitation on Mount *Zion*. Some of these have Employments, but the greater Part of them live upon Alms sent by their Brethren in the West.

Besides Jews, there are some *Samaritans* at *Joppa, Gaza, Sichem* or *Napalouffe*. I have discoursed of them already in Chapter fifth (d); and my intended Brevity doth not allow me now to enlarge further upon them. The Curious may see some of their Letters, with Remarks upon them in *Basnage's* History of the Jews (e), and in the Supplement to *Ockley's* Translation of *Leo de Modena* (f). From which I only remark, that in the last of their Letters writ in the Year 1676, they give their supposed Brethren in *England* Advice of the Death of their High-priest; and beg of them at the same Time Assistance in their Misery, by sending their Offerings to the holy Mount *Gerizzim*, that they may be furnished to provide Vestments for their Priests; and finally to offer their Presents and Charity to the Tombs of their Fathers.

I go next to consider the State of the Jews in *Æthiopia*. In this Kingdom they have been least disturbed, because they agree easily with the Christians who are circumcised, eat no Swine's Flesh, and observe the *Jewish Sabbath*. Even the Kings of *Æthiopia* fancy themselves to be descended from the antient Jews, and have a Lion in their Scutcheons, holding a Cross, with this Motto, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah hath prevailed*. In the Letters King *David* wrote to Pope *Clement VII.* he took the following Titles, *I David, beloved of God, Pillar of Faith*

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(a) Fuller's Pilgrimage-Sight, lib. 3. (b) Bartolucci bibl. Rabbini, Tom. 4. & Tom. 3. p. 819. (c) Moses Alschich in Esaiam ex versione Const. l'Empereur, p. 232, 238, 240. (d) Above p. 512, — 515. (e) Book 7. chap. 25, 26. (f) Pag. 261, — 286.

Faith, sprung from the Tribe of Judah, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, the Son of the Pillar of Zion, and of the Seed of Jacob. Mr. *Ludolf* says (a), That these were not the common Titles of the King of *Æthiopia*, but that it was thought fit to swell them, to give greater Lustre to his Embassy to the Pope. But 'tis plain that the *Abassinian* Emperor pretends to be descended from *Solomon*, and that the *Jews* in this Country have not received the *Talmud*, and all the Trumpery of Tradition which ruins the Reputation of their Religion in other Parts. I have in another Essay given an Account of the Methods which the Church of Rome used in vain to subject the Church of *Abassynia* to the Pope (b), which I am not now to repeat; but shall here only notice what concerns the *Jews* in this Kingdom: And therefore we may observe, that *David* Emperor of *Æthiopia*, about the Year 1534, made an Alliance with the *Portuguese*, who at that Time had made their Name formidable by their Trade and Conquests in the *East Indies*, by Virtue whereof he expected no less than to extirpate the Heathens and *Mahometans* his infidel Neighbours. To prevent this, *Achamed*, nicknamed *Granbe*, or *Left-hand*, a *Mahometan* Prince, joined his Forces with those of the King of *Adel*, fought and entirely ruined the *Abessin* Army, and obliged *David* to retire to the Mountains, where he skulked about for two Years. At the Top of one of these Mountains, which is ascended with a great deal of Difficulty, he found an agreeable Plain, watered with several Rivulets, stored with excellent Fruits, and good Pasturage for Cattle (c), where the *Jews* had their Abode, who were very useful to the Emperor *David* in his Distress, and also to *Claudius* his Successor, and therefore were protected during their Reign. About the Year 1632, they dispersed themselves more over the Kingdom. Some retired towards the Springs of *Nile*, where they still subsist; others remain in the Province of *Dembe*, where they spin Wool: Some of them are Weavers, others Smiths. The *Abassines* leave especially this last Trade to the *Jews*, who furnish them with warlike Instruments. They have their Synagogues and publick Worship, in which they use the *Talmudick Hebrew*, tho' they have not received that Collection of Traditions. Lastly, great Numbers of them follow the Court of the King of the *Abassines*. An *Arabian* who had travelled in that Country at the End of the last Century, assured Mr. *Ludolf* (d) that sixty thousand of them were at Court. They correspond with the Christians, and live very familiarly with them in that Kingdom.

Egypt hath served the *Jews* many Ages for a Sanctuary; but I am only now to observe, that in that Kingdom they were very near the Brink of Destruction in the Year 1524, upon this Occasion. *Achmed*, to whom the Emperor *Solyman* II. had intrusted the Government, demanded a great Supply of Money from the *Jews*, which they were unable to pay (e): Whereupon he caused them to be committed to Prison, and threatened them with Death, unless they would pay a great Sum. But while his Officers were executing these Orders, a Conspiracy was formed against *Achmed*. He was taken, and an End put to his Designs; whereby the *Jews* were delivered, and they celebrated the Memory of this Event by a Feast. Their Mechanicks are dispersed over the Country, and their rich Merchants dwell at *Cairo*. They pretend to be more numerous in this Kingdom, than when *Moses* led them out of it; but their Number is much lessened of late. Travellers who have known them affirm (f), that they have no Settlements except at *Cairo*, and the Maritim Cities of *Egypt*; and that if their Business lead them to other Parts of the Country, they are forced to disguise themselves that they may not be abused by the common People.

There are some of them in other Parts of *Africa*, as at *Fez* and *Morocco*, and at *Oran*, where they favour the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the Injuries they have sustained by them; for it was a *Jew* who directed Cardinal *Ximenes* to make an easy Conquest of that Place. Notwithstanding this good Service, they were all expelled out of *Oran*, in the Year 1669. They were numerous in the Province of *Sax*, which depended formerly on *Morocco*. There they had a fine Synagogue, served by many Priests and their own Judges and Interpreters of the Law, paid by their Nation, who live upon Labour and Trade. There are of them in the Mountains of *Morocco*, Farriers and Smiths, and People who serve to build Houses, because the other Inhabitants think this Work too laborious. But they are not always employed in such mean Offices, for they often force themselves into the Court, and obtain higher Posts. The King of *Morocco* sent one *Pacheco* a *Jew*, Ambassador to the States of the united Provinces. He died at the *Hague* in the Year 1604, and was buried with great Pomp. Their Synagogues having been pulled down in the Kingdom of *Fez*, in the Year 1660, *Muly Mahomet*, when he reascended the Throne, not only caused them to be rebuilt, but also made a *Jew* his Treasurer and first Minister.

In *Constantinople*, *Greece*, and other Provinces of the *Ottoman* Empire, the *Jews* have preserved their Liberties these two last Centuries. They inhabit a considerable Suburb at *Constantinople* (g), which was called *Jewry* in the crusading Days. The Ambassadors of foreign Princes

(a) Hist. Æthiop. lib. 2. cap. 1. 2. Voyag. or Travels vol. 2. p. 281. — 295. (c) Johan. de Castro maris Rubri Itinerarium. (d) Ludolfi hist. Æthiopice lib. 4. cap. 5. (e) Solomon ben-Virga, p. 402. (f) Vansleb's new Relation of a Voyage to Egypt, p. 25. apud Bailynge p. 717. (g) Smith de septem Ecclesiis.

Princes reside among them. At present they have thirty Synagogues, and an hundred and five thousand Families in this great City and the neighbouring Villages. The Califs obliged them to wear a distinguishing Badge of yellow Cloth ; and in the Ottoman Empire they were to wear a Felt-hat, without Brims, called in Derision *Haurot*, or *Clofestoal-pan*. But this Law relates only to Strangers. The Jews who are Natives of the Empire, are allowed to wear Turbants of various Colours, according to the Fashion of the Country, and are distinguished from the Christians by their Shoes ; for the latter wear red, and the former Purple or black. They are allowed to sell Wine ; and 'tis thought better than that of the Christians, as more free of Mixtures, which the Law of *Moses* prohibits. Here as every where else they are much addicted to trading and Usury. Some of them are Porters, who are forbidden to use a Quilt of Hay under their Burdens. They are taxed, but instead of having it levied by an Officer of the Empire (a), they have compounded it for a Sum ; and the Head of every Synagogue proportions the Quota to the Wealth of every Particular, whereby the poor are considerably relieved ; tho' it often happens that the Pressure of Poverty makes them turn *Mahometan* ; and when they do so, are obliged to pronounce these Words, *La Allah Elallah Mehemet Resoul Allah*, that is, *There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet*. A Jew called *Michjez* is accused of having put the Sultan *Selim II.* on the Conquest of the rich Isle of *Cyprus*, in the Year 1576. 'Tis certain, when that Island was conquered, the Jews had greater Privileges given them than the Christians ; which Immunities they still preserve. *Selim* yet shewed them more Favour ; for he sent a Jew called *Solomon Rophe* to *Venice*, after the Christians had won the Battle of *Lepanto*, to negotiate and conclude a Peace with that Republick ; and in the Year 1576, they obtained Leave to set up a printing Press at *Constantinople*. The *Mahometans*, and particularly the *Mufti* was alarmed with it, fearing that the *Alcoran* would be printed, and that the Love of Sciences would be propagated among the *Arabians*. However, this Liberty was a great Advantage to the Jews ; for the Copies of the Law, which were become very scarce in the East, were become universally dispersed, and People fell more in Love with it, because reading was rendred more easy, and they had greater Assistance to understand it. This also made many learned Men to resort thither ; as *Solomon Japhe*, who left his native Country in *Germany*, came to the East in the sixteenth Century, and explained the *Talmud*. *Ghedalia*, who left his native Place at *Lisbon*, practised Physick at *Constantinople*, and was Head of one of their Synagogues, where he in vain endeavoured to reconcile the *Caraites* and *Rabbanists*. He wrote a Book entituled *Sciva Enajim*, or *Seven Eyes*, from *Zechar. iii. 9.* and *Mordecai* the Son of *Eliezer*, who explained *Aben Ezra's* Grammar.

There are some Cities in *Greece*, where the Jews have no Privilege to settle, as at *Salone* the old *Amphissa*, and at *Athens* : But they have four Synagogues at *Patras*. There they have their Judges, and a burying Place on a neighbouring Mountain, where they have stately Stone Monuments like Houses, with Inscriptions cut in Marble ; and yet the Number of the Jews in that Place is but about a thousand Persons. Some of this Nation are at *Lepanto*, at *Levadia*, at *Corinth* and other Cities, where they can live by Trade. But *Greece* is so depopulated by the Revolutions it hath undergone, by the Tributes it pays to the Grand *Seignior*, and the Oppression of his Officers, that the Condition both of Jews and others is very miserable. At *Thessalonica* they make a better Figure ; 'tis said they have continued there since the Time of the Apostle *Paul*, and have now an Academy in the City. They subsist also at *Gallipoli* in the Mouth of the *Propontis*, where are reckoned six thousand Jews, and twelve thousand Turks. They are more considerable at *Prousia*, built upon an Hill of *Mysia*, near Mount *Olympus*. Tho' the Christians be obliged to live in the Suburbs (b), there are twelve thousand Jews counted within the Walls. There are about two hundred of them at *Rhodes*, and since *Solyman II.* took that City in the Year 1522, they are treated more kindly than the Christians. At *Smyrna* there are reckoned six thousand Jews, who have many Synagogues. In fine, there are few Cities or great Towns in the Ottoman Empire but have some Jews. They suffer much by the Avarice of the Sultan's Officers : But this is common to them with most of the Subjects of this great Empire.

I go now to consider the State of the Jews in *Italy* in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries. They complain that they had a terrible Enemy in Pope *John XXIII.* that he was fitter to command an Army than be at the Head of the Church. About the Year 1412, he issued many Edicts to force them to turn Christian ; and not content to torment them in his own Diocese, he wrote to the Queen of *Spain*, Regent in the Minority of *John II.* whom his Father had left in his Cradle, that she, in Conjunction with her Son might make them Proselytes : And by her Severities, she forced (c) sixteen thousand Jews to abandon their Religion. A Part of such as persevered perished by Fire, and by other Punishments they were sentenced to ; others, as they fled, fell into the Hands of the Peasants, who murdered them ; a very small

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(a) Smith de Septem Ecclesiis, p. 116. (b) Wheeler's Voyages, p. 185. Spon's Voyages, p. 209. (c) Solomon ben Virgæ Schevet Jehuda p. 312.

Number ransomed their Lives with Money. Pope *Nicholas V.* comforted the Circumcised in his Territories for the Afflictions they had undergone; and granted them his Protection about the Year 1447. He gave a Check to the Inquisitors, who tormented them unreasonably; and wrote to *Spain* to prevent forcing their Consciences; and also maintained the voluntary Converts in the Privilege of entering into Offices, which the City *Toledo* had taken from them by an Edict. *Sixtus IV.* about the Year 1474, canonized little *Simmonin*, who was pretended to have been unmercifully murdered by the *Jews* two hundred Years before. They are wise in delaying so long to advance their Saints to that Dignity, till the Ground of their enrolling cannot be examined. However this drew great Calamities upon the Circumcised in the Bishoprick of *Trent*, and also in the Territories of the Republick of *Venice*. The Preachers kindled the People, who moved by the Notion of Miracles, plundered and murdered all the *Jews* they met with. So great was the Disorder, that the Doge and Senate were obliged to repress it, and to order the Magistrates of *Padua* to treat the *Jews* like other Subjects, because the Report spread at *Trent* appeared to them a Falshood contrived by Art for a certain End (a), which they would not enquire into.

Pope *Alexander VI.* received the *Jews* who were expelled out of *Spain* by *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in the Year 1492 (b), with abundance of Charity, and threatened their Brethren at *Rome* to thrust them out if they did not relieve those of their own Nation who were Exiles and in great Misery, thinking it convenient to make Profit by *Ferdinand's* Error, and to people his own Territories at the Cost of others. And therefore many *Jews* from all Parts flocked to *Italy*: *Jochanan Almanan* came from *Constantinople*, who being taken into the Service of *Picus* Count of *Mirandula*, brought that Prince to be well acquainted with the *Hebrew* Learning; which he was mighty fond of. Another Part of the *Spanish* and *Portugal* Refugees expected to find a Retreat at *Naples*, but the Inquisitors pursued them thither with such Heat, that under this Pretence the People rebelled, and the Vice-roy resolved to expel the *Jews* to get rid of the Inquisitors. This Resolution was confirmed by the Emperor *Charles V.* who hated them; and the Impositions which he had discovered among them confirmed him in this Aver-sion. But they became so powerful under the Pontificate of *Paul III.* about the Year 1534, as to provoke the Rage of Cardinal *Sadolet* Bishop of *Carpentras* in the Diocese of *Avignon*, where the *Jews* had been tolerated since *Joan* Queen of *Sicily* made a Present of this City to the Pope. There they had a Synagogue; tho' the Place be in the midst of *France*, from which they had been banished. *Sadolet* wrote to Cardinal *Farnese* (c), complaining that the Pope shewed more Favour to the *Jews* than to the Christians, persecuting the *Lutherans* while he protected those who seemed more to deserve his Indignation: That the best Way to have Favour at the Court of *Rome* was to countenance this Nation, and all this flowed from the Pope's Treasurers, to whom the *Jews* were necessary Men.

About the Year 1530, Pope *Julius III.* being perswaded that the allegorical Explications of the *Gemara* were dangerous to Religion, caused the *Talmud* to be burnt: The *Jewish* Historians (d) say, all the Copies of the *Gemara* in *Italy* were committed to the Flames. In the same Pontificate *Joseph Tzarphati*, a famous Rabbini, who had taught a long Time at *Rome*, embraced Christianity. He published a Treatise of the Confusion of the *Jews* (e), proving that all the Mysteries of Christianity were found in the *Old Testament*; but it was never printed. About the same Time there was another famous *Jew* at *Rome*, *Elias* the *Levite*, born at *Padua*, but having lost all his Effects when that City was taken, he was entertained by some Cardinals to whom he taught *Hebrew*. He once more lost his Substance, when the Cardinal of *Bourbon* plundered *Rome* in the Year 1555, but retired to *Venice*, from thence to *Germany*, and returned to *Italy*, where he died at 80 Years of Age. He was suspected to have Inclinations to Christianity; which made his own Nation hate him, tho' he never publicly embraced our Religion. He wrote a valuable Book on the *Masoreth*, and a Dictionary of the *Chaldee* Paraphrases. There was also an eminent *Jewish* Woman at *Rome* called *Deborah*; who distinguished herself by her Poems and other Works: She died not till the Beginning of the seventeenth Century. To return to the Popes,

Paul IV. who began his Pontificate in the Year 1555, declared himself an Enemy to this Nation, which he shewed by two Bulls: By the first whereof he ordered each Synagogue erected in his Territories, to pay ten Ducats annually for the Instruction of Catechumens that should abjure *Judaism*; and by the second; he ordered *Jewish* Men to wear (f) a yellow Hat for Distinction, and the Women a Vail of the same Colour, obliging them all to live in the same Quarter of the City, the Gates whereof were to be shut at Night. They were deprived of all Societies, Offices or Professions among Christians: Their Commerce was confined to small Wares: They were prohibited to have more than one Synagogue in each City; and were commanded to sell all their Lands in six Months Time; which sunk the Price so low that

(a) Cárdofo las Excellencias, p. 27. Apud Bafnage Hist. of the Jews, p. 721. (b) Above, p. 594. (c) Sadolet, lib. 12. Ep. 5, 6. (d) Ganz Tsemach David, p. 153. (e) Bartolocci bibl. Rabbini. Tom. 3. p. 818. (f) Platina de vitis Pontificum, p. m. 338.

that they could not get the fifth Part of the Value, which nevertheless amounted to five hundred thousand Crowns. Lastly, he made an Ordinance against *Hebrew Books*; for whereas *Julius* his Predecessor had condemned them without Distinction to be burnt, he distinguished between these wherein our Redeemer is treated in a blasphemous Manner, and these which only explained the *Jewish* Religion; he burnt the former, but allowed the latter to be read. *Pius V.* who began his Pontificate in the Year 1566, accused the *Jews* (in a Constitution which he published) of hating the Christians, of ruining the Ecclesiastick State by their exorbitant Usuries, of sheltering Robbers, of debauching Women, and lastly of dealing in Magick. For these Reasons they were expelled out of all the Cities of the Ecclesiastick State, except *Rome* and *Ancona* (a); tho' it is not easy to conceive why, if they were guilty of such Crimes, they should be allowed to reside in these Cities more than in others. *Sixtus V.* who began his Pontificate in the Year 1585, was more sincere, tho' he is generally accounted a Dissembler: For he confessed that the Motive which moved him to tolerate the *Jews*, was the Hope of Profit. He granted to *R. Meir*, who flattered him with Poems and Dedications, a Privilege of working in Silk, laying a Duty upon every Pound. *Clement VIII.* about the End of the sixteenth Century, shewed them little Favour; for he renewed the Bull of *Pius V.* banishing them out of the Ecclesiastick State, only tolerating them at *Rome*, *Ancona*, and *Avignon*; that they might be at the *Pope's* Hand to be converted, upon which Reason he might have allowed all Hereticks.

The *Jews* had considerable Settlements in other Parts of *Italy*, particularly at *Venice*, where they boast that they have deserved Favour by the Services they have done in the War against the *Turks*, and particularly at the Siege of *Candia*. At *Verrice*, *Daniel Bomberg* printed the *Hebrew Bible*, with the *Chaldee* Paraphrases. For carrying on this Work he had about a hundred learned *Jews* his Pensioners. The Edition in Folio of 1548, is counted the best, with a Preface of *Jacob Chajim* Author of the Collection of the *Massorah*. He printed also a Grammar called *the Possession of Abram*, and the Works of many Rabbins, which has rendered his Memory precious with the *Jews*. At the same Time there was another Press set up at *Soncino*, where several *Hebrew Books* were printed. There was a Synagogue at *Imola*, where flourished the famous *Ghedaliah*, who boasted that his Family did proceed in a Right Line from *Jesse* the Father of *David*. He wrote several Volumes; but the principal, and almost the only one that was printed, is, *The Chain of the Cabbala*, or *Schialschelet Hakkabala*, writ at *Imola* in the Year 1549. There was another Synagogue at *Modena*, with *R. Samuel* at the Head of it, who in the Year 1550, wrote *the Judgments of Solomon*; under which pompous Title is contained a kind of Course of their Canon Law. There was an Academy at *Padua*, which produced a considerable Number of Doctors: *R. Meir* was its President; *Joseph* of *Padua* taught there, and *Isaac Rhea* published there his *Way of Faith*. They had a Synagogue at *Mantua*, and a Settlement at *Pesaro*. Throughout the whole of *Italy* they have maintained themselves for the last Century, and have had their learned Rabbins. *Jehuda Ariel* is better known by the Title of *Leo de Modena*, born in the City whose Name he bears. He had a great Hatred for the Christians, which he did not conceal. His Treatise of the Customs and Ceremonies of the *Jews* is every where esteemed, and hath been often translated. The Copy before me is *Englised* by *Simon Ockley*, printed at *London* 1707. His Book entituled, *The Mouth of the Lion*, is also valuable, because he hath there collected the Words used by the Rabbins that are neither *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee*, and is an useful Glossary to such as desire to understand their modern Doctors. He died at *Venice* in the Year 1645, being seventy Years old. Here also flourished *Mordecai Karkos*, in the Year 1674, who disliked the *Cabbala*, and had the Courage to write against the ten Sephiroths. *Jacob Tzafalon* taught at *Ferrara*. He was born at *Rome* in 1630, became a Doctor of Medicine, and wrote a Book called *Precious Stones*, containing a Collection of devout Thoughts, to which are prefixed several Prayers; one of which is for Physicians when they go to visit their Patients. *Judas Asael* was eminent for his Preaching about the same Time. He published *The Thrones of the House of David*, a *Cabbalistic* Book.

They reckon twelve or fifteen thousand *Jews* at *Rome*, governed by Triumvirs, called *Memmorim* or Governors, and are changed every Year, that they may not abuse their Authority. The *Jews* and Christians here live so familiarly, that the latter make no Scruple to go frequently to their Synagogues, which they did in such Numbers, that *Pope Innocent XI.* was obliged to forbid it under Pain of Excommunication (b), and a Fine of twenty five Crowns. Here they have an Academy which they call *Talmud Thorà*, the *Study of the Law*; and here they have their Professors, among whom was *Joseph Kimki* in the Year 1644. They have nine Synagogues, who are consulted in doubtful Cases by other *Jews* in *Italy*. *Innocent XI.* in the Year 1685, gave them an Instance of his Protection; for when he persuaded the King of *France* to persecute his Protestant Subjects to change their Religion, he induced the *Venetians*

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(a) Spondanus ad annum 1569. (b) Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbica.

to give Liberty to some *Jews* whom they oppressed. This Pope also renewed the Observation of a weekly Sermon, which *Gregory XIII.* had appointed for their Conversion ; but such was the Management thereof, that it had little or no Effect. In short, as to the State of the *Jews* in *Italy*, there are reckoned nine Synagogues at *Rome*, nineteen in *Campania*, thirty six in the Marquisate of *Ancona*, twelve in the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, eleven at *Bologna*, thirteen at *Romandiola* ; each of which are taxed seven hundred Crowns a Year, besides what may be squeezed from them upon extraordinary Occasions. We don't quarrel the Church of *Rome* for tolerating the *Jews* ; but this Liberty ought to be greater, or at least equal to those who not only worship the same God, but also expect Salvation thro' the same Redeemer, and only endeavour the Reformation of Abuses which have crept into that Church.

In *Germany*, during the 15th and 16th Centuries, the *Jews* have had their own Share in Calamities and Trials. A great many of them were settled in *Thuringia* and *Misnia* : But the Landgrave made them commonly buy their Liberty with considerable Sums. A new Tax was imposed in the Year 1401, and upon their refusing to pay it, they were committed to Prison, and not released till they advanced a large Ransom. The Council of *Basil* in the Year 1434, extending its Care far and near, did not think fit to neglect the *Jews*, who were numerous in that City, and over all *Germany* ; for they commanded the Prelates in all Places where any of this Nation remained, to chuse Persons (a) skill'd in the Languages to preach to them. The Sovereigns were obliged to send all the circumcised in their Territories to Sermon, and heavy Punishments were decreed against those who conceal'd them. At the same Time People are forbidden to have any Converse with them at Table and in civil Society, to take their Women for Nurses, or their Men to be Physicians or Farmers, to hire them Houses near Churches, or in the Body of Cities ; and to discover them more easily, they were obliged to wear a different Habit from Christians. The Council also made Regulations concerning these *Jews* who were converted. By Baptism they acquired a Privilege to enjoy their Estates except what they had robbed by Usuries. They were made capable of Offices in Cities where they were baptised. They were forbidden to bury their Dead, or to observe the Sabbath after their former Way. The Council also appointed terrible Punishments against those who only pretended Conversion, or should apostatize after it. The Priests were to have a watchful Eye over them, to delate them to the Inquisitors, and to call in the secular Arm to punish them with all Rigour, as perfidious Hereticks. Here the Council join Temporals with Spirituals, Politicks and capital Punishments with Ecclesiastick. These Decrees caused no great Alteration in *Germany* ; *Lewis X. of Bavaria*, twenty Years after this, expelled the *Jews* out of his Dominions for his own Interest (b) ; for he confiscated their Estates, and built Prisons and other publick Houses in the Places that had belonged to them. The Princes of *Mecklemburg* made a cruel Slaughter of them in their capital City, in the Year 1492. Thirty *Jews* were condemned to the Fire. One of them threw himself into the River, to avoid the Terror of the Punishment, and Women killed their own Children. In *Hungary* they were accused of murdering a Child, and drinking the Blood, and put to the Rack to force them to confess that their Nation were Accomplices in the Crime (c). In *Franconia*, the People of *Nuremberg* drove them all from their City, where they had been rich and powerful, tho' their Usuries and Debaucheries had rendred them hateful ; but they settled in a little neighbouring Town, where they erected a Synagogue in the Year 1499.

At that Time appeared the Impostor *David Leimlein*. He durst not declare himself to be the *Messiah*, but maintained that he would come in the Year 1500 ; and in this Prospect persuaded the credulous *Jews* to pull down their Ovens, because the Year following they would eat unleavened Bread at *Jerusalem* : But the *Messiah* not appearing conform to his Word, he declared that the Sins of the People had retarded his coming. And the *Jews* assembled near *Jerusalem*, to celebrate a solemn Fast to appease the Wrath of God, and to hasten the coming of the Deliverer. At the Beginning of the sixteenth Century the *Jews* were expelled out of the Bishoprick of *Cologne*. *Victor à Corbe*, who deserted *Judaism* to turn a Priest, extolled the Bishop for plucking up these Tares out of the Field. Perhaps it was fear of Banishment that opened his Eyes, and he too soon began to insult his Brethren, a Profelyte called *Pfeffercorn* raised a terrible War among the Learned, by persuading the Emperor *Maximilian I.* about the Year 1510, that all the *Jewish* Books ought to be burnt, because they were full of Lies, Fables and Blasphemies against Christ. Perhaps his Design was to oblige the *Jews* to ransom them with a great Sum of Money, of which he hoped to have a Part. He had the Art to gain two famous *Cologne* Divines to his Side. *Hochstraten*, who afterwards wrote against *Luther*, was one of them. But the Affair making a Noise, the Emperor was willing to know the Opinion of others, and particularly of *John Reuchlin* a German, (called also *Capiton* or *la Fume* ; for *Capiton* in Greek, and *la Fume* in French, signify the same thing which we name *Smoke* in English)

(a) Concil. Basil. Sess. 19. apud Binium, Tom. 4. Concil. parte, 1. p. m. 49. (b) *Aventinus Annalium Bojorum*, 1. p. 513. (c) *Bonfinius rerum Hungaricarum* Dec. 4. lib. 5.

English) who was famed for his Skill in *Hebrew, Greek, Latin*, in Law and several other valuable Parts of Learning, and had been employed by the Emperor and some Princes of *Germany* in weighty Affairs. His Book *de Cabbala*, and others of his Writings are still useful. He being consulted in this Case, distinguished two Sorts of Books, one of which contained the Morality, Doctrines, and Rites of the *Jews*, and the other abounded with Blasphemies against our Saviour. He consented to the burning of two *Jewish* Books, viz. *Nizzachon* and *Toldos Jeschu*, as being of the last Sort; but he told it was impossible to suppress all their Books scattered over the Universe, whereof one single Copy was sufficient to produce new Editions, which, the Decrees of *Germany* not reaching to all Parts where the *Jews* reside, could never hinder. Tho' good Sense allowed him to speak in this Manner, yet he was mightily persecuted for his Opinion. To understand *Greek* and *Hebrew* in these Days, was enough to make a Man suspect of Heresy. *Cologne* espoused its Divines, the University of *Paris* declared for them, the Elector of *Mentz* passed Sentence against *Reuchlin*, and he had his Book burnt at *Cologne*. He appealed to *Rome*, where the Cause was superseded, and Prosecution stopped. *Pfeffercorn* was afterwards found out to be a Cheat, and *Reuchlin* got leave to die in Peace in the Year 1521.

The Monks soon found out other Business, by the excellent *Martin Luther's* preaching up the Reformation in *Saxony*. The People began to be sensible of the Barbarity and gross Ignorance of the persecuting Priests and Friars: The *Jews* were no longer accused of murdering Children, nor were Miracles told of stolen and bloody Hosties, by Means whereof the Rage of the People had been excited to spill so much Blood. Protestants being better skill'd in the Languages than the Monks and Divines of past Ages had been, and surmounting vulgar Prejudices, studied the Writings of the Rabbins, and defeated the *Jews* by their own Weapons. Their Example awaken'd the *Popish* Divines, who in the same Method discovered the Weakness of *Jewish* Infidelity. The *Jews* did not love *Luther*: He had discovered many of their Follies, and had hindred some Christian Princes from receiving them into their Dominions. They had their Defenders, among whom we may reckon R. *Isaac* the Son of *Abraham*, who wrote a Book against *Luther's* Disciples, in favour of *Judaism* (a), called, *The Butres of Faith*. The *Portuguese* translated it into *Spanish*, and the *African Jews* have a great Value for it. From thence the learned *Wagensil* brought it, and translated it into *Latin*, with some Notes. About the same time appeared another *Jewish* Book, called *Nizzachon*, or, *The Victory against the Christians*. *Wagensil* published one of them (b), and the learned *Shickhard* hath translated and confuted another. New Doctors also appeared in *Transylvania*, called *Demi-Jews*. Among these was one *Seidelius*, who maintained, *That the Messias did not respect the Heathens, but only the Jews, to whom he had been promised by the same Title as the Land of Canaan*. *Francis David* was another of them, in regard he taught, *That Jesus Christ ought not to be worshipped, because the Scriptures teach us to pray to God alone* (c). *Socinus* wrote against him, and so did many Protestants on more solid Grounds; for *Francis David* thought Christ should not be worshipped, because he considered him only as a mere Man: And in this he argues more consequentially to his Principles than *Socinus*, who ascribes Worship to our Lord, and yet denies his Divinity. But I conceive it is not enough to denominate a Man a *Jew*, that he teaches a few Principles that bear some Resemblance to that Sect, while he rejects their fundamental Opinions: Therefore I leave these half *Jews*, and return to the true ones.

The *Jews* pretend to have been settled in the Diocess of *Mersburg* ever since the taking of *Jerusalem*. Without disputing this Pretence to Antiquity, I shall only observe, that it did not secure them from Bishop *Adolphus's* expelling them in the Year 1514. But the Emperor gave them Protection in other Parts of *Germany*. They had a famous Man called *Jakob*, born at *Wormes*; another called *Salomon Luria* (d), who wrote a Book called *The Sea of Solomon*, and died in the Year 1573; besides others in *Poland*. *Bohemia* maintained a great Number of this Nation. We have already (e) observed, that they performed such Services to the Christians there against the Barbarians, that they were allowed the Privilege of a Synagogue in that Country in the eleventh Century. In process of Time they also erected a College there, of which R. *Fulk* was President, who began to exercise his Scholars in a Syllogistic Way of Disputations, like the Christians; but this Method was not acceptable. A Conflagration consumed many Places in *Bohemia*; and the *Jews*, who never want Enemies, were condemned to the Flames as Incendiaries: Those of them who escaped, were expelled, except ten Persons who found Favour. But the real Incendiaries being discovered before the End of the Year, the *Jews* were recalled. Another Storm fell upon them in the Year 1558. They were suspected of making Prayers at *Prague* against the Christians; whereupon their Books were carried off to *Vienna* (f), and they were obliged to ransom them by a great Sum of Money. Here they had their famous Doctors, particularly *Judas Betsariel*, otherwise *Leo of Prague*, who flourished in the Year 1553, and founded a School in that City, in which he

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(a) R. Isaac, Munimen fidei, apud Wagensil. Tela ignea Satanæ. (b) Ibid. part. 2. Nizzachon vetus. (c) Francis Davidis Defensio inter opera Socini, Tom. 2. (d) Ganz Tlemach, p. 153, 155. (e) Above, p. 581. (f) Ganz Tlemach, p. 154.

taught eleven Years; but left it to go to *Poland*, where he died about the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, leaving behind him many Books, namely one, concerning the Redemption and Eternity of *Israel*, wherein he assures his Nation of the coming of the *Messiah*, and doubts not but he will render their Prosperity eternal. Another of their Doctors was called *Abraham of Prague*, who wrote on the Commentaries of *Jark*, and died in the Year 1540. *Mordecai Japhi*, or, *The Fair*, was also born at *Prague*; but retired to *Poland*, where he died in the Year 1611. He wrote a Book, intituled, *The Royal Garment*. Lastly, *Ganz* the *Jewish* Historian, whom we have often quoted, was born at *Prague*, and there composed his *Stem of David*, or his Chronology (now before me) from the Creation of the World till the Year of our Lord 1592. Tho' he hath often quoted *Josephus*, and the Doctors of his own Nation who preceded him, yet he has corrected several of their Faults, and in many things is more exact. He hath made use of many Christian Authors; and tho' he is not very lucky in his Choice, he is singular in this, that the *Jewish* Doctors, except himself, slight foreign Historians. At that time the *Jews* built a Synagogue at *Prague* equalling those of *Poland* and *Jerusalem*: And as *Mordecai Meusel* had liberally contributed to this great Edifice, as well as to the Relief of the Poor in *Bohemia* and *Poznania*, *Ganz* gives him great Elogies; for he calls him *the Wall and Basis of the School, the Head of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of the People, and the Love of the Brethren*; and with this ends his Chronicle. *Moravia* had also its Synagogue; but they endured a cruel Persecution in the Year 1574 (a). The Professors of this Religion were sentenced to the Flames, and abundance of them destroyed, before Complaints could be brought to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who pitied their Case, and put a Stop to these Barbarities. They suffered also in *Franconia*; for some Houses of the City of *Bamberg* being burnt, the *Jews* were accused of setting them on Fire: and at the same time the People plundered their Houses without enquiring into the Truth of the Accusation. At *Bonn*, *Sbenck* having taken the Town for the *Dutch* in the Year 1588, the *Jews* (b) complain, that they were unmercifully distinguished in the Plunder. But it mitigated their Sorrow a little, that the Duke of *Brunswick*, in the Year 1592, not only granted them Liberty of Conscience in his State, but also a Freedom of Trade in the Lower *Saxony*; so that there were few Places in all *Germany* but where they trafficked at the End of the sixteenth Century.

Tho' the Reformation was hindred from making any considerable Progress in *Poland* by the Zeal of the Priests in the seventeenth Century, yet the *Jews* enjoyed an entire Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom, which is continued to this very Day. There they are spread in great Numbers, and there they have their Academies, Synagogues, and Houses of Judgment. Hither the Youth is sent to study who desire to be acquainted with the *Talmud*, and the Traditions; and hence proceed learned Rabbins. One of them named *Salomon* embraced Christianity in the Year 1656, and published thirty seven Demonstrations against the Religion he had quitted (c). He acknowledged *that the Messiah was come; and that if God had given such sensible Marks of his Presence in the Ark; which was only a wooden Chest, we ought for a stronger Reason to believe that he had been united to humane Flesh, of which the Ark of the Covenant was only a Type. These Words* (cried the Rabbins) *are sweeter than Honey, and penetrate my Heart.*

Hamburg is a little *Jerusalem* for a multitude of *Jews*; but their Synagogue is at *Altena*; under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Denmark*, who gives them also a Sanctuary at *Gluckstadt*. A *Jew* named *Dom Rodriguez de Castro*, Physician to *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*, wrote two Treatises, one concerning *the Infirmities of Women*, and the other intituled *Medico Politico*. A learned Rabbins there called *Esdra*, or *Esdra*, having embraced Christianity, converted many of his Brethren. The learned Dr. *Kidder*, who corresponded with him by Letters, says (d), *That there have not been so many Conversions since the Time of Miracles as Esdras made of the Jews at Hamburg about the Year 1690.* Of Means to carry on this Design we shall speak more afterwards.

The Emperor *Ferdinand III.* granted them great Privileges at *Prague*, because when that City was besieged by *Carolus Gustavus* of *Sweden* in 1648, they defended themselves with surprising Fidelity. There Rabbi *Chagim* or *Joachim* acted the Part of a base Dissembler; for after a considerable Robbery committed by him, he embraced Christianity to wipe off the Scandal; and to gain the greater Credit, he wrote a virulent Book against the *Jews*, and went to the Emperor's Court, where he got Protection. But finding his Fortunes like to sink, he robbed the Imperial Treasury with the Assistance of two other *Jews*. At last he with his associate Criminals being seized and condemned to Death; while he was on the Scaffold he threw off the Mask of being a Christian, professing, *That he lived and died a Jew, and that if he had received the Sacrament a few Hours before, they might find it in his Urinal.* In the same Place there was a glaring Instance of their Hatred of the Christians; for one *Lazarus*, an Inhabitant

(a) Bartolucci Bibl. Rabbinnica, Tom. 3. (b) Ganz Nemach cum notis Vorstin, in 4to, Lugd. Bat. 1644. p. 160. (c) R. Johan Salomon, Demonstrationes XXXVII. cum Historia colloquii cum Joanne Botlaco, (d) Demonstration of the Messiah, Part 3. cap. ult. p. 473. — 484.

habitant of *Prague*, understanding that his Son desired Baptism, fell upon him and killed him. He was committed to Prison, where with equal Wickedness he strangled himself. As the *Jews* hate the Christians, so it must be owned that the Christians at *Prague* often intermix the Toleration given to them with Violence. They often also meet with Affronts at *Vienna*. They support themselves in *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and in most of the rich Cities in *Germany* and *Hungary*. Their Settlement at *Ausburg* is ancient; for *Benjamin of Tudela*, in the twelfth Century, tells there was at *Asbock* a Synagogue kept up of his Nation of rich Merchants, who were Doctors and Scholars. Tho' they have been thrust out of *Nuremberg*, yet they are spread abroad in the neighbouring Country-towns, and may enter the City under a Guard. At *Wormes* they affirm that many Ages ago the Name *Jehovah* was carved on the Top of their Synagogue; therefore they suffer the Spiders to spin their Webs, without daring to brush them down, for fear of blotting the sacred Name, which they imagine supports the Building. But the *French* convinced them of the contrary, by demolishing the Synagogue, when they had taken the City in the last War. A modern Traveller reckons thirty thousand *Jews* at *Frankfort*, (perhaps he amplifies the Account) and most of them are reduced to mean Drudgeries. They had a famous *Cabbalist* at *Spires*, in the middle of the last Century, named *Nathan de Spira*. He published *The Good of the Land*, and another Volume of Profundities, named *Megilloth Hamucoth*, being a *Cabbalistic* Commentary upon some Verses in *Deuteronomy*. But one of the most famous *Jewish* Doctors that *Germany* produced in the last Century, was *Isaac Loria*, Author of a metaphysical Introduction to the *Jewish Cabbala*, where are many strange Notions about the Creation, which Dr. *More* was charmed with.

Of all the States in *Europe* there is none where the *Jews* live more quietly than in *Holland*. They enrich themselves by Trade, and by the Lenity of the Government they possess their Acquisitions without Fear. Here are two Sorts of *Jews*; one are *Germans*, and the other come from *Portugal* and *Spain*; who are divided about Ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the Essentials of Religion were concerned. Their first Synagogue at *Amsterdam* was called *The House of Jacob*, because that was the Name of the Donor. They raised another Synagogue which they called *Neve Shalom*, *The House of Peace*. These Houses laboured jointly in a Collection of Prayers, but they could not agree on it. A third Synagogue was formed in the Year of our Lord 1618, under the Conduct of *David Pardo*, and was called *Beth-Israel*, or, *The House of Israel*. The Schism, which no doubt did abate their Piety and Devotion, continued about twenty Years; and then the three Synagogues united into one in the Year 1639, and they gave to this new House the Title of *Talmud Thora*, *The Study or Science of the Law*. They have been careful to found Schools also, one whereof is named *Kether Thora*, *The Crown of the Law*, which hath been governed by learned Men: And to shew the Prosperity of the Nation in this great City, they built a stately Edifice, and consecrated it in the Year 1675, celebrating the Solemnity with a Collection of Sermons spoke on that Occasion.

Manasseh ben Israel, one of the most learned Doctors this Synagogue produced, was of a *Spanish* Original, of the House of *Abravancels*. At eighteen Years of Age he taught the *Talmud* with such Approbation as drew upon him abundance of Jealousies; but he contemned them, and went on with his Study. At twenty eight Years of Age he published the first Part of his *Conciliator* on the *Pentateuch*, which he afterwards finished. After this he composed Problems on the Creation, which made him to be called a *divine Author*. He wrote also on the Resurrection, wherein he proves the Immortality of the Soul, and its Operations, not only while united to the Body, but also after its Separation. And in this Treatise, printed after his Death, he defends the Transmigration. He wrote also an Abridgment of the *Mishnah*, under this Title, *The Treasure of Judgments*, his *Spes Israelis*, and some other Treatises. He endeavoured to make Profit by the Troubles of *England* under *Oliver Cromwell*, and to procure a Settlement for his Nation in that Kingdom, but died at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1652, leaving a Son, who inherited his Press, and employed it in printing some of his Father's Works.

Joseph Athias, a Native of *Spain*, taught first at *Hamburg*, and from thence came to *Amsterdam*, where he printed a *Hebrew Bible* in 1667, much esteemed. Professor *Lewfsden* was concerned in the Edition. The *Jews* boast that it was made upon two very ancient Manuscripts, the one of *Hillel*, the other writ in the Year 1299, in which was the great *Masorah*. Mr. *Vander Hoogh* has given a new Edition, which is by some counted more exact. He prefers the Correction of the *Masoreths* to those of any other, because besides that he thinks them more judicious, he is also persuaded that they were made by *Esdra*s and the Doctors of the Great Synagogue: All the Members thereof (three of them being Prophets) out-lived their Work forty Years. He distinguishes the different Readings of the Oriental and Occidental *Jews*, and observes the Sections of the *Pentateuch*. *Athias's Treasure of Precepts and Judgments* was printed first at *Venice*, with the Approbation of all the *Cachanim* or Sages of that Country. He thought himself obliged to handle this Subject, because the most useful of all Books are those that teach the Fear of God. The preceding Doctors had composed such Precepts; but the *Spanish* Dispersion had destroyed a great Part of their Works: Besides, they

wrote in *Arabic*, which was then better understood than it is now. *Isaac Abcab*, who came from *Brasil*, was a Preacher highly esteemed among them, and also a great *Cabbalist*. He translated the Writing of another *Cabbalist*, called *Irria's Gate to Heaven*, from *Spanish* to *Hebrew*, and it hath been since rendred into *Latin*. He published a Paraphrase on the *Pentateuch*, and sung *Moses's* Triumph in Heroic Verse. *Misaphia* was another learned Man among them, who commented on the *Jerusalem Talmud*. He studied a Subject that was as obscure; for he proposed to explain the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. Lastly he composed an *Hebrew Dictionary* in a new and easy Method.

We must not forget *Benedict de Spinoza*, who made himself famous by a new invented Atheism. He was born at *Amsterdam* in 1632, of a creditable Family of *Portuguese Jews*; but had no Riches by his Father; and as for himself, he always lived in Poverty. In order to support himself he learned the Trade of polishing Glasses and making Spectacles. He had studied the Philosophy of *Monf. Des Cartes*, which gave him a Dislike to the Principles and Sciences of the Rabbins, finding no Demonstrations in them. When the *Jews* observed that he neglected their Sabbath and Synagogue, they endeavoured to detain him by a Pension of a thousand Livres; which he refused, and thereby incurred their Hatred; which they sufficiently declared, by hiring a Russian to dagger him: But the Blow reached only his Coat, which he kept in memory of the Deliverance. But not thinking himself safe at *Amsterdam*, where the *Jews* were numerous, he retired to *Leyden* (a), and afterwards to the *Hague*. The *Jews* thundered out the greater Excommunication against him; but he protested against it, as done in his Absence, signifying the same by a Writing in *Spanish*, addressed to the Rabbins of the Synagogue. He published first *A Geometrical Demonstration of Des Cartes's Principles*, and then his *Meditations*. At last appeared his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* in the Year 1670, in which Book he formed a new System of Atheism, namely, *That there is one numerical Substance, and that the material World is the only necessary existing Being*. This Notion is very unphilosophical and inconsistent: For if Matter subsist of itself, which is the most excellent of all Perfections, and includes all the rest, then it must be also independent, almighty, eternal, immovable, and in a Word infinitely perfect. But it is inconceivable, that Matter, which is divisible, corruptible, unactive, and void of Understanding, should be endowed with the most noble of all Properties, and from which all others proceed. And as to one numerical Substance, it is certain that the World is composed of innumerable Substances really distinct from one another, and that the least Atom can subsist tho' other Parts of Matter were destroyed. To return to the Life of *Spinoza*: He is said to have refused a Professor's Chair at *Heidelberg*, lest it should hinder him to vent his pernicious Principles; tho' I will not affirm that ever he had the Offer. At last he died in *Holland* in the Year 1677, in the forty fourth Year of his Age.

Dom Balthasar Orolio, born of *Jewish* Parents in *Spain*, a famous Physician, tho' when in the Prison of the Inquisition, and when on the Rack, he had owned himself a Christian; yet when he came to *Amsterdam*, he received Circumcision, joined the Synagogue, and opposed the spreading of *Spinoza's* Sect. He maintained a Dispute for *Judaism* with the learned *Philip Limborch* Professor among the *Remonstrants* at *Amsterdam* (b), and died there soon after the Conference was held and printed. There have been also other learned *Jews* in other Cities of *Holland*; as, *David Cohen de Lara*, *Huzziel's* Disciple, who wrote at *Roterdam* a Book called *The City of David*, in which he proves the Analogy of the *Hebrew* with the *Greek* and other Languages. Lastly, *Juda Leon* composed a valuable Piece at *Middleburg*, in which Treatise he describes *Solomon's* Temple, and also *Moses's* Tabernacle and the Cherubims; and likewise wrote an Explication of the *Psalms*.

To sum up all: The *Jews* are dispersed in most Parts of the habitable World, not only in those we have been discoursing of in the foregoing History, but also in the *East Indies*, in *Cochin*, in *Malabar*, in *China*, and in *America*, as well as in *Europe* and in *Africa*, under Infidel and under Christian Princes. In *Spain*, in *Portugal*, and in some Parts of *France*, many of them dissemble their Religion, where they dare not avow it. It is impossible exactly to number the Persons of whom this Nation is at present composed; but we have Reason to believe, that there are still about three Millions of People who profess the *Jewish* Religion scattered up and down the several Nations of the World. They still consider themselves with their ancient Haughtiness as the People of God, and expect that God will raise them above all the Nations of the Earth; tho' they dare not fix the Time, having been so often disappointed.

I shall now conclude this Chapter with some remarkable Occurrences concerning the *Jews*, down to the present Time. In the seventh Volume of the *Jesuites* Letters, we have one from Father *Jean Paul Gozani*, bearing Date at *Cai-fum-fou*, the Capital of the Province of *Honan* in *China*, November 5. 1704, where he gives (c) Account of a Synagogue of *Jews* in that remote Part of the World.

But

(a) *Cortius's* Life of *Spinoza*. *Baies's* Dictionary on *Spinoza*. *Balnage's* History of the *Jews*, lib. 7. cap. 32. (b) *Phil. à Limborch*, *Amica collatio cum Judæo*, in 4to, 1687. (c) *Lettres édifiées & curieuses par Missionnaires de la Campagne de Jésus*, Recueil 7. p. 4.

But that which I would mainly notice is, some remarkable Conversions of a few of the Jewish Nation, as a Prelude to the comfortable Times, when there shall be *one shepherd and one sheepfold*. I have in the preceeding History given Account of most of these Converts that were remarkable, particularly of the memorable Conversion of a considerable Number of them at *Hamburg*, by the Ministry and Instruction of Dr. *Esdra* (a). I have now before me the Narrative of the Conversion of *Shalome ben Shalomoh*, delivered before Mr. *Thomas Humfrey's* Congregation in *Rosemary-lane London*, September 29. 1699, reprinted at *Boston* 1701, and well attested by several Ministers. The whole is too long to insert here. The Sum thereof is, *I Shalome ben Shalomoh was born of Jewish Parents (my Father's Name was Shalomoh, and my Mother's Leah), circumcised the eight Day at Posenia in Poland, where I lived till I was twelve Years of Age, at which Time it pleased God that all our Family, my self excepted, died of a great Plague. Being thus destitute, I had an Inclination to travel; and in my Travels, a Boy in the Duke of Brandenburg's Army said to me, why do you not turn a Christian? A Christian, said I, why, think you I will worship Images? (for such was my Ignorance, that I thought all Christians were Papists.) There are, said he two Sorts of Christians, Protestants and Papists. We, said he, who are Protestants, believe no other Saviour but Jesus Christ alone, nor worship Images. Well, said I, carry me to a Minister, who accordingly brought me to one belonging to the Duke of Brandenburg, who opened to me the Doctrine concerning Jesus Christ, from the five Books of Moses, particularly from Gen. iii. 15. Numb. xxi. 9. and from Psal. ii. 7. Psal. cx. 1, Psal. xxii. 16,—18. Isaiah. ix. 6. Gen. xlix. 10, and explained to me other Principles of Religion. I saw that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah, tho' as yet I had nothing more than the Notion of things; yet, as the Eunuch said to Philip, Acts viii. 36. so said I, What doth hinder me to be baptised; and I was baptised at Berlin in Brandenburg. The Duke stood my Godfather. I became not a Christian for Silver nor Gold, but was constrained thereto by the mighty Power of Jesus Christ. After this I was recommended to a Minister in the City of Rhyneberg on the Rhine, by whom I was further notionally confirmed in the Christian Faith; and from that Time had a Mind to travel to England, where under the Denomination of a Christian, I lived a great while revelling in all Manner of Wickedness, committing Iniquity with Greediness. As I grew older I thought it was high Time to reform, knowing I must one day give an Account of the deeds done in the body. I then resolved to lead a new Life, and venture on the Mercy of God through Jesus Christ. I made many Resolutions to live better, and broke them as fast. Terrors of Conscience pursued me, I cried out, O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from this Body of Death. I pleaded for the Power of Christ, Lord if thou wilt thou canst make me clean, Matth. viii. 2. I saw my Sin so black, that I rolled my self in the Dust. I prayed, as sensible of my own Insufficiency, that God would by his Spirit teach me to pray. I resisted Temptations my Inclination was bent to; frequented the Assemblies of God's People, tho' whether to go I was at a Loss. At length I came among the Quakers; but alas! there I found nothing to my Satisfaction. At last I was directed to Mr. Humfreys; this proved a happy Day to my Soul. He told me the Lord accepts Jew and Gentile, Galat. iii. 28. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for we are all one in Christ Jesus. I read John xvii. 26. Father I have declared unto them thy Name, and I will declare it, that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them. I thought here is an open Door to come to God through Jesus Christ. It came on my Soul with such Power, that it appeared to me as if a Door had been set open to any to enter who will.— And now I would give my Body to be burnt; yea, had I thousand Lives I would lay them down, rather as be an unbelieving Jew; for saith Christ, Unless you believe that I am he, that is, the Messiah, you shall die in your Sins, John viii. 24. Believing is quite another thing than I took it to be. He that comes to God must believe that he is, Heb. xi. 6. every Way such as the Scripture describes him to be; that all his Attributes are highly advanced, and highly exalted in our Salvation; that the Law is magnified and made honourable, Isaiah xlii. 21. by the Obedience of Jesus Christ, God-man, more than possibly it could have been by the perfect Obedience of sinless Adam. He must believe that what Christ has done and suffered as our Surety, Righteousness in our Room and stead, is the only Righteousness whereby we are justified before God, and accepted by him; and that this very Righteousness becomes ours, pleadable by the divine Act of Imputation. Here you see one in whom the Covenant of Abraham is fulfilled, as in all those who believe in Jesus Christ. I am afraid that my Fore-fathers (tho' I must judge charitably of them) are gone into the Pit of Destruction; but I am a Brand plucked out of the Fire, Zech. iii. 2. I know, and am persuaded that Jesus Christ loved me, and gave himself for me, and that by his Death and Resurrection my Soul is saved. After several Questions and satisfying Answers given to them by Mr. *Shalomoh*, according to the Way of independent Congregations, he was received as a Member of their Church, and admitted to the Lord's Table.*

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(a) See above p. 604.

The Conversion of *John Xeres* is also memorable and well attested, as follows. *We underwritten, Merchants, trading to Africa, do hereby certify, That each of us having lived in those Parts, did then, as we do now know personally Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, who was born in Saphia, a Sea-port of that Coast. His Parents being Hebrews, were reputed honest substantial People, who educated him in the Jewish Religion, in the Knowledge of the Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee Tongues. He lived in that Country a Jew to the Age of twenty five, of a sober Conversation, and honest in his Dealing. Having had some Doubts, through Conversation with our People, that the Messiah was come, he sailed for England eighteen Months ago to receive full Satisfaction; and we recommended him to Dr. Allix. Done at London, May 28, 1709, and signed by Peter Fleuriot, Samuel Robison, John Lodington, John Adams, Robert Colmore, and Thomas Colman. Another Attestation follows: These certify, that on several Discourses had with the forementioned Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, I have found him well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and other Jewish and Talmudic Learning, so as he was very ready on the Objections the Jews make to the Doctrine, Divinity and Office of our Saviour. But he being endowed with very good Parts, I was soon able to satisfy him of the Truth, so as having examined the material Controversies, he has declared to me and other Friends his Desire to renounce the Errors of his Education in the Jewish Religion, and to embrace the Profession of the Christian Faith. Witnejs my Hand, 30th July 1709, PETER ALLIX D. D.* The said Xeres being baptized, wrote a Book containing his Reasons for leaving the Jewish, and embracing the Christian Religion, which I have read, and it is a learned and valuable Performance in its kind.

There is an excellent converted Jew, living, I suppose, at this Day in New England, concerning whom I have seen a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Colman Minister of the Gospel at Boston, to a dear Friend of mine, bearing Date, Boston, April 10, 1722, which I shall here insert. *Sir, I am obliged to write to you again, though I have nothing new to inform you of, but of the Baptism of a learned and pious Jew a fourtnight ago, at Cambrige, in our College-hall, by Mr. Appleton Pastor there. He is a great Master and Critic in the Hebrew Tongue, a most ready Scribe, apt to teach and communicate his Knowledge. His Name is Rabbi Judah Monis, now in the thirty fifth Year of his Age, a very sober Man, and of a good Conversation. His Knowledge is great in the holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and also in the Writings of the Rabbins. He both speaks and writes Hebrew with a perfect Ease and Readiness, and his Writing is as even as Print. He wrote out the Books of Moses for a Synagogue in Holland some Tears ago, and has sojourned with us here several Tears; and being gradually enlightened by Study and Discourse with us before his Baptism, he answered the Objections and Arguments of the Jews against our Christian Faith, and then solemnly professed his own Belief in Christ as the true Messiah, and the Dedication of himself to him as the alone Saviour. Mr. President Livent, Head of our College, required me to open the Solemnity with Prayer, and to give the Audience a Sermon; which I did, from these Words of our Saviour, John, v. 46. Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. Mr. Monis hath already wrote two Treatises, one on the Divinity of Christ, the other on the Doctrine of the Trinity (a). He speaks but broken English. He hath turned the Assembly's Catechism into pure Hebrew, which I think was never done before, and he seems to be much set upon the doing of something considerable by the Will of God for the Conversion of his Nation. I thought, Sir, it would not be unacceptable to you, to be informed of this rare and singular Occurrence among us. Mr. Monis hath taught more Hebrew here this last Year, than perhaps has been learned these twenty Tears before. — When you pray for the Conversion of that once beloved People, as I believe you daily do, I ask a Remembrance for Monis, whom you will put among our Christian Brethren. How far he may be useful among us, or what may be in the Womb of Providence, Time must shew; but many of us are not without Hope. — I have seen Christian Letters from this learned Convert, in Hebrew, to his Correspondent in this Country, with which I shall not trouble my Reader, but proceed.*

Moses Marcus is another learned Jew that hath lately been converted to the Christian Faith. In the Preface of a Book which he hath lately printed (b), he gives the following Account of himself. *I am descended of a good Family, well known throughout Germany. My Father and Mother are of the City of Hamburg, and now live in London, in the greatest Splendor imaginable for private Persons. I was born in the Year 1701. My Parents took the greatest Care possible of me: And I being their eldest and first-born Son, and thereby entitled to a double Portion by the Mosaic Law, was the more esteemed; especially when I was about eight or nine Tears of Age, my Father observing that I took Pleasure in Learning, bestowed a Tutor on me, that when I should come to be Master in Jewish Divinity, I might take Orders. I was quickly engaged in the Talmuds and Traditions, to which I applied with some Diligence, and made such Progress,*

(a) These Treatises I see printed at Boston, 1722, with Mr. Colman's Sermon at R. Monis's Baptism. (b) Intituled, The principal Motives and Circumstances that induced Moses Marcus to leave the Jewish, and embrace the Christian Faith, printed at London, 1724.

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The Conversion of *John Xeres* is also memorable and well attested, as follows. *We underwritten, Merchants, trading to Africa, do hereby certify, That each of us having lived in those Parts, did then, as we do now know personally Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, who was born in Saphia, a Sea-port of that Coast. His Parents being Hebrews, were reputed honest substantial People, who educated him in the Jewish Religion, in the Knowledge of the Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee Tongues. He lived in that Country a Jew to the Age of twenty five, of a sober Conversation, and honest in his Dealing. Having had some Doubts, through Conversation with our People, that the Messiah was come, he sailed for England eighteen Months ago to receive full Satisfaction; and we recommended him to Dr. Allix. Done at London, May 28, 1709, and signed by Peter Fleuriot, Samuel Robison, John Lodington, John Adams, Robert Colman, and Thomas Colman. Another Attestation follows: These certify, that on several Discourses had with the forementioned Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, I have found him well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and other Jewish and Talmudic Learning, so as he was very ready on the Objections the Jews make to the Doctrine, Divinity and Office of our Saviour. But he being endowed with very good Parts, I was soon able to satisfy him of the Truth, so as having examined the material Controversies, he has declared to me and other Friends his Desire to renounce the Errors of his Education in the Jewish Religion, and to embrace the Profession of the Christian Faith. Witness my Hand, 30th July 1709, PETER ALLIX D. D.* The said Xeres being baptized, wrote a Book containing his Reasons for leaving the Jewish, and embracing the Christian Religion, which I have read, and it is a learned and valuable Performance in its kind.

There is an excellent converted Jew, living, I suppose, at this Day in New England, concerning whom I have seen a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Colman Minister of the Gospel at Boston, to a dear Friend of mine, bearing Date, Boston, April 10, 1722, which I shall here insert. *Sir, I am obliged to write to you again, though I have nothing new to inform you of, but of the Baptism of a learned and pious Jew a fortnight ago, at Cambridge, in our College-hall, by Mr. Appleton Pastor there. He is a great Master and Critic in the Hebrew Tongue, a most ready Scribe, apt to teach and communicate his Knowledge. His Name is Rabbi Judah Monis, now in the thirty fifth Year of his Age, a very sober Man, and of a good Conversation. His Knowledge is great in the holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and also in the Writings of the Rabbins. He both speaks and writes Hebrew with a perfect Ease and Readiness, and his Writing is as even as Print. He wrote out the Books of Moses for a Synagogue in Holland some Years ago, and has sojourned with us here several Years; and being gradually enlightened by Study and Discourse with us before his Baptism, he answered the Objections and Arguments of the Jews against our Christian Faith, and then solemnly professed his own Belief in Christ as the true Messiah, and the Dedication of himself to him as the alone Saviour. Mr. President Lisle, Head of our College, required me to open the Solemnity with Prayer, and to give the Audience a Sermon; which I did, from these Words of our Saviour, John, v. 46. Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. Mr. Monis hath already wrote two Treatises, one on the Divinity of Christ, the other on the Doctrine of the Trinity (a). He speaks but broken English. He hath turned the Assembly's Catechism into pure Hebrew, which I think was never done before, and he seems to be much set upon the doing of something considerable by the Will of God for the Conversion of his Nation. I thought, Sir, it would not be unacceptable to you, to be informed of this rare and singular Occurrence among us. Mr. Monis hath taught more Hebrew here this last Year, than perhaps has been learned these twenty Years before. — When you pray for the Conversion of that once beloved People, as I believe you daily do, I ask a Remembrance for Monis, whom you will put among our Christian Brethren. How far he may be useful among us, or what may be in the Womb of Providence, Time must shew; but many of us are not without Hope. — I have seen Christian Letters from this learned Convert, in Hebrew, to his Correspondent in this Country, with which I shall not trouble my Reader, but proceed.*

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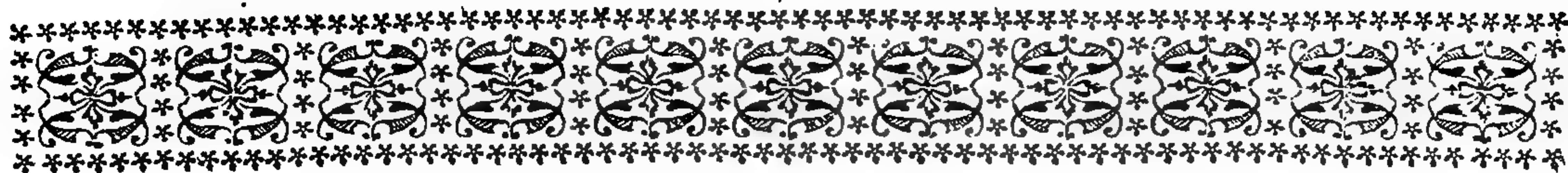
been fully instructed in the Articles of the *Roman Catholick Faith*, was christened last *Sunday*, and had for Godfather the Count *de Herbeistein*.

From *Rome* of *January* 28. 1725, we are informed that on the 26th, tho' it was an exceeding rainy Day, the Pope went to *Minerva's Church*, where he performed the Ceremony of baptizing a *Jew* newly converted to Christianity. *Annibal Albani* the Cardinal Chamberlain stood Godfather; and he was christned by the Name of *Clement Maria*: After which the Pope himself confirmed him with the holy Cream, celebrated a private Mass, and gave him the Sacrament with his own Hands. The Pope did not desire that he should come to the Font with the white Habit, which is worn by new Converts, but staid till he had poured out the Water on him, and till he came to these Words in the Ritual, *Receive the white Habit, &c.* And then he gave him a Pension of eighty Crowns. The *Jew* is of *Urbino*, and had a Brother who turned Christian in the Pontificate of *Clement XI.* And from *Ukrania*, that an entire Synagogue of almost 3000 *Jews* had been baptised there in the Year 1727. But we cannot depend much on the Sincerity of these Converts in the *Roman Church*.

To conclude this Chapter, we may relate what Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, in his new Account of the *East Indies* (a), tells "of a Republick of *Jews* once so numerous, that they could reckon about 80000 Families, but at present are reduced to four thousand, who have a Synagogue at *Couchin*, not far from the King's Palace, about two Miles from the City, in which are kept their Records, engraven on Copper-plates in *Hebrew Characters*, so as they can shew their History from the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to this Time. They declare themselves to be of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, a Part whereof was by Order of that haughty Conqueror *Nebuchadnezzar*, carried to the easternmost Province of his large Empire, which it seems reached as far as *Cape Comorin*: Which Journey 20000 of them travelled in three Years, from their setting out of *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar Country* they found the Inhabitants very civil to Strangers, giving them Liberty of Conscience in religious Matters, and the free Use of Reason and Industry in OEconomy. There they increased both in Numbers and Riches, till in Process of Time, by Policy or Wealth they purchased the little Kingdom of *Cranganore*; and there being one Family among them much esteemed for Wisdom, Power and Riches, two of the Sons of that Family were chosen by their Elders and Senators to govern the common Wealth, and reign jointly. Concord the strongest Bond of Society was in a short Time broken. Ambition took Place; for one of the Brothers inviting his Colleague to a Feast, picked a Quarrel with his Guest, and basely killed him, thinking to reign alone: But the Defunct leaving a Son of a bold Spirit, killed the Fratricide; and so the State fell again into a Democracy, which still continues among the *Jews* here: But the Lands have for many Ages recurred back into the Hands of the *Malabars*; and Poverty and Oppression have made many apostatise."

(a) New Account of the East Indies, printed at Edinburgh, Vol. 1. p. 321—323.





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DISCOURSE

To promote the

Conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

THAT the *Jews*, however deplorable a Condition they are in at present, shall before the End of the World be brought again to the Love and Favour of GOD, to the Bosom of the Church, and to the Worship and Faith of the true *Messiah*, appears from many Scripture Promises and Prophecies in the *Old and New Testament*. Thus the LORD assures us, *Ezek. xxxiv. 22, — 25. I will save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey. I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them, I the Lord have spoken it. And I will make with them a covenant of peace.* We are not to understand by *David* the Son of *Jesse*, who was dead long before *Ezekiel* prophesied, but the *Messiah*, descended of and typified by *David*, as even *Kimchi* explains it. To the same purpose the LORD speaks, *Ezek. xxxvii. 24, — 28. David my servant shall be king over them: and they all shall have one Shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them. And they shall dwell in the Land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their childrens children for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them, --- and multiply them, and I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them; yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the LORD do sanctify Israel. Jerem. xxx. 9. They shall serve the LORD their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them. The Prophet Hosea, iii. 4, 5. plainly foretells their present State, and their future Conversion, saying, *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim. Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the LORD their God and David their king, and shall fear the Lord, and his goodness in the latter days.* We may ask the *Jews*, where are now the Kings, Judges, and Deliverers of their Nation? they cannot shew one of them. The *Sacrifices* made the most notable Part of their Religion, and the *Ephod*, with the precious Stones, among which were the *Urim* and *Thummim*, adorned their High-priest who wore it. But now their *Ephod* is lost, their *Sacrifices* have been abolished more than Sixteen hundred Years ago, they cannot sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, and they do not pretend to do it in any other Place. And tho' they be mingled with other Nations, they join not with them in Idolatry in their Images and Teraphims. This then is their present Case, in which they have remained many Days, or for a very long Time. Nevertheless in the latter Days, that is in the Days of the *Messiah*, they shall seek the LORD to be their God, and *David* their King, the *Messiah* to be their Head and King, by swearing Allegiance to him, and putting their Necks under his easy Yoke. The best *Jewish* Writers, as the *Targums*, *Aben-ezra*, and *Kimchi*, understand this of the *Messiah*; and indeed 'tis a certain and plain Promise of the *Jews* Conversion to him, which we pray may soon be accomplished. The *New Testament* also asserts the Conversion of *Israel*: The holy Apostle *Paul* tells us, *2 Cor. iii. 14. Their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the veil untaken away, in the reading of the old testament:**

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stament: which veil is done away in Christ. And Rom. xi. 15, 25, 26. *If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world; what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For I would not brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.* The learned Dr. Whitby owns (a), and proves that this hath been the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church, owned by all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and by all Commentators he had met with on this Place. Besides some lay great Weight on an Argument drawn from the secret and wonderful Providence of God, in preserving the Jewish Nation entire from Mixture with others, where ever they are dispersed. Other Nations do in Process of Time suffer a Mixture and Coalition into one. In England the British, Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman Blood are so mixed, as one cannot be distinguished from the other. But as to the Body of the Jewish Nation it is otherwise: If we suppose some English Families living in Spain four or five hundred Years, in that Space, or less, they'll degenerate into Spaniards; but tho' Jewish Families live in Spain a thousand Years, they are still Jews, unless the Severity of the Inquisition make them dissemble. 'Tis true a genealogical Account of each Tribe and Lineage among them is now lost, because the Messiah being come, there is not that need to know of what Tribe or Family he descended, that being already known: But there is still a national Distinction between them and other People; whence we have Reason to conclude, that in due Time there will be a national Conversion of them. The Expectation of their future Conversion may be also confirmed from Apocryphal Writers (b); but I chuse rather to found my Hope of this Blessing on the plain Promises of canonical Scripture already advanced, and on others of the same kind, as Zeck. xii. 6. *Jerusalem shall be inhabited again in her own place, even in Jerusalem.* With ver. 10. *I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications, and they shall look on me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him.* CHRIST revealed is the glory of his people Israel, Luke ii. 32. *Though he hath now left his House at Jerusalem desolate, yet they shall see him, and say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,* Matth. xxiii. 38, 39. *He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth,* Isa. xi. 12. *Saviours shall come upon mount Zion, to judge the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the LORD's,* Obad. ver. 21.

'Tis not easy to determine the Time when this glorious Conversion of the Jews shall be accomplished; *Secret things belong unto God.* 'Tis the Prerogative of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah to open the book, and loose the seven seals thereof. When the Salvation of Israel is near, the Mystery thereof shall be more clearly understood; for 'tis a true and ancient Observation, that the Event is the best Interpreter of Prophecies. However we may find on sacred Record some Characters of this Time, as that Antichrist shall be destroyed before Israel shall be saved. The fifth Vial is poured out on the seat of the beast, whereby Popish Rome is shaken in Pieces; and the Jews are not converted till the sixth Vial, Rev. xvi. 10, 12. *The sixth Angel poured out his Vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.* Tyrus, which is a Type of mystical Babylon, must be destroyed before Israel's Redemption (c) be accomplished. The Turk must be ruined before all Israel be saved; for that Eastern Antichrist (as some name him) having the Land of Israel in Possession, we may be sure they shall never peaceably enjoy the Inheritance of their Fathers again, as long as he hath Power to hinder it. By Euphrates in Revel. xvi. 12. seems to be meant the Turkish Empire, for the prevailing of that Power is understood by loosing the Angels on the River Euphrates, to slay the third part of men, Rev. ix. 14, — 16. And in the Old Testament, Euphrates is used to signify the Assyrian Empire, Isa. viii. 7. The Turk being the Assyrian of the World at this Day, who possesseth both Sides of that River, when the Spirit of God prophetically foretells, that Euphrates must be dried up, that the way of the kings of the east may be prepared; we may safely understand that Divine Providence will by some remarkable Means bring about the fatal Ruin of the Turkish Empire, in order to making the Way clear for Israel's Conversion and Salvation. *These days shall be times of trouble,* Dan. xii. 1. *The battle of Armageddon,* Rev. xvi. 16. by which these Enemies of our Lord shall be destroyed, shall be the most terrible Day that ever was. The Time hastens, our Days look like these latter Times, wherein Iniquity doth abound, and the Love of many doth wax cold. But we may pray, *That the salvation of Israel may come out of Zion: when the LORD brings back the captivity of his People, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad,* Psal. xiv. 7.

THIS Conversion of Israel shall be very magnificent and glorious, there shall be a great Multitude of them saved; *The waste cities shall be filled with the flocks of men,* Ezek. xxxvi. 38. *They shall be an exceeding great army,* Ezek. xxxvii. 10. *Behold the glory of the Lord God of Israel came*

(a) See Dr. Whitby on the 11th Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and his Appendix to that Chapter, in a Discourse, on calling of the Jews to the Christian Faith, on the New Testament, Vol. 2. p. 100. with his Treatise of the Millennium near the End of that Volume. (b) See Tob. xiv. 6, — 9. Baruch iv. 1, — 8. v. 22, — 24. v. 36, 37. (c) See Ezek. Chap. xxviii. Increase Mather's Mystery of Israel's Salvation, p. 23. & seqq.

came from the way of the east, and his voice was like the noise of many waters, and the earth shined with his glory, Ezek. xliii. 2. *They shall flee as a cloud, and as doves to their windows;* Isa. lx. 8. We have seen in the foregoing History (a) what Numbers of Jews are spread through the World. When all these Outcasts of Israel shall be assembled, how glorious shall that Day be? Though some particular Jews have been converted, there hath been yet no national Conversion of them. Some special Persons among them have embraced Christianity, some in the Days of our Saviour's Humiliation, others in the Apostolical Times when the Spirit was poured out from on High, and others in the Reign of Constantine the Great, for whom he caused a Church to be built. Hieronymus de Sancta fide, about the Year 1412, turned Christian, and by his Book, entitled *Pugio fidei*, many more of his Brethren are said to have been converted: But Conversions in the Time of prevailing Popery, even though much boasted of, are to be suspected; many of them were forced, and most of them were not sincere; which, so soon as Occasion offered, they shewed by their Apostacy to the old Jewish Infidelity, of which many Instances may be found in the above History. At the Dawning of the Reformation there were some eminent Jews turned Christian, as Paulus Riccius, Elias Levita, Ludovicus Caretus a Physician, Paulus Brugenfis who wrote Notes on Lyra's Bible, and Emanuel Tremellius a Protestant Professor at Heidelberg; a considerable Number of them at Hamburg in the Year 1690, and others of whom we have already taken Notice. But what is all this to a national Conversion, which when once begun, shall continue till it be carried on to Perfection; for it is promised, *They shall dwell in the land that I gave unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince for ever,* Ezek. xxxvii. 25. *For as the new heavens and the new earth shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain,* Isa. lxvi. 22. *Judah shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation,* Joel iii. 20. These Converts will be esteemed and regarded above any other People; for 'tis promised, *Zech. viii. 23. In these days it shall come to pass, that ten men out of all languages of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that GOD is with you.* They shall be eminent Instruments in converting the Nations. There is good Reason for our Esteem of them. Many of the Jews were in CHRIST before us, they were the People of GOD when the Gentiles were Outcasts, and Aliens to the Commonwealth of Israel. The first Christian Church did wholly consist of them, *Matth. x. 5, 6. Rom. i. 16. Act. xiii. 46.* yea, our blessed Lord JESUS the Redeemer and Saviour of the World, was an Israelite of the Tribe of Judah, *Heb. vii. 14.* according to his humane Nature: And when the Salvation of Israel shall be accomplished, our LORD shall possess his Davidical Kingdom. *The LORD shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end,* Luke i. 32. 33. *Isa. ix. 7. The LORD of hosts shall reign in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously,* Isa. xxiv. 23. This Conversion will also be glorious, in regard that great Advantage will then arise to the Gentiles: Though an apostate antichristian Party shall be destroyed, yet the elect Gentiles shall be converted, confirmed and edified; for the Apostle tells us, *Rom. xi. 12, 15. If the diminishing of them be the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?* Upon their Conversion there shall be a Reformation of all Things; *The LORD shall be king over all the earth: in that day there shall be one LORD, and his name one,* Zech. xiv. 9. One shall not say, I am a Calvinist; and another, I am a Lutheran: I am this, and that; such carnal Schisms shall then be at an End, and the desolating Evil of Persecution shall then cease; for *there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are round about them that despised them,* Ezek. xxviii. 24.

THIS Conversion of the Jews shall be wonderful as well as glorious; for the Prophet Joel, ii. 26. says, *Ye shall praise the name of the LORD your God that hath dealt wondrously with you.* And the Apostle, *Rom. ii. 25, 33.* calls it a Mystery, and is ravished with Wonder while he speaks of it, crying out; *O the depth of the riches of the knowledge and wisdom of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out.* 'Tis a Wonder that this Nation hath been preserved amidst so many sore Strokes and stupendous Changes as they have been afflicted with: And it will be more admirable that so inveterate Enemies should turn to the LORD; these who scarce believe it, will be surprised when they see it. They have made many vain Attempts to deliver themselves by their Impostors and false Messiahs, which did always add to their Calamities, as hath been often observed in their History. But when GOD in his Goodness shall send them this complete Deliverance, their Hearts shall be filled with Joy, and their Mouths with Praise. Their Salvation will be temporal, *The LORD will extend peace as a river, and they shall say the land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden, and the waste, desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and inhabited;* Isa. lxvi. 12. Ezek. xxxvi. 35.

Though some of these Predictions may be applied to the Deliverance from the *Babylonish* Captivity, yet they seem to have a further Prospect; and a literal Interpretation is not to be refused, when it agrees with the Analogy of Faith. Finally, this Salvation will also be spiritual; these Converts shall be delivered from their spiritual and judicial Blindness, from their spiritual Adversaries, Sin, Satan, and manifold Miseries: They shall have spiritual Life bestowed on them; the LORD will breathe on these dead bones, and make them live. He'll pour out his spirit upon them, a spirit of grace and supplication, and bring them to an excellent Church-State. He'll clothe his priests with righteousness, and make his saints shout for joy.

'Tis more difficult to determine in what manner the LORD will effectuate this glorious Conversion? We are not to limit the holy One of *Israel*; but may be assured, that since he hath promised it in his Word, which is faithful and true, Omnipotence can easily accomplish it. The natural branches were broken off for their Unbelief, but God is able to graff them in again. The election shall obtain, Rom. xi. 7, 23. 'Tis not possible that one elect Soul should miss Salvation, though all the Devils in Hell, and all the Deceivers on Earth seek its Ruin: It cannot then be that an elect Nation should miss Happiness; as touching the election, they are beloved for the Father's sake. Rom. xi. 28. Tho' in Divine Justice they be rejected, yet in the Riches of Divine Mercy and Grace they will be received into Favour; for the LORD declares, I do not this for your sake, O house of *Israel*, but for mine holy names sake, Ezek. xxxvi. 22. Deut. vii. 7, 8. God's Covenant with them is everlasting, Ezek. xvi. 60. and when their uncircumcised heart is humbled, and they confess their iniquity, he will remember his covenant with Jacob, with Isaac and Abraham, and will remember the land, Levit. xxvi. 40, — 42. The Prophecies concerning their Conversion, which we have mentioned, must be fulfilled; and the earnest Prayers of the People of God in many Ages, founded on the Promises, and agreeable to the Example of Saints commended in Scripture, Psal. xiv. 7. Rom. x. 1. will be answered. The LORD will make his Word useful, and pour out his Spirit in an eminent Measure to accomplish so great and so good a Work. The learned *Joseph Mede* has a pleasant Thought upon this Subject; he conceives (a) the Conversion of St. Paul, a Persecutor of the way of CHRIST, as a Type of the Jews Conversion. Paul's Conversion was by a glorious Apparition of CHRIST shewing himself from Heaven; and 'tis like the Conversion of the Jews will not be by ordinary Means, but by the Revelation of CHRIST in his Glory from Heaven, when they shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the LORD: And the Sign of the Son of Man shall appear in the Clouds of Heaven; and these which have pierced him shall see him, and being moved by the Spirit of Grace, shall be ashamed that they have refused to believe in their merciful Redeemer. These who accompanied Paul at the Time of this Apparition, saw the Light, but Paul only saw the LORD, and heard the Voice. The Revelation of CHRIST from Heaven is like to be most apparent to the Jews; these shall hear his Voice who pierced him. Paul was instructed by way of Inspiration in all Mysteries, so soon as JESUS appeared to him; and the Understanding of the Jews shall be illuminated in the Knowledge of the Christian Faith without Instructors; they shall all be of one Communion and one Faith, and give each other the right Hand of Fellowship. Paul was the last called of all the Apostles, and the Jews shall be among the last of the Nations. Paul when converted was most zealous and fervent in the Conversion of the Gentiles; and when the Jews shall be effectually called, they shall be active to turn the whole World unto CHRIST. The Testimony of a whole Nation being converted in so extraordinary a way, shall be of great Efficacy. And finally, as Paul reprov'd Peter for symbolizing with the Jews, so may the Jews when Converts reprove the Church of Rome for symbolizing with the Heathen. There is Subtilty in these Parallels: But we must leave to infinite Wisdom the manner wherein he will accomplish this great Work.

WHATSOEVER Method the LORD takes to convert the Jewish Nation, 'tis our Duty in our Stations to mind what is proper to advance the same. In the first place the Prejudices the Jews labour under are to be removed: They conceive their own Religion in its present State to be the best, being delivered by Moses on Mount Sinai, and from him handed down by so long a Race of pious and great Ancestors. Philo says (b), All Nations observe the Religion delivered by their Fathers, but especially the Jews. This Prejudice is founded on many Mistakes, for the Ceremonial Law delivered on Mount Sinai, with all its Rites, did typify the Messiah, as hath been already proved (c), and was not for ever obligatory, as shall be afterwards confirmed. These Shadows were to fly away when the Sun of Righteousness did appear. The present Religion of the Jews is for most part contrived since our Saviour's Coming. Now they want Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice, with all the Symbols of the Mosaic Oeconomy. The Heathens did plead, that their Rites and Customs were handed down by a long Line of Predecessors; but this could not defend their Superstition, but was justly rejected, because 'tis no Shame to change for the better. The best of the Jewish Kings, as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, were all Reformers: The Christian Religion is founded on Moses, the Psalms and the

(a) Mede's Remains, p. m. 37. & seqq. (b) Phil. in legatione ad Caium. (c) Above p. 107, 108.

the *Prophets*; and the Rites only changed, which were to continue no longer than till the Time of the Reformation by the *Messiah*. 2dly, The *Jews* labour under this Prejudice, that they may be saved in their own Religion, and so think it not necessary to turn Christian. But *Maimonides* exhibiting the *Jews* Confession of Faith, in which the rest of that Nation join (a), Article XII. asserts *Faith in the Messiah* to be a fundamental Point of their Religion. How then can they who are so perverse Enemies to the true and only *Messiah*, there being no other Name under Heaven whereby we can be saved, obtain Happiness in this State of Alienation from him? 3dly, They have Prejudices at Christianity, because we worship *Jesus Christ*, a Carpenter's Son, put to Death by their Ancestors. *Christ crucified* was a stumbling block to the *Jews* in Apostolick Times, 1 Cor. i. 23. But this was necessary for redeeming the elect World: Our Saviour was true God, that we might not despise his Humanity; the Evils that he bore for us, as the Wrath of God, and the Curse of the Law, could only be endured by a Person of infinite Strength; the good Things he purchased, as Heaven and Happiness, could not be acquired but by an infinite Price; the Enemies he conquered, Sin, Satan, and the World, could only be subdued by the Almighty. And he was true Man, that we might admire his Condescension, that in our Room and in our Nature he might subdue our Enemies, enter Heaven as a Conqueror and our Forerunner, and assign us to his Victory. The *Old Testament*, which the *Jews* acknowledge, fortells his whole Humiliation and Death (b); and the modern *Jews* own, that their *Messiah*, *Ben-Joseph*, must be killed in Battle. The Wickedness of their Ancestors who crucified him, is asserted by their own co-temporary Historian, who says (c), That about that Time *Jerusalem* was so wicked, that if the Romans had delayed to come against it, it would have been swallowed up by an Earthquake, drowned by a Deluge, or consumed by Fire from Heaven like Sodom and Gomorrah. The modern *Jews* ought not then to add to the Iniquity of their Fathers, by continuing to reject the Lord of Glory.

4thly, The *Jews* have strong Prejudices against the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, as if the Christians worshipped three Gods. Hence every Day they repeat their *Sema*, Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. But 'tis most false that we worship three Gods: We believe the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Divine Essence: We worship the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. 5thly, They are offended with different Sects among Christians, not knowing to whom to apply themselves. Thus the *Jew* objects (d), If the Christian Religion be true, how comes it to pass that there is so great Diversity of Sects in the Matters of Religion, who mutually condemn one another? But this is an Evil incident to Mankind in their present State to maintain Differences in Opinions, which happens among People of all sorts of Sciences, Professions, and Religions: Yea, the *Jews* of old, and of late, are divided, as well as the Christians, into several Sects, of Pharisees, Rabbanists, Sadducees, Essenes, Caraites, and Samaritans, of whom we have before heard (e), and seen how they mutually hate one another. 6thly, They are offended with Wars among Christians, even concerning Religion; tho' Christianity beyond any Religion in the World perswades to Peace and Unity: Our God is the God of Peace; our Redeemer the Prince of Peace; the Fruit of the Holy Spirit is Peace; and the Gospel exhorts us to follow peace with all men and holiness. Wars do often flow from Mens Lusts, Pride, Ambition, and not living up to the Rules of the Gospel. Neither ought the *Jews* to object this to us, who in their most flourishing Estate, and so long as they were able, had not only bloody Wars with their Neighbours, but also among themselves: The rest of the Tribes almost destroyed that of Benjamin; Judah and the ten Tribes, when erected in separate Kingdoms, often endeavoured to ruin one another. 7thly, The Prejudices of the *Jews* against the Church of Rome are better founded, while they complain that the Laws of the Pope are esteemed above the Laws of God (f), and object, How can Christians have a due Regard for the Decalogue, when they worship Images (g)? and when they are offended with the Popish Idol of the Mass. Thus speaks R. Lipman (h), commenting on Psal. xxxiv. Taste and see that GOD is good; "The Christians, says he, speak Words that are not lawful to be uttered, while they expound the Word *Taste*, of corporal eating, saying, They eat their God; which is against all Reason." They complain also, that Children are taken from their Parents, and shut up in Prisons against their Will, and are confirmed in their Opinion that the Miracles done by Christ and his Apostles are fictitious, while they daily see false lying Miracles pretended to be done by the Monks (i). We lament with unfeigned Sorrow that any who profess Christianity should so far hinder the Conversion of Unbelievers, by laying stumbling Blocks in their Way, that they cannot get over: But the *Jews* should know that there are no Offences of that kind among Protestants; we abhor the Idolatry and Superstition of the Church of Rome as much as they, and heartily wish and pray, that the *Jews* renouncing their Infidelity, and embracing

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(a) Leo de Modena's Rites of the Jews, Part 5. Chap. 12. p. m. 239. (b) Psal. xxii. Isa. liii. Zech. xiii. 7. (c) Josephus de bello Jud. lib. 6. cap. 26. (d) Apud Limborch, in amica collatione, p. 38. (e) Above Chap. 5. (f) Manasseh Ben-Israel de resurrectione, lib. 3. cap. 5. (g) Judæus in amica collatione, p. 28. (h) In Nizzachon. (i) Vid. Hornbeck de convincendis Judæis in Prolegomenis, p. 18.

6 Of the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

bracing our Redeemer the Lord JESUS, may come into the Bosom of our Church, and have Communion with us.

IN order to the Conversion of the *Jews*, every Mean that's proper should be used, and 1st, We are to pray for their Salvation: We may plead for the Performance of what GOD hath promised and foretold in his Word; and this is often promised, as hath been before shewn (a). Wherefore with holy Boldness we may pray that GOD may *establiſh Jeruſalem, and make her a praiſe in the earth*, Iſa. lxii. 7. When the *Gentiles* were not within the Church, the *Jews* prayed that GOD's way might be known upon the earth, and his ſalvation among all nations, Pſa. lxxvii. 2. and we ought now to repay this Debt, *Our hearts deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they may be ſaved*, Rom. x. 1. We ardently wiſh for the Beginning and Conſummation of their Salvation. 2^{dly}, To this end our Converſation ſhould be circumſpect, *That we may be blameleſs and harmleſs the ſons of GOD, without rebuke, in the miſt of a crooked and perverſe nation; Giving no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*, 1 Cor. x. 32. but *walking in wiſdom toward them that are without*, Col. iv. 5. To reproach or inſult the *Jews* from a proud, diſdainful, petulant Humour, is the way to harden, not to convert them: Nor are they to be forced to receive Baptiſm, or to take on a diſſembled Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, before they be convinced of the Truth; far leſs are they to be murdered, as was done long ago by the *Cruiſaders* (b); nor tormented, as is practiſed by the Court of Inquiſition, nor violently expelled and ſuffered to periſh with Hunger, and other Calamities: Nor ought any other Method of Force and Cruelty, as we have heard in ſeveral Parts of the above Hiſtory done in *Spain*, in *France*, in *Germany*, and other Parts of the Church of *Rome*, be now uſed; nay, the *Jews* ought rather to be inſtructed by preaching and teaching, if they can be perſwaded to attend it; to hearken to Conference about the Truths and Myſteries of our holy Religion, that their Minds may be enlightned, their Hearts ſoftned, and their Affections allured to embrace our bleſſed JESUS the only promiſed *Meſſias*. Every Chriſtian is obliged to uſe them with Humanity, to trade with them when Occaſion offers, with exact Juſtice and Honesty, and to adorn our Religion by a holy exemplary Life and Converſation. Yet on the other hand, Chriſtians, and particularly Magiſtrates, ought to take care that the *Jews*, by an unbounded Licence, do no Prejudice to Chriſtians; and therefore it may be provided, that they be not allowed to exerciſe the Office of a Magiſtrate in any Corporation over Chriſtians; they may be diſcharged from taking Chriſtians to be their Slaves or Servants, to marry Chriſtian Women, 2 Cor. vi. 14. *Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers*. Nor ſhould they be allowed to oppreſs Chriſtians by hurtful Uſury. And finally, they ſhould be reſtrained (c) from doing any thing hurtful to a Chriſtian Society in which they live. There is good Reaſon for this Caution, ſince the *Jews* bear ſuch inveterate Hatred to Chriſtians, yea to our bleſſed Lord and Maſter. It hath been long ago obſerved by *Jerom*, commenting on theſe Words, *To him whom man deſpiſeth, whom the Nation abhorreth* (d), that the *Jews* thrice every Day curſe our Redeemer in their Synagogues; they are often guilty of Perjury, and other Crimes, which they reckon themſelves purged from at their yearly Feaſt of Expiation. Beſides, they have been often accuſed of ſtealing away, murdering and crucifying Chriſtian Children at their Paſſover, of poiſoning Wells, and other groſs Crimes. Though I do not affirm the Truth of all theſe Accuſations laſt mentioned, yet 'tis certain they hate Chriſtianity, and uſe all Means in their Power to injure the Profeſſors thereof; from which Practices they ſhould be reſtrained. 3^{dly}, Chriſtians ought to take care to inſtruct their Students at Schools and Colleges, in the Knowledge of the ſacred Scriptures, in the primitive *Hebrew* Language, and alſo in the Oriental Tongues, in the *Talmud* and *Rabbinical* Writings, and other Parts of *Jewiſh* Learning that may be neceſſary to ſucceſſful dealing in Controverſies with them. 'Tis indeed difficult to manage Diſputes of this kind with the *Jews*, who from their Infancy (as *Iſaac Voſſius* obſerves (e), though perhaps out of his Zeal for the *Septuagint* Verſion he carries this Point too far) are ſo well acquainted with all the Grammatical Niceties of the *Hebrew* Tongue: But this ought to ſtir us up to more Diligence; and above all, 'tis neceſſary that we have ſolid Acquaintance with the Truths of GOD, Love to our bleſſed Redeemer, due Impreſſions of real Piety, and a ſerious Concern for the Salvation of the Souls of the Houſe of *Iſrael*.

SINCE to the Conversion of the *Jews* to Chriſtianity, 'tis neceſſary that their Minds be ſolidly and rationally convinced of the Truth of our holy Religion, that they may be reclaimed from their Infidelity and Errors; I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort View of the principal Controverſies we have with them, and haſten to the Conclusion of this Treatiſe. In the firſt place 'tis needful that they be convinced of the Vanity of their Oral Law, this being the inexhauſtible Fund of their innumerable Traditions, whereby they have made the Law of GOD of none Effect: When they ſhall turn to the LORD, the ſame muſt be abandoned. I have before given the

(a) See above, in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe. (b) See above p. 580. (c) See more on this Subject in Hornbeck de convincendis Judæis, in Prolegomenis, p. 25, — 30. (d) Hieronymus in Eſaie xlix. 7. operum Tom. 5. fol. m. 84. (e) Voſſii obſervationum variar. p. m. 272.

the History thereof (*a*), whereby any thinking Person may see a great deal of its Folly. It now remains to add some Reasons for rejecting it; 1st, There is no Mention of this Oral Law delivered to *Moses*, in Scripture Record, nothing of his learning it, nor of his delivering it to *Aaron*, nor to *Joshua*, nor to the Elders: If Men be left to the airy Fictions of their own Brain, without any Proof, they may soon make up a Body of monstrous Divinity. 2^{dly}, We find the Book of the Law was lost or hid during the Reign of some of the idolatrous Kings of *Judah*, and again found out and discovered in the Time of good King *Josiah*, 2 *Kings* xxii. 13. but not one Word of the Oral Law. Were they more sure of that written only on their frail Memories, than on that committed to the sacred Book of God? Could the latter be lost, and the former preserved? 3^{dly}, Whatever Laws *Moses* received from God, these he delivered in Writing to the People; *Exod.* xxiv. 3, 4. *Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the LORD hath said, will we do. And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD.* This he did not only for the present, but also for the future Generations, *Deut.* xxix. 14, 15. The same Law which he wrote, he delivered to be kept by the Priests and Elders of *Israel*, *Deut.* xxxi. 9. To this Law the People are always remitted for Counsel and Advice, *Isa.* viii. 20. They are commanded to obey it, 2 *Kings* xvii. 13, 37. This was the only Law the Priests taught, 2 *Chron.* xvii. 9. *Nehem.* viii. 1, — 9. xiii. 1. never a Word of the Oral Law in the whole Volume of the Book of God. 4^{thly}, The Law of God is perfect, nothing can be added to it, or taken from it; *Psal.* xix. 7. *The law of the LORD is perfect, converting the soul.* *Deut.* iv. 1, 2. *Hearken O Israel unto the statutes and to the judgments which I teach you. — Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the LORD your God.* These Commands *Moses* wrote in the Book of the Covenant, *Exod.* xxiv. 7. For what Use then are unwritten Traditions? Since the Law written in the Word is perfect, and he who frames his Life conform to it shall receive Life; yea, they are not only of no Use, but they are dangerous and destructive, being derogatory to Divine Wisdom, as if the Word were not a perfect Rule, nor God a sufficient Law-giver; they are contrary to his express Command, and lead Men from his Law into the Paths of humane Inventions, to the Ruin of their Souls. 5^{thly}, When the Priests and Prophets upbraided *Judah* and *Israel* for their Transgressions, they never blame them for Breach of the unwritten Law, but only for acting contrary to the written Word. The Book of *Deuteronomy* itself confounds this gross Opinion of the modern *Jews*, for there we have a Repetition of the Laws of *Moses*, but not a Word of the Oral Law, nor any where else in sacred Scripture. In the *Sabbatic* Year the Law was read to all the People, but we never meet with the least Title of unwritten Traditions. In the Time of the Judges, and of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, when the People fell into Idolatry and general Corruption of Manners, we cannot find who was entrusted with the keeping of this pretended Oral Law. 6^{thly}, The *Mishna* or Oral Traditions were never committed to Writing till some hundred Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and to this Day are not unanimously received among the *Jews*, for the *Caraites* reject them; they came mainly in vogue since the Establishment of *Mahometism*, there the Followers of that Doctrine are called by the Name of *Ismael*, they did not arrive in *Spain* till about the ninth Century (*b*). The *Gemara*, which is a full Exposition of the Text of the *Mishna*, contains a Cheat, pretending to greater Antiquity than it deserves, for it was not done till the Beginning of the sixth Century. 'Tis true the Rabbi's mentioned in it are ancient, because the Compilers had so much Sense as to name Rabbi's who lived many Ages before, and to make them speak what they were pleased to advance. This they did to avoid the Prosecutions they feared from *Christians* and *Mahometans*, who in several Places of the *Gemara* are severely reflected upon; and next they endeavoured by this Management to give their People to understand, that the *Caraites* who rejected these Traditions were Innovators in the *Jewish* Religion; but these ancient Rabbi's knew nothing of what the Moderns put in their Mouth. *Manasseh Ben-Israel* (*c*) objects, that the written Law is not perfect without the Oral Law. But the Law is perfect in all Things necessary to Happiness for *Israel*, to whom it was given: Tho' all History and Philosophy be not in the Law of God, this doth not derogate from its Perfection; and the Oral Law gives no Light to guide to Heaven. Though the *Jews* wrest Texts, as *Exod.* xxiv. 12. xxxiv. 27. to favour their Oral Law, yet there is not the least Warrant for it in these, nor in any Part of the holy Scripture. Though *Elias* sacrificed on Mount *Carmel* without any Warrant from the Law, yet he was guided of God in this Matter (*d*), by particular Revelation and Instinct of the holy Spirit, as were also other Prophets in Actions of the like Nature, without any Necessity of an Oral Law; which only serves to introduce Error, and to render the whole of their Religion vain and contemptible.

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(*a*) See above Chap. 6. p. 524. (*b*) John Xeres's Reasons for leaving the Jewish Religion, and embracing Christianity, printed at Lond. 1710. (*c*) Conciliator in Exodum, Quæst. 50. (*d*) See above p. 184.

As to the *Jewish Cabbala*, I have before given the History thereof (a), whereby we may discover how uncertain and ridiculous it is. To which it may be added, that this is no part of the Law given by God to Moses. Men of a poring Thought and curious Wit may find out a great many Arts and nice Inventions, which do not belong to the Divine Law. The Jews make their *Cabbala* a great Secret, and will not teach it to Strangers under a great Price: No wonder, for it plainly demonstrates that they are given up to strong Delusions, otherwise they would never listen to that which is so fallacious and deceitful; for by the Rules of this Art, Men may think to prove what is false and wicked, as well as that which is just and righteous: Yea by it learned Men, as *Joannes Picus* Count of *Mirandula*, the Author of *Cabbala denudata*, *Reuchlin*, and others, have proved the Mysteries of Christianity out of the Writings of the modern Jews. By the Transposition of Letters, by the various Combination of initial, final and middle Consonants and Vowels, you may make what you will. Out of some *Cabbalistical* Authors, *R. Monis* proves the Doctrine of the Trinity.

THE same Arguments do overthrow their *Talmud*, as have been just now used against their Oral Law, which is in that Collection committed to Writing; and many more may be taken from the false wicked Things, from the fabulous and foolish Stories in the *Talmud* itself. Some of these have been before touched (b), and I shall here add one or two more. The *Talmud* commenting on *Isa. xxv. 6, 7.* tells (c), That God will make a great Feast, he and his Angels will sit at Table with the Elect, and every Jew will sit on a golden Table. *R. Chanina* was a very poor Man, therefore his Wife exhorted him to pray to God for Riches; which he did, and there was reached to him from Heaven a golden Foot of a Table. But at Night he dreamed that he saw all Jews eat from off a Table with three Feet: At which he prayed again to God to take the golden Foot he gave him, and place it to his Table; which God did, for he loved him, and maintained (as the *Talmud* says) the whole Earth for his sake. The Provisions that shall be brought on this glorious Table are, first the *Leviathan*, a Fish created on the first Thursday of the Creation, so large as nothing could suffice his devouring Appetite, but he must swallow every Day a Fish of three Miles long. This Fish is so frightful, that when he should put his Head into Paradise, no body could abide there; *Job xli. 21.* The second Course will be the Bird *Jochna*; he once flying let fall an Egg that broke down three hundred Oak-trees, and drowned sixty Cities; and *Rabbi Ishmael* says, one of these Trees was so thick, that six Carts in Front could ride upon it. This might be the same Bird of which *Ababara* *Chana* relates, that he saw it standing in the Sea, that the Waters could not reach to its Anles, but its Head reached to the Clouds; and these Waters were so deep, as an Ax cast into them did not sink to the Bottom in seven Years. He further tells of a great Fish that swallowed a Frog as large as sixty Villages; but there came a Female Raven, the Male being bigger, and swallowed the great Fish, and then rested on the Bough of a Tree, which must have been very strong. The third Course will be *Behemoth*, created on the Friday of the Creation, and not destroyed in the Deluge of Noah; he eats every Day off a thousand Hills; he drinks off Jordan at a mouthful; and this not being sufficient to him, he drinks of the Stream of the River *Jubal*, which takes its Course from the Garden of Eden. The fourth Course will be another *Leviathan*, created with the first, but killed since the Creation, and salted for fear of an Inundation. The fifth Course will be two roasted Geese, so fat that it runs from them like Streams of Water: But the Jews for their Sins, which kept the *Messias* so long absent, will suffer for the Torments these Geese endure by their excessive Fatness. The sixth Course will be salted Cows Flesh, which Cow was created on the Friday of the Creation: But God fearing that *Behemoth* should beget such great Calves as himself, killed the Cow, and salted it for a Feast to the Elect of God. The Liquors to be drunk at this Banquet will be Wine. The *Talmud* says (d), God pressed it on the sixth Day of the Creation, which all this while continues in the Press; *Jehovah* will fill a Cup of it which holds 221 Quarts. After Thanksgiving they will eat the Fruit of Paradise, and at last the Fruit of the Tree of Life, then they will dance very merrily, God will join with them, and they will point with the Finger, and say as *Isa. xxv. 9.* A like Story is told of a certain Rabbi making a Voyage beyond Sea, where he saw Angels cutting (e) and sawing Diamonds and Sapphires to build the Temple and the City Jerusalem; at which the Rabbi being rejoiced, one of his Disciples answered him, Since a Diamond as large as a Nut is worth immense Riches, how could it be possible to find such large ones in the Sea? At these Words the Rabbi cast his Eyes upon him and cursed him, that he immediately became a Heap of Bones. These and the like fabulous Things are to be found in the *Talmud*, which shews how miserably they are deluded who take it for a divine Law, and how justly it is to be rejected. They who desire larger Treatises on this Subject, may consult the *Talmud* itself, or *Surenburius's* Translation, or the Authors quoted at the Foot (f) of the Page.

BUT

(a) See above p. 530, — 533. (b) Ibid. p. 525, 526. (c) Vide *Talmud*, tit. *Baba-bathra*, p. 73, & seqq. (d) *Bera-choth*, p. 34. (e) *Sanhedrim*, p. 170. (f) *Moses Marcus's* Motives to leave the Jewish Religion, p. 15; — 19, 59, 60. *Hieronimus de Sancta fide*. *Victor à Corbe de Judæorum errore*. *Galatinus de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis*. *Sixtus Senensis in Bib. lib. 2.* *Hornbeck contra Judæos*, lib. 1. cap. 3. *Pfäferi Theologia Judaica*. *Ricci Farrago ex Talmudico codice*, &c.

BUT the great Article of our Faith that we have to demonstrate against the *Jews* is, that the *Messias* promised in the *Old Testament* is already come, and that our Lord *JESUS* born at *Bethlehem* is He. If this were once credited by this Nation, they would soon embrace all the other Points of the Christian Doctrine, and be zealous to promote the same. To demonstrate then that the *Messias* promised in the *Old Testament*, and expected by his People, is really come into the World; consider First that illustrious Prophecy, *Gen. xlix. 10. The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* In that Chapter *Jacob* blessing his Sons, and appointing them Rulers after him in *Israel*, [*Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel*, *Gen. xlix. 16.*] foretells, that though *Judah* had no Royal Superiority over the rest till the Time of the Institution of Kings in the House of *David*, yet the special Prerogative of that Tribe shall be, that his Sceptre or Power of Government shall not be entirely taken away till the *Shiloh*, or promised *Messiah*, should come. Accordingly we find that the Sceptre of the ten Tribes was taken away when these Tribes were carried into Captivity by *Salmaneser* about seven hundred Years before the Birth of *CHRIST*; and to this Day they never again recovered their Power: But the Tribe of *Judah* did reign with some Splendor till the *Babylonish* Captivity; even then they were not carried off as Slaves, but transported as a Colony to people the great City *Babylon*: There they lived as a distinct People, governed their own Affairs, and appointed Feasts and Fasts, with several other Matters. After the Return from the Captivity, we have heard of their Government in the foregoing History under their High-priests, the *Asmonæan* Princes, and under *Herod the Great*: And though when *Judea* became a Province of the *Roman Empire*, the Power of the *Jews* in criminal and civil Matters was mightily abridged and taken away; yet the *Sanhedrim* retained some shadow of Power till the Death of *CHRIST*. But from that Time all Things began to work to their Destruction, till within a few Years after his Crucifixion, the *Jewish* Policy, Temple and Government were utterly ruined; and from that Day to this they have neither had Prince nor Government among them. Therefore the *Shiloh* our Saviour must be come, since the Sceptre and Government is so long ago departed from *Judah*. The Word *Shiloh* doth signify the *Messiah*, whether it be derived from *Shalah* to denote him a prosperous Saviour, or from *Schil* a Son wrapt in a Secundine, to signify our Lord as Man born of a Woman. Nor are the modern *Jews* to be heard, when they pretend that *Schebet*, the *Sceptre*, means only a *Rod of Correction*, and *Mehokek* a *Law-giver* any Scribe or Teacher (a); for this is contrary to the whole Context and Scope of the Place, to the Meaning and constant Use of the Words themselves as thus joined; to the *Chaldee* Paraphrase of *Onkelos*; and other ancient *Targums*; who expound it of the *Messias*, to the best *Jewish* Writers, and to the Truth of the History; *Judah* having been long in a prosperous State after this Prophecy of *Jacob*, without any such signal Calamity as that pretended to be here intimated, their Scribes formerly not being of the Tribe of *Judah*, and their latter Rabbins of an uncertain Extraction. Upon the whole, we have good Reason to infer, that *Shiloh* the promised *Messiah* is come, since for near Seventeen hundred Years bygone, *Judah* had no Power of bearing a Sceptre, nor of giving Laws.

Secondly, That the *Messiah* is come, is further proved against the *Jews* from the Prophet *Haggai*, where his Coming is foretold to be during the standing of the second Temple, which hath been destroyed more than Sixteen hundred Years ago: The Words are, *Hag. ii. 6, — 9. Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land. And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory; saith the LORD of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace.* To understand the Design of these Words, 'tis to be noticed, that the Temple built by *Solomon* being destroyed by the *Chaldeans*, and the People at the Time of this Prediction being newly returned from the *Babylonian* Captivity, were upon building another Temple to the *LORD*, to the doing whereof they were excited by this Prophet, *Chap. i. ver. 7, 8.* and his Endeavours were successful; *ver. 14.* But the discouraging Consideration was, that the second Temple then a building was short of that which *Solomon* built. To remove this Objection, the Prophet says, *Fear ye not, the desire of all nations shall come, and fill this house with glory.* That by the *Desire of all Nations* is meant the *Messiah*, is owned by all Christians, and the *Jews* cannot reasonably deny it; for though our Saviour was born of the Nation of the *Jews*, yet it was not for their Benefit only; he was at first promised as a Blessing to the humane Race, *Gen. iii. 15.* before there was any Nation of *Jews*, and afterwards to *Abraham*, as one in whom all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, *Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18.* and to *Jacob* as *Shiloh*, to whom all Nations of the Earth should be gathered, *Gen. xlix. 10.* By the *Desire of all Nations* is meant the Person most desirable, who shall be the greatest Blessing to all People. It could not be for any external Glory, that this second Temple was more glorious than the former, for there were many excellent Things in *Solomon's*

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Solomon's

(a) Manasseh Ben-Israel conciliator in Genes. Quæst. 65. p. m. 87, — 92.

Solomon's Temple that were wanting in the second, as the *Ark*, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *Fire* from Heaven consuming the Sacrifice, the *Shechinah*, the *Spirit of Prophecy*, and the *holy anointing Oil*, of which we have more fully discoursed in another Part of this History (a). But the Glory of our Saviour's Presence did more than compensate these Defects, and made the Glory of the second House greater than that of the former. *Malach. iii. 1. The LORD whom ye seek shall suddenly come into his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in.* Now 'tis certain from the *New Testament* that our blessed Redeemer was frequently in the Temple; he was presented there by his Mother, *Luke ii. 22, — 39.* when he was very young; when he was Twelve Years of Age he sat among the Doctors, hearing them and asking them Questions, and said to his Mother, *Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?* *Luke ii. 41, — 49.* ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις πατρὸς μου, in my Father's house, as in the *Syriac*, and as the Words may import, and he frequently taught there with Authority, Power and Glory. As the *Messiah* came before the entire Dissolution of the civil Policy of the *Jews*, according to the Prediction of *Jacob*, *Gen. xlix. 10.* so he also came before the Destruction of the second Temple and Dissolution of their Ecclesiastical Policy; and that Temple being more than Sixteen hundred Years ago destroyed, the *Messiah* must be come. The *Jews* have very little to except against this Argument; some of them say, "That the Glory of the second House was greater than the Glory of the first, because *Solomon's* Temple continued only 410 Years, but the second Temple stood 420, before it was destroyed by the *Romans*." But this could not be any Comfort to these Builders, who cannot be presumed at such a Distance, to know how long this House would continue. Is the Continuance of ten Years longer such a mighty Matter as to make any Compensation to the Defects before mentioned? At this rate *Moses's* Tabernacle might be more glorious than *Solomon's* Temple. Other *Jews* pretend the Glory of the latter House to have been greater, upon account of the Cost that *Herod* the Great bestowed upon it, or that he made it a new House. But if we notice only the Provisions left by *David* of an hundred thousand Talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand Talents of Silver (b), *1 Chron. xxii. 14.* besides the Riches expended upon the first Temple by *Solomon*, this very far exceeds all the Riches that *Herod* could ever pretend to; he had never an hundred fourscore three thousand six hundred Workmen, besides hired *Tyrians*, to employ in any Affair. Nor can the Loss of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *Fire* from Heaven, the *Ark*, the *holy anointing Oil*, the *Shechinah*, and the *Spirit of Prophecy*, be balanced by any Ornaments added by *Herod*. And notwithstanding the Reparations he made of the Temple in the eighteenth Year of his Reign (c), or thereby, it still continued the same House; the first Structure was not destroyed, nor the Materials thereof at once taken down, it continued the same, though enlarged and beautified. Nor can what is here said by the Prophet be applied to a third Temple to be built in the Days of the *Messiah*, foretold by *Ezekiel*; for this is contrary to the repeated Affirmations in *Haggai* and *Malachi*, where the *Hebrew* Words in the former of these Prophets, are joined with a demonstrative Article three Times repeated, to signify that it was the same House then a building, which the *Messiah*, the Desire of all Nations, was by his Presence to make more glorious than the first; and the Scope is plainly to encourage the *Jews* unto the building of that House. The Time assigned to fill this House with this Glory, yet it is a little while, can never belong to the Temple prophesied of by *Ezekiel*, which we know not when it will take place; besides, *Ezekiel* seems to delineate not a material but a spiritual Temple.

Thirdly, That the promised *Messiah* is come, is further evident from the illustrious Prophecy of *Daniel*, *ix. 24, — 27.* Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the *Messiah* the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks, the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall *Messiah* be cut off, but not for himself, and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary, — And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, — From which our Argument is plain, since after seventy Weeks of Years, that is four hundred and ninety Years from the Commencement of the Promise, the *Messiah* was to be manifested and cut off, to purchase our Redemption: He must surely be come, for that Time is more than four times past since the Date of this Promise. But this Prediction hath been considered and cleared up in another Part of the foregoing History (d), where we may see that by an exact Calculation of the Time 'tis fulfilled in the *Messiah's* Death.

Fourthly, All the Signs and Prognosticks of the *Messiah's* Coming, given by the Spirit of God, are fulfilled; therefore he is come, for not one Word of the sacred Scripture shall want its Accomplishment. Thus at the Appearance of the *Messiah*, 'tis prophesied, *Isa. ii. 18, — 20.* The

(a) See above Hist. p. 230, — 233. (b) Ibid. p. 162. (c) Ibid. p. 473. (d) Ibid. p. 245, — 247.

The idols he shall utterly abolish, and they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the LORD, and for the glory of his majesty. Zech. xiii. 2. I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land; they shall be no more remembered. Now it appears that at our Redeemer's Incarnation, the Devil was afraid, the Heathen Oracles were put to Silence. Juvenal owns that the Delphick Oracles ceased, and left Men under Darkneſs as to Things to come (a). Lucian owns that while he ſtaid at Delphi, the Oracle gave no Answers, the Tripos ſpake not, nor was the Priest inspired (b). Lucan (c) and many others acknowledge it, but I have in another *Essay* (d) more fully cleared up the *History of the Overthrow of Paganism* by the Propagation of Christianity, and therefore ſhall not now further inſiſt on it. 2dly, The Rejection of the People of the Jews, with the Deſolation of their Church and State, are plainly foretold, Dan. ix. 26, 27. Iſa. vi. 9, 10. and are fully accomplished. Our Saviour being to be born of Jews, according to the Fleſh, their State did remain till his Appearance, their Genealogies and ſome Diſtinction of the Tribes were preſerved, that it might appear he came of the Stock of Jeſſe, and Seed of David; their Temple remained till he came as the Great Prophet, teaching there with great Glory: But they having deſpised our LORD, their State and Government came to an End, their People are baniſhed out of their native Land, diſperſed, and wandring over the World, their City is razed to the Ground, their Temple and Sacrifices deſtroyed, their Genealogies utterly loſt; and in a word, all the Threatnings of the Law are come upon them: They periſh among the heathen, the land of their enemies doth eat them up, Levit. xxvi. 38. They are ſcattered among the people from the one end of the earth to the other: and among theſe nations they find no eaſe, neither hath the ſole of their feet any reſt, Deut. xxviii. 64, 65. 3dly, The Jews having rejected our LORD, the Gentile Nations are converted, and have made their Submiſſion to him, Gen. xlix. 10. He is given as a light to the Gentiles, to be the ſalvation to the ends of the earth, Iſa. xlix. 6. The Church of the Gentiles that had been long barren, hath now more Children than the Church of the Jews, Iſa. liv. The heathen are given to him for his inheritance, and the utmoſt ends of the earth for his poſſeſſion, Pſal. ii. 8. Now ſince theſe and many other Signs of his Coming are accomplished, the Jews muſt either own it, or accuſe even the holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, which they juſtly take for an infallible Rule, to be falſe and deceitful. Some of them pretend (e), that the Performance of the Promise of the Meſſiah's Coming is delayed, becauſe of the Sins of the Jews, or to wait for their Repentance. But I anſwer, 'Tis unaccountable for them to annex a Condition, where GOD hath not made Mention of any: He exactly to a Day kept the Time he had ſet for the Jews Deliverance from the Egyptian Oppreſſion, Exod. xii. 40, 41. and of the Reſtoration from the Babylonish Captivity at the End of the ſeventy Years, foretold by Jeremiah, xxv. 11, 12. Can it be imagined that He'll delay ſo publick a Bleſſing, ſo neceſſary for the Benefit of the whole World, as the ſending of our Saviour, upon account of the Sins, or to wait for the Repentance of ſuch an obſtinate People as the Jews? He hath foretold their Impenitency, Iſa. vi. 9, 10. and will ſhew Compaſſion on them, when they look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn, but will never delay to perform his peremptory Promise, when he hath ſet and limited the Time, as in Gen. xlix. 10. Hag. ii. 6, — 10. Malach. iii. 1. Dan. ix. 24, — 27. before explained; nor can other Signs of his Coming which are fulfilled be in vain.

To theſe Arguments I may add, That the Jews themſelves have a Tradition of one Elias, a famous Man among them, recorded in their Talmud (f), That the World ſhall continue Six thouſand Years, Two thouſand of which ſhall be void and empty, Two thouſand Years the Law, and the other Two thouſand the Days of the Meſſias. Now the firſt Four thouſand Years are expired about Seventeen hundred Years ago; therefore the Meſſiah is come. They are ſtrangely diſculted to rid their Feet here, and therefore in the Talmud (g), in the Name of Rabbi Joſhuanan, they pronounce a ſolemn Curſe, ſaying, Let his Bones rot who computes the Times of the End. Yet this doth not hinder ſome of their modern Writers to utter their Conjectures, for the Author of *Schialſcheleth Hakkabala* aſſigns the Year of the Meſſiah's Coming to be in the Jewiſh Year from the Creation 5335, which falls in with the Year of our Lord 1575; and the Author of the *Zohar* fixes it in the Year 5408, which falls in with our 1648; for the Jewiſh Year from the Creation falls 190 Years ſhort of ours (h). But all theſe Gueſſes have proved vain, and all their falſe Meſſiahs have proved Deceivers, to help on the Ruin of that poor Nation, as we have ſeen in the Courſe of the foregoing Hiſtory; nor will their Caſe ever amend till they turn to our Lord JESUS, in whom only all Nations ſhall be bleſſed.

HAVING demonſtrated that the Jewiſh Oral Law is vain and deceitful, and that the Meſſiah is come, I now go to a Third important Point, to prove, That our Lord JESUS, born as Man of the Virgin Mary, is the true and promiſed Meſſiah, the Saviour of the World; becauſe all the Signs foretold in the Old Teſtament agree to our JESUS, and can agree to no other,

(a) Juvenal. Satyr. 6. v. 544. (b) Lucian. Phalaris 2. operum Tom. 1. p. 745. (c) Lucani Pharfal. lib. 5. v. 111. & ſeqq. (d) History of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 472, — 476. (e) Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael conciliator in Geneſin. Quæſt. 43. p. m. 61. (f) Talmud tract. Sanhedrim diſtinct. Cheber. (g) Tract. Sanhedrim. (h) Helvici Chronolog.

whether they be such Characters as concern his Coming and Birth, his Person, his State and Condition, or his Doctrine and Miracles.

First, The *prophecies*, the *Characteristics* and *Signs* that regard his Coming and Entry into the World, do exactly agree to our JESUS: 1st, Such as regard the Time of his Coming, that he should appear before the Power of Government and giving Laws was entirely taken away from Judah, Gen. xlix. 10. while the second Temple was standing, to fill that House with Glory, Malack. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 6, — 10. and that he should be cut off when the seventy Weeks from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, foretold by Daniel, ix. 24, — 27. should be accomplished, all which are before proved to be fulfilled in our JESUS.

Secondly, What was prophesied of the *Messiah's* Forerunner, that the messenger should go before him to prepare his way, Mal. iii. 1. That he would send Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, Mal. iv. 5, 6. Isa. xl. 3, — 5. All which agree to John the Baptist our Lord's Harbinger and Forerunner, as hath been before proved (a), for he prepared the way of the LORD, by preaching Repentance, by warning that wicked Generation to fly from Wrath, Luke i. 17. Matth. iii. 1, — 11. by baptizing CHRIST, and giving him an eminent Testimony, Matth. iii. 11, — 17. John i. 19, — 37. and sealing his Testimony with his Blood; for all which our Lord highly commends him, Matth. xi. 9, — 15.

Thirdly, 'Tis foretold that the *Messiah* shall be born at Bethlehem, Micah v. 2. But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel: whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting. The Chaldee Paraphrase, R. Solomon, Jarchi and Kimchi, own this Text to speak of the *Messiah*, and the Jews expected him from Bethlehem, Matth. ii. 5, 6. John vii. 42. Accordingly our Saviour was born in Bethlehem of Judea, Matth. ii. 1. his Parents having gone thither in the Time of the taxing, there the blessed Virgin brought forth her Son, Luke ii. 3, — 8. 'Tis of no moment to alledge, that what the Prophet Micah calls Bethlehem-Ephratah, is by St. Matthew named Bethlehem of Judea; for Ephratah and Bethlehem are but two Names of the same Place, Gen. xxxv. 19. Ruth iv. 11. And though Ephratah was an ancient Name of Bethlehem before the Captivity, yet in the Days of Herod it was commonly called Bethlehem in the Land of Judah, to distinguish it from another Bethlehem in the Tribe of Zebulon, mentioned Josh. xix. 15. and this Place is named Bethlehem-Judah, Judg. xvii. 7. xix. 1. Nor need we insist on this, that Bethlehem which is called Little by Micah, is in Matth. ii. 6. named not the least, for the Expressions are much the same. Besides, as Dr. Pocock observes on Micah v. 2. the Hebrew Word rendred Little signifies both Little and Great, as a learned Jew, who probably had never read the Gospel, noticeth; and thus Bethlehem, though it be little in Number among the Thousands of Judah, yet it was of great Fame, being the Birth-place of our Saviour: And this Prophecy is literally fulfilled in him.

Fourthly, It was foretold of the *Messiah*; that he should be of the Tribe of Judah, Gen. xlix. 10. of the Root of Jesse, Isa. xi. 1. of the House of David, Jer. xxiii. 5. xxx. 9. Psal. lxxxix. 3. which were all accomplished in our Lord, Luke i. 27, — 69. John vii. 42. His Genealogy recorded in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is a further Confirmation thereof; and we have before removed the Difficulties raised (b) upon that Head.

The very Manner of our Redeemer's Birth is particularly prophesied of, Isa. vii. 14. Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son; and shall call his name Immanuel, literally applied to and accomplished in our Saviour, Matth. i. 23. At that Time Rezin King of Syria, and Pekah King of the ten Tribes at Samaria, were marching to make War against Judah and Jerusalem (c), whereon Abaz King of Judah, and all his People, fell under great Consternation; their Hearts were moved as the Trees of the Wood are moved with the Wind: But God designing not to cut off the whole Family of David, sent his Servant Isaiah the Prophet to encourage Abaz, by assuring him that these Confederates should not prevail against Jerusalem; and to that end gave him a Sign, that a Virgin should conceive and bear a Son, to be called Immanuel; to intimate that the People might take Courage, for the LORD would not utterly destroy the House of David till the *Messiah* should be born of a Virgin of that Race: So that this Prophecy hath no Respect to the Prophet's first Son Shear-jashub, who was born before the Promise, Isa. vii. 3. nor to Mahar-sheal-baz, Isa. viii. in whose Birth there was nothing extraordinary. This overturns the Reasoning of a late Book, entitled, *The Grounds of the Christian Religion* (d), where that Author rather disputes against the Grounds of our Religion than confirms the same. But what Objections he moves have been answered by many learned Divines before ever he put Pen to Paper, as well as by others who have since solidly confuted him. Nor are the Objections of the Jews against the Application of this Testimony to our Saviour, more solid; they pretend that the Word *Alma*, translated a Virgin, may signify any young Woman

(a) Above p. 485 (b) Ibid. p. 489, — 491. (c) Ibid. p. 199. (d) Grounds, p. 40, — 45.

Woman: But this Word in the sacred Text is almost always used of a Virgin who hath not known Man by lying with him, as may appear by considering *Gen. xxiv. 43. Song i. 3. vi. 8. Psal. lxxviii. 25. Exod. ii. 8. Prov. xxx. 19. (a)* and the Root from which *Alma* is derived, signifies to *hide*, or to *cover*, and so properly points out a Virgin who hath never been uncovered. Besides, the Prophet would not offer that as a Miracle to *Abaz* which Nature produceth every Day, for a young Woman to bear a Child; nay, 'tis a Sign extraordinary, to distinguish the Birth of our Redeemer from all others, *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son*: And thus it became him to come into the World, *who was holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners*.

THE Scriptures of the *Old Testament* did also prophesy of the *Messiah's* Person, his Offices, his Humiliation, and Exaltation to Glory; which do all agree to our blessed Saviour: *His name shall be the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace, Isa. ix. 6. The Man whose name is the BRANCH, who shall build the Temple of the LORD, and bear the Glory, Zech. vi. 12, 13. JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, Jer. xxiii. 6.* Suitably to these Designations in the *Old Testament*, 'tis said of our Lord JESUS in the *New*, *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, John i. 14. Of the Israelites— concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 4, 5.* The glorious GOD who punished the Angels, by throwing them for ever out of Heaven for affecting Equality with him, what would he have done to this Man, had he been an Usurper of such a Name and Prerogative? Yet our blessed JESUS was not only not condemned of GOD, but was rewarded with divine Manifestations, in his Baptism, in his Transfiguration, and in his Resurrection from the dead, yea crowned with Glory and Honour in his Exaltation: He filled the World with his Doctrine, allured the Nations to submit to himself, and brings many Sons unto Glory.

THE *Messiah* is also qualified with a threefold Office, *The Spirit of the LORD God is upon him, the LORD anointed him to preach good tidings to the meek, to proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD, Isa. lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 18, 19.* Of him *Moses* said, *The LORD thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me, unto him ye shall hearken, Deut. xviii. 15.* which is literally applied to our Redeemer the blessed JESUS, *Act. iii. 22.* And the *Jews* ought to take heed to the Threatning annexed to this Prediction, *It shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him, Deut. xviii. 19. or he shall be destroyed from among the people, Act. iii. 23.* They were punished for Idolatry in the *Babylonish Captivity*; but since they are not charged with that Crime: But by the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and ever since, they are punished for the Contempt of our Lord JESUS and his Salvation; nor can they justly assign another Cause for such heavy and continued Calamities. That it may be more conspicuous and clear that our Lord JESUS is the Prophet like unto *Moses*, let us consider that that whereby *Moses* is distinguished from all Prophets, is his giving a new Revelation of the Law of GOD, appointing new Ordinances of religious Worship, and acting the Part of a Mediator between GOD and the People; in all which our Lord did resemble him, for he did of new publish and explain the Law, gave new Ordinances of religious Worship, and in a singular manner acted the Part of a Mediator: Besides, our blessed Saviour was like to *Moses* in many other Particulars: If *Moses* was designed to be put to Death so soon as he was born, by the Orders of *Pharaoh*, so was our Saviour by the Command of *Herod*: If he was forced to fly his Country to save his Life, so was JESUS: If *Moses* fasted forty Days and Nights, so did JESUS: If *Moses* appeared when the *Israelites* were under Bondage in *Egypt*, so did JESUS when they were under the *Roman Power*: If *Moses* gave the Law from a Mountain, CHRIST preached a noble Sermon on the Mount: If *Moses* had his Seventy Elders, JESUS had his Seventy Disciples: If *Moses* was rejected and murmured at by his own People, CHRIST came to his own, and his own received him not: If *Moses* refused the Pleasures of *Pharaoh's Court*, our LORD despised the Offers of a Royal Dignity, and all the Glory of this World: If *Moses Face* did shine, *Exod. xxxiv. 35.* so did the Face of JESUS, *Matth. xvii. 2.* If *Moses* delivered *Israel* out of *Egypt*, CHRIST saved his People from their Sins. Our LORD prophesied of Things to come more distinctly than *Moses*; for our Redeemer foretold that *Peter* would deny him, *Matth. xxvi. 75.* that *Judas* would betray him, *John vi. 70, 71.* He spoke of his own Death and Resurrection long before it came to pass, *Matth. xvi. 21.* and of the Destruction of the Temple and of the *Jewish Nation*, with several Calamities that should go before it, *Matth. xxiv. Luke xix. 41, - 44. xx. 5, - 33.* and of the false Christs and Deceivers that should arise, of which there have been many from time to time, as we have seen in this History. He tells the *Jews*, that though they did not receive him who came in his Father's Name, yet if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive, *John v. 43.* which they have often found to their sad Experience, when cheated by Impostors to their Ruin: In all which our LORD acted as a true Prophet. Finally, *Moses* was faithful

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(a) See Dr. Owen's Exercitations on the Hebrews, Vol. i. p. 220. Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, Part 3. Chap. 5.

faithful as a Servant, but CHRIST as Lord and Master of his own House; *Moses* spake as commanded of GOD, but CHRIST spake in his own Name.

OUR Lord was also prophesied of as a true Priest; *Psal. cx. 4. Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek*; which is fully applied to CHRIST, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chapters 5, 6, 7. He poured out his soul unto death, he was numbred with the transgressors, and he bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors, *Isa. liii. 12.* He was also prophesied of in his Kingly Office, *Psal. ii. 6. xlv. 6, 7. lxxii. lxxxix. Zech. ix. 9. Rejoyce greatly, O daughter of Zion, behold thy King cometh unto thee, he is just, and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass*; literally applied to and fulfilled in our Saviour, *Matth. xxi. 5.* His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, *Dan. vii. 14.* Thus saith the LORD, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel: neither shall the Priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to kindle meat offerings, and to do sacrifice continually — Thus saith the LORD, if you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, that there should not be day and night in their season; then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne — As the host of heaven cannot be numbred, neither the sand of the sea measured; so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, *Jer. xxxiii. 17, — 22.* which is all fulfilled in our Lord JESUS, who is of the Seed of David, and reigns in Heaven to the End of the World, and shall have an innumerable Company of Christians born to him in all Ages, by the Efficacy of the Gospel. But you, Jews, have no King of the Seed of David, nor a Village where he can reign that you can call your own, neither have you a High-priest to officiate: All your Genealogies are lost, by your being slain, banished, and separated from one another; for you were doomed by divine Vengeance to be a scattered People, *Ezek. xi. 15.* but our blessed Saviour sits on the Throne of David for ever. 'Tis true there are some Benefits of our Lord's Kingdom, as these mentioned in *Isa. xi. 6, 7, 8. lxxv. 25.* to be explained of the spiritual Mercies that are performed in the Days of the Gospel, by the Reformation of Manners, when Men shall lay aside the Ruggedness of their Dispositions, and sweetly associate together under the Yoke of CHRIST; and it was fit that some of these Benefits should be exprelled in dark figurative Terms under the Old Testament, that the Messiah himself when he appeared might set them in a clearer Light in the Gospel. The Prophecy concerning Gog and Magog prefigures the Destruction of CHRIST's Enemies; but none of these, nor any thing else, doth weaken our Argument, but every thing we have advanced doth prove that the Offices of our Lord were foretold in the Old Testament, and that he executes them in the Gospel-Church: And therefore he is the true Messiah.

OUR Lord's Humiliation, and also his Exaltation to Glory and Honour, are also foretold in the Old Testament, and accomplished in the New. The Murder of the innocent Babes at Bethlehem was foretold, *Jer. xxxi. 15.* and fulfilled in a most cruel Manner by the Orders of Herod the Great, *Matth. ii. 16, — 18.* Our Lord was brought out of Egypt, *Matth. ii. 15.* agreeable to *Hosea, xi. 1. I called my Son out of Egypt.* These Words though intended to point out the signal Mercy of the Deliverance from Egypt, yet being grown into a Proverbial Speech, the Evangelist had as good Right to shew how exactly they fitted CHRIST's Case, as any other Jew had to alledge them for any parallel Event. The People of Galilee were to see the glorious Gospel-light, *Isa. ix. 1, 2.* and our Lord conversed much in that Country, *Matth. iv. 14, 15.* there he preached, and wrought many Miracles among them. He was peaceable and lowly, *Isa. ix. 6. xi. 5. Zech. ix. 9. He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs, Isa. liii. 3.* Our Lord's last Sufferings were very particularly foretold; it was intimated in the first Promise, that the Seed of the Serpent would bruise the Heel of the Seed of the Woman, *Gen. iii. 15.* it was prophesied that he should be betrayed by one of his Disciples, *Yea mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me, Psal. xli. 9.* His Exercise and sore Troubles in the Garden are pointed out, *Psal. xxii. 14. I am poured out like water, my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels.* The Price for which he was sold is described, *Zech. xi. 12, 13. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the LORD said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, a goodly price, that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD.* The scattering of his Disciples when he was betrayed and taken, is predicted, *Zech. xiii. 7. Awake; O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts: smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered; and was fulfilled in CHRIST, Matth. xxvi. 56. Mark xiv. 27.* It was also foretold how he should be scourged, buffeted, and spit upon, *Isa. l. 6. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting. Isa. lii. 14. His visage was more marred than any man, and his form more than the sons of men.* The Manner of his Death was particularly prophesied of, *Psal. xxii. 18. They part my garments among them, and they cast lots upon my vesture. They shall look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn for him, Zech. xii. 10. They pierced my hands and my feet, Psal. xxii. 16.* The brazen Serpent set up on the Pole in

in the Wilderness, that they who were wounded with the fiery Serpents, might look at it and be healed, was an eminent Type of his Death, and of the blessed Fruits thereof, *John* iii. 14, 15. It was prophesied they should give him Gall for Meat, and in his Thirst Vinegar to drink, *Psal.* lxxix. 21. which was accomplished in *JESUS*, *Matth.* xxvii. 48. He was to be crucified between Malefactors, for *he was numbred with the transgressors*, *Isa.* liii. 12. and *not a bone of him must be broken*, *Exod.* xii. 46. He was to be mocked and reviled; *All they that see me laugh me to scorn: they shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying, He trusted on the LORD, that he would deliver him, let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him*, *Psal.* xxii. 7, 8. And in his last Words he was to complain, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* *Psal.* xxii. 1. which was fulfilled in *JESUS*, *Matth.* xxvii. 46. In fine, the 53d Chapter of *Isaiah* contains an illustrious Prediction of his Sufferings; *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.* The Targums and the ancient Jews understand this Place of the Messiah; and though some modern Jews, who are followed by a late anonymous Writer (a), interpret it of the People of Israel, of Josiah, or some other Person, yet 'tis manifest, and hath been made out by learned Men (b), that it cannot be applied to any Body of People; for the Prophet here speaks of a single Person, nor to any Man but to our Lord *JESUS*, to whom the inspired Penman refers it, *Act.* viii. 32, — 35. yea this is so undeniable, that the modern Jews themselves have devised a twofold Messiah, one the Son of Joseph to suffer Death, another the Son of David to save and deliver them. But this is a vain Conceit, without any Foundation in the holy Scriptures, destitute of any fair Pretence; only it demonstrates, that the Jews cannot deny that the Messiah was to suffer, and that they ought not to reject our Saviour on that account.

To which we may add, that in the Tract of the Talmud called *Rosh-Hashbanah*, 'tis said, *It was a famous and old Opinion among the Jews, that the Day of the new Year, which was the Beginning of the Israelites Deliverance out of Egypt, should in future Time be the Beginning of the Redemption by the Messiah:* Which was wonderfully fulfilled in the Lord *JESUS* our Saviour, who keeping the Passover the very Day before the Jews observed it, he was offered on that very Day *Moses* appointed for the Paschal Sacrifice; and so ought to be received, even according to the ancient Tradition of the Jews, as the Messiah their Redeemer (c).

As our Lord's Sufferings were particularly foretold, so also his Exaltation to Honour and Glory: His Victory over Death and the Grave was prophesied of, *Isa.* liii. 9. *He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death;* by this we are redeemed from Death and the Grave. *Hos.* xiii. 14. *I will ransom them from the power of the grave, I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plague; O grave, I will be thy destruction.* His Resurrection was typified and foretold, *Psal.* xvi. 10. *Hos.* vi. 2. *Matth.* xii. 40. This is an illustrious Proof of the Truth of our holy Religion, for the Glorious *GOD* would never have given our Redeemer such Credentials as a Resurrection from the dead, had he been a Deceiver; the Truth of it is as well attested as any in the World, for *he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once*, *1 Cor.* xv. 6. If we shall suppose that an Imposture could be concealed among a few, yet 'tis next to impossible that it should be hid among so great a Number, that all their Hearts and Tongues should so exactly keep Time as never to clash with one another. The Apostles who preached this Doctrine were Eye-witnesses thereof, *Act.* x. 40, 41. they were Men of Probity and Virtue, they talked of it in the Place where it was done, and their Adversaries never durst call the same in question. Our Lord's ascending unto Heaven as a victorious Conqueror, was also foretold in the Old Testament, *Psal.* lxxviii. 18, — 20. *xlvi.* 5, 6. *cxviii.* 22. His sitting at the Father's right Hand, *Psal.* cx. 1. His Intercession for the Transgressors, *Isa.* liii. 12. His pouring out of his Spirit, *Joel* ii. 28. and His judging the World at the last Day, *Job* xix. 25, — 27. *Dan.* xii. 1, — 3. Upon the whole then, our Lord had good Ground to begin at *Moses* and all the Prophets, and expound Things concerning himself; *Ought he not to suffer these things, and then to enter into his Glory?* *Luke* xxiv. 26, 27. And the Jews and all Men have good Ground to receive this once humbled, and now exalted Saviour; *For there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved, but the Name of JESUS.*

Our Lord's Miracles do also prove his Divine Mission, and that he is the true Messiah promised in the Old Testament. To set this Argument in a clear Light, I shall 1st, consider the Nature of true Miracles. 2^{dly}, prove that our Lord did true, great and excellent Miracles. 3^{dly}, that these are a solid Proof of his Divine Mission, and that he was the true Messiah.

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(a) The Author of the Grounds of the Christian Religion, in that Book and in his Scheme of literal Prophecy. (b) L'Empereur refutat. Abravanel comment. in *Isa.* cap. 53. and others. (c) See And. Masius in *Josh.* v. 10. Dr. Patrick Bishop of Ely's Comment. on *Exod.* xii. 6.

As to the *First*, By *Miracles* we are to understand some wonderful Work that either exceeds all created Power, or all the Power and Art of Man, and is contrary to the Nature of Devils, which falls not out by Accident, but must be foretold, so as the Person who works the Miracle does it to confirm his Doctrine, and shew his Commission from God. These Miracles must not be done in a Corner, but in the View of the World, and in Sight of those to be convinced by them. When they are done in this Manner, to confirm a Doctrine tending to promote the Honour of God, and Good of Man, they must either be wrought by God, or some good Angel at his Command; being contrary to the Nature of evil Spirits, who hate God, and seek to ruin Man, and therefore can never engage Men to believe a Doctrine which leads to eternal Happiness, or do any wonderful Work to encourage them in it. Since then these Miracles must come from God, so must the Doctrine they confirm be from him, because God cannot put forth his Divine Power to confirm a Lie, nor can he command or suffer good Angels to do wonderful Works for such an End; nor would they of themselves do it, being contrary to their Nature and Duty to God.

In the *Next* place, I am to consider the miraculous Works themselves which Jesus did, with the Circumstances that attended them; and the more we consider them, we may be the more convinced that they were Divine, and a good Proof that Jesus was the Son of God sent to save the World: For our Lord raised the dead, and particularly *Lazarus* who had been dead four Days, and was buried, *Joh. xi. 14, — 46*. He cured the most inveterate and chronic Diseases, even such as were beyond the Help of humane Art. He recovered a Woman who had laboured twelve Years of an Issue of Blood, and had wasted her Estate upon Physicians without Success, by the Touch of his Garment, *Mark v. 25, — 35*. He cured another that had a Spirit of Infirmary eighteen Years, that was bowed together, and could in no way lift up her self, *Luke xiii. 11, — 14*. He healed another impotent Man who had been disabled thirty eight Years, by saying to him, *Rise, take up thy bed, and walk*, *Joh. v. 5, — 9*. He restored one to Sight who was born blind, *John ix*. He cured the Leper, and *Peter's* Wife's Mother that was sick of a Fever, and two blind Men, with a Touch, *Matth. viii. 2, — 15. ix. 27, — 30*. He cured the Paralytick, and dispossessed the Demoniack, only by speaking to them, *Matth. ix. 2, — 7. viii. 28, — 34*. He multiplied a few Loaves and Fishes to the Relief of Five thousand People; and the Fragments were many, though the first Store was small, *Matth. xiv. 15, — 21*. He healed the withered Hand with a Word, and dried up the barren Fig-tree, *Matth. xii. 10, — 13. xxi. 19, 20*. The Devils obeyed His Word; He trode on the Waters as on a Pavement; He check'd and controlled the uncertain Winds and raging Sea, *Matth. xiv. 24, — 33*. with many other Miracles recorded in the Evangelists, and which we have mentioned in the Account given of his publick Ministry. He restored to Health, and raised to Life, with a Word of his Mouth, or a Touch of his Garment; He did these mighty Works without Delay, and without Labour: But who can tell them all? for the World would not contain them, *John xxi. 25*. Besides many great Miracles that were done to put Honour on our dying Redeemer, when *the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, the earth did quake, and the rocks rent, the graves were opened, and many bodies of saints which slept, arose, And came out of their graves, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. When the centurion, and they that were with him watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God*, *Matth. xxvii. 51, — 55*. And the great Miracle of His Resurrection.

If we look into the Circumstances attending these, we may be further convinced of his Divine Mission. His Works were various and of different kinds. Had he only cured one Disease, this might seem to have been some particular Gift; but he healed all sorts of Diseases, restored the blind, cleansed the Lepers, governed the Sea and Winds, and made the Grave give back its dead. His Miracles were Acts of Mercy and Kindness to Men, as well as Demonstrations of Divine Power. The Devil seeks how to devour, but our Lord went about doing Good: He could have confirmed his Doctrine by Thunder and Lightning, by Tempest and thick Darkness, with other Effects of Displeasure, but our Lord delighted in Mercy, and his Miracles were so many Acts of Compassion. They were also done publicly, not in a Corner. When the Paralytick was cured, the Multitude were Witnesses, and glorified God, *Matth. ix. 8*. When the Blind and Dumb were healed, all the People were amazed, and said; *Is not this the Son of David?* *Matth. xii. 22, 23*. When the Widow's Son of *Naim* was restored to Life; many of the People of the City were there, *Luke vii. 11, 12*. When the Man was cured who had been thirty eight Years impotent, it was done in the City *Jerusalem* at a Festival, while all the People were there from all Corners of the Land, *John v*. The Demoniack was dispossessed in a Synagogue, *Luke iv. 33*. And when *Lazarus* was raised, many of the Jews were present, *John xi. 45*. Our Lord used no Arts to deceive the People; he did his Works in an open clear Light; and when he did them more privately, he forbade the divulging, that there might be no shadow of any secret Artifice. Our Lord's Works were also perfect and compleat, to be seen by the Effects; for when the Paralytick was restored, *he arose, took up his bed, and walked*;

walked, Matth. ix. 6, 7. when he relieved a dumb Man, *the dumb spake*, Matth. ix. 33. when he restored the Damsel to Life; *she arose, and walked*, Matth. v. 42. of the Widow's Son at Naim, 'tis said, *he that was dead sat up, and began to speak*, Luke vii. 15. and of Lazarus, that *he came forth who had been dead with his grave clothes about him*, John xi. 44. When he fed the Multitude, he did not delude them with Shadows and fantastick Food, with the bare Accidents of Bread and Fish, but *they did all eat, and were filled*; none were imposed on by Spectres, Collusions, nor pious Frauds, nay their Souls were converted and edified, and their Bodies relieved by the Saviour of Mankind. Yea, our Lord's Miracles were greater than even these true Miracles done by Moses. Hence our Lord says, *If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin*, John xv. 24. Some of the Works that Moses did, the Magicians did also; and as to the rest, they came far short of the Works of Jesus. Indeed by the Hands of Moses the Dust was turned into Lice, Egypt plagued with Flies, Murrain, Darknefs, Frogs and Hail, with the Death of their Cattle and first-born: But Jesus did greater Works than these; He cured the Blind, healed the most inveterate Diseases, and restored the Dead to Life. 'Tis a greater Instance of Power to save than to destroy, to cure the Sick than to make them so, to raise one Man to Life than to slay Thousands. Moses was but an Instrument who could not work Miracles at all Times, he did them only by the Command of God, or after fervent Prayer for Divine Power to produce them, as appears by the History of the wonderful Works he did in Egypt and in the Wilderness: But Jesus was the Author of the Miracles he wrought, he did them by a Power inhabiting in himself, in whatever Time or Place he pleased, whether present or absent, Matth. viii. 5, — 13. John iv. 49, — 53. Yea, our Lord, which Moses never pretended to, conferred this Power to do Miracles in his Name upon others, Matth. x. 8. *Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.* And the seventy Disciples reported, *The devils are subject to us through thy name*, Luke x. 17. And he promised to his Apostles, *He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these, because I go to the Father*, John xiv. 12. *These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, — they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover*, Mark xvi. 17, 18. And we find by the History of the Acts of the Apostles, after our Lord's Ascension to Heaven, his Followers received the Gift of Tongues, Act. ii. and did many Miracles to confirm the Doctrine of our Saviour, Act. iii. 6. ix. 34. xvi. 18. and in Ecclesiastick History we find that this Power remained for some Time in the Christian Church (a). The Miracles of Moses were with Dread and Terror; the Plagues of Egypt were very terrible. When the Law was given on Mount Sinai, there was Thunder and Lightning, a thick Cloud, and the Voice of a Trumpet; the Smoak of the Mount ascended like the Smoak of a Furnace, and the Mount quaked greatly, Exod. xix. 18, — 20. Miriam was struck with a Leprosie, the Sons of Aaron consumed by Fire, Korah and his Company swallowed up in the Earth, and the fiery Serpents plagued the People. But our Lord came not to destroy, but to save; He fed the hungry, cured the sick, cleansed the Lepers, restored the blind and lame, dispossessed the Devils, and raised the dead. Yea, our Saviour confirmed his Doctrine by raising himself from the dead; whereas Moses died, Deut. xxxiv. as well as the other Prophets, and never to this Day rose again. But our Lord had many Witnesses to his Resurrection, who preached the Truth to the World; and sealed it with their Blood. So that upon the whole the Jews have greater Reason to believe in Jesus, who is willing to deliver them from Sin, Death, the Devil, Hell and Damnation, than to believe Moses, who only as an Instrument brought them out of Egypt. To all this it may be added, that the declared Enemies of the Christians never durst deny these Miracles. Julian the Emperor, called the Apostate, says (b), *Jesus who lived about three hundred Years ago did no memorable Act, but that he cured the lame and the blind, and adjured Devils at Bethesda and Bethany.* — But *Jesus who commanded the unclean Spirits, who walked on the Sea, who cast out Devils, and, as you say, made the Heaven and the Earth, though none of his Disciples, but only John, durst say so.* This is as ample a Confession as we can expect from such an Adversary. The Jews who wrote the Talmud were avowed Enemies to our Redeemer, yet even there (c) they own the Truth of his Miracles. Porphyry, another declared Adversary, as cited by Eusebius (d), says, *Aesculapius and the rest of the Gods have withdrawn their Converse with Men; for since Jesus began to be worshipped, no Man has received any publick Help or Benefit by the Gods.* Other Testimonies I have advanced in another Essay (e).

In the last place, on this Head, I am to prove that these Miracles were a solid Proof of the Divine Mission of our Lord Jesus, and that he was the true Messiah; for it was foretold, that *the eyes of the blind shall be opened, the ears of the deaf unstopped, the lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing*, Isa. xxxv. 5, 6. and by these our Lord demonstrated his Divine Mission to the Disciples of John, Go, and shew John those things which ye hear and see.

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(a) See the History of the Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 479, — 483. (b) Julian apud Cyrillum contra Julianum, lib. 6. p. m. 132, & 146. (c) Talmud, Part. 4. lib. 6. (d) Apud Eusebium, lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 179. de prep. Evangelica. (e) Propagation of Christianity, Vol. 1. p. 214.

The blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, Matth. xi. 4, 5. God confirmed the Authority of Moses by Miracles, Exod. iv. 1, — 8. and Moses frequently appealed to them, Numb. xvi. 5, 28, — 30. our LORD does the same, saying, I have a greater witness than that of John: for the works that the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me, Joh. v. 36. See also John x. 24, 25, 37, 38. xiv. 11. xv. 24. A great many were convinced by the Miracles that JESUS wrought; for when he had fed five thousand Men with five Loaves and two Fillets, 'tis said, Those men which had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world, John vi. 14. And many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done? John vii. 31. But alas! the modern Jews seem to be greater Unbelievers than their Fathers. We may justly plead against them, How can it be conceived that the Miracles which JESUS did, should not be solid Demonstrations of his Divine Mission, when the Author of them was a Person of a most holy and innocent Life? When the Doctrine that he did confirm by them was like himself, holy, just and good? When the Design of them was to destroy Satan's Kingdom, to erect the Kingdom of Grace, and to do Good to Mankind? God did never put forth his Power to confirm a Lie, but he did eminently manifest it, to give Testimony to our Saviour, in his Life, in his Death, in his Resurrection, and after it, by spreading our holy Religion over the World, so as it conquered without Arms, perswaded without Rhetorick, and subdued many Kingdoms, in Spite of all the Allurements of Flesh and Blood, and tho' the Witchcrafts of Hereticks, the Arts of Philosophers, the Infidelity of the Jews, the Power of the Roman Empire and of the World were set against it; which shews the Origine thereof to be Divine, and the Author thereof GOD Almighty. The Jews have little to reply to this Argument, only when Reason fails them, they run into Fables, and make Lies their Refuge, which carry their Contutation along with them; for they tell (a), That in the Time of Queen Helena, Jesus of Nazareth came to Jerusalem, where in the Temple he found a Stone on which the Ark of God was wont to rest, whereon was written the Tetragrammaton, or more peculiar Name of God, that whosoever should get that Name into his Possession, and be skilled in it, would be able to do what he pleased. That their wise Men fearing lest any of the Israelites should get that Name, and destroy the World, made two Dogs of Brass, which they placed at the Door of the Sanctuary, that if any should go in and learn that Name, the Dogs would bark so terribly, that they should forget the Name, and the Letters they had newly learned. But (say they) Jesus of Nazareth went in, and did not only learn the Letters of this Name, but wrote them in a Parchment, which he did as he came out, in an Incision he had made in his Flesh. And though through the barking of the Dogs he had forgot the Name, yet he learned it afterwards from his Parchment. By Virtue of this Name (say they) Jesus restored the lame, healed the leprous, raised the dead, and walked himself on the Sea. By this foolish Fable we find the Jews do not deny the Fact, that JESUS did such Miracles, and there is no more in it to deserve the notice of any wise Man. They have many other false Stories and idle Dreams concerning the Messiah, as that of Avkat Rockel, that at Rome there is a Statue of a beautiful Virgin, which some profligate Fellows shall ly with, and beget one Armillus; the Posterity of Esau shall submit to his Laws, but Nebemiah the Son of Joseph, at the Head of thirty thousand Jews, shall wage War against him: Armillus shall be beaten, and two hundred thousand Men shall be slain in the first Battle; but he shall rally again, and kill Nebemias Ben-Joseph. Then shall Michael sound his Trumpet, and the Messias Ben-Joseph, who is lying dead under the Ports of Jerusalem, shall be restored to Life: Then they shall send the Messiah, the Son of David, who shall gather all the Jews, and all Nations shall carry the Israelites on their Shoulders to enjoy Happiness. These, and other Romantick foolish Stories, the Curious may find in Jewish Writers, and many of them are collected in the Authors cited at the foot of the Page (b); but they serve to little other purpose than to shew the lamentable Infatuation of this People. But when they shall be so happy as to seek the LORD to be their God, and CHRIST to be their King, and fear him and his Goodness in the latter Days, to look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn; they shall then be ashamed of these Delusions. Having demonstrated that the Blessed JESUS is the true promised Messiah, I proceed to another Article.

IN order to the Conversion of the Jews, 'tis necessary they be convinced of a Fourth Point; that is, That the ritual or ceremonial Laws, and the political, civil or judicial Laws given by Moses, are not of perpetual Obligation. We willingly grant that the moral Law of the Ten Commandments doth oblige for ever; and have in the former Part of this Work shewn (c) the use of the ceremonial and judicial Laws under the Old Testament Dispensation: But that the positive, ceremonial and judicial Institutions were not for ever obligatory, I shall now prove by the following Reasons.

First,

(a) See Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, Part 1. p. 117. Pug. fidei, Part. 1. cap. 8. Toldos apud Wagenheil.
(b) Hornbeck contra Judæos, p. 253, & seqq. Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 4. Chap. 26, 27, 28. (c) See above p. 107 & seqq.

First, These Laws were not good in themselves, *Ezek. xx. 25. Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.* These did not perfect humane Nature, nor form in Man a divine Temper and Likeness. Men might be very good without these Laws, and very bad when they had obeyed them, without a Regard to the spiritual Meaning of them. The World was two thousand Years old before the ceremonial Law was given by Moses, and in that Time there were great Examples of Piety and Virtue. Therefore *Justin Martyr* speaking of the Jewish Circumcision, says (a), *et c.* For if Circumcision had been necessary, as you suppose, GOD would not have created Adam having on his Foreskin, nor have regarded the Oblation of the uncircumcised Abel, nor had Enoch pleased him, and been translated uncircumcised, nor Lot saved from Sodom by the Ministry of Angels. Noah with his Sons went uncircumcised into the Ark; Melchisedek the Priest of the most high GOD, to whom Abraham paid Tithes, and from whom he received a Blessing, was uncircumcised, yet GOD promised a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedek. GOD declared that he desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings, *Hof. vi. 6.* He esteems a broken and penitent Heart before any Oblation, *Psal. li. 17.*

Secondly, These Statutes were never intended for all the World; they were given to one People; many of them were annexed to one certain Land, and some of them to a certain Place, as to the Tabernacle and Temple. Some were only occasional Precepts, as to eat the Passover in Egypt with Staves in their Hands, to set by a Pot of Manna in the Wilderness, not to molest Moab nor Ammon, to set up a brazen Serpent on a Pole, to bring the Blood of every slain Beast to the Door of the Tabernacle, to pronounce Curses upon Mount Ebal, and Blessings upon Mount Gerizim, and the like. Others of these ritual Laws were to endure for Generations, or for a long Time. Hence *Jos. Albo*, a Jew, proves strenuously against *Maimon* (b), that the ceremonial Law is not perpetual.

Thirdly, GOD in the Old Testament very frequently declares, that he would call the Gentiles into the Church (c) in the Days of the Messiah, they should then be received into Grace and Favour. Which proves beyond Exception, that the ritual Laws were not perpetual, being intended for no longer than till the Conversion of the Nations. These topical Statutes adapted to one Place, must give way to the Laws whereby GOD would govern the Christian Church: For how can it be conceived that the Gentiles should be governed by the ceremonial Laws of Moses that were peculiar to the Jews? And could they be obliged three times a-year from the remotest Parts of the World, from Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, the Indies, and many other Parts, to go and observe solemn Festivals three times a-year at Jerusalem? They must have then Wings to fly, for from many Parts they could do little more than come and return once in a Year: Where would be Room to hold them, or Sacrifices to offer? Must they keep the Passover in Remembrance of the Deliverance from Egypt, when neither they nor their Predecessors ever were in Egypt? Shall they keep the other Festivals who were not concerned in these Precepts, nor in the Grounds of them? No, in Gospel-days we are not to worship in this or in that Mountain, but to worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth, to pray every where, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting.

Fourthly, In the Old Testament we have many plain Intimations of the designed Abrogation of the ceremonial Law; for the Sceptre shall depart from Judah, and a Law-giver from between his Feet when Shiloh shall come, *Gen. xlix. 10.* When the Messiah is exhibited, the Power of giving Laws is taken from Judah, and the whole legal Oeconomy doth cease. We have an express Prediction, *Dan. ix. 27.* that when the Messiah shall be cut off, the sacrifice and the oblation shall cease. And *Jeremiah*, *iii. 16.* says, *In those days, saith the LORD, they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of the LORD, neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, nor visit it.* The Ark was the whole Centre of the legal Dispensation; when it was not to come to mind, the whole Oeconomy that depended upon it was to be abrogated: And the Predictions in that Context, *Jer. iii. 15, 17, 18.* are to be understood of the New Testament-Church that shall remain for ever. The LORD promised concerning the Messiah, *Psal. cx. 4.* *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.* He shall not be of the Tribe of Levi, nor of the House of Aaron; He shall administer his Affairs without a Successor, without a Substitute or Vicar, not for a Time, but for ever. The inspired Penman of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *vii. 11, 12.* justly infers from hence, *If perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, what further need was there of another priest after the order of Melchisedek, not after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The whole Execution of the ceremonial Law was annexed to the Levitical Priesthood, but the Priest after the Order of Melchisedek was not tied to it, but to a Law which he himself should give; He continueth ever, and hath an unchangeable Priesthood. Besides *Jeremiah*, *xxxi. 31, — 34.* foretells,

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(a) Justin Martyr in dialog. cum Tryphone Judæo, p. 236. Edit. Col. 1686. (b) Jos. Albo, lib. Ikkarim, tit. 3. cap. 13, 14, 25. See Bishop of Litchfield's Defence of Christianity, p. 361. (c) Gen. xlix. 10. Psal. ii. 8. Isa. ii. 2. xi. 10. xlix. 6. lx. 3, 5. Mic. iv. 1, 2. Mal. i. &c.

tells, *Behold the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt: which covenant they brake.* — But I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts. Here a new Covenant and a new Law is promised; the old Dispensation is abrogated, as that which is old and faulty, it *vanisheth away*, Heb. viii. 13. as the Statutes of War do cease in the Time of Peace; and the *New Testament* Dispensation, as more perfect, is introduced, which shall never be changed. Our Redeemer is promised as a Prophet like unto *Moses*, Deut. xviii. 15. now *Moses* is particularly distinguished from other Prophets, in giving a new Revelation of the Law of God, and appointing new Ordinances of religious Worship; in which our LORD was like him: He did not institute a Worship contrary to the ceremonial Law, but a Service that was typified by these Laws of *Moses*, and which do perfect and better the same. Upon the whole, Since the Abrogation of the ceremonial Law was promised in the *Old Testament*, and that the *Messiah* would introduce new Ordinances of religious Worship for the Liberty and Good of the whole Church; the *Jews* have no Reason to stumble at Christianity, because our LORD hath done what was foretold in the holy Scriptures, which they themselves own and believe.

Fifthly, The Practice as well as the Doctrine of the *Jews* inform us, that the ceremonial Law was often dispensed with, and consequently not of perpetual Obligation; they admitted Proleptics of old, who were so far from undertaking to obey all the Laws of *Moses*, that they only took on the Observation of the seven Precepts of *Noah*. Nor do we find that *Moses* periwaded *Jethro* his Father-in-law to submit to his Laws. *Jonah* preached Repentance to the *Ninevites*, but not the Necessity of Circumcision, nor Sacrifices; nor do we find any of the Prophets urging any of these Things upon the *Gentiles*. That the ritual Law was often dispensed with, we may further learn from several Instances: The Shew-bread was to be eaten by the Priests only, yet *David* did eat it in a strait without any Reproof. By the Law these who were hanged must not be on the Tree all Night, yet *Saul's* Sons in *David's* Time remained hanging on the Tree several Nights and Days together, 2 Sam. xxi. 10. According to this Law they were only to offer Sacrifices at *Jerusalem*, yet *Elijah* offered on Mount *Carmel*, 1 Kings xviii. (a) And in the Days of *Hezekiah* they did eat the Passover otherwise than it was written, 2 Chron. xxx. 18. All which does plainly discover that the ceremonial Law might sometimes be dispensed with and changed; and it actually was abrogated, when the Apostles declared that they would not lay upon the Disciples a Yoke which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear, Act. xv. 10. When the Sun of Righteousness arose, the Shadows of the dark Night fled away, being imposed only until the Time of the Reformation.

Sixthly, God gave Notice that he would put an End to the ceremonial Institution of *Moses*, by the Prophet *Haggai*, ii. 6. *Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land.* These Words relate to the Days of the *Messiah*, as hath been before made appear (b), and do import a great Change of Things, even the Destruction of the Kingdom and Policy of the *Jews*, and consequently of the ritual and judicial Laws, which must of Necessity fall with it. When the Law of *Moses* was given, the Heavens and the Earth shook with Thunder, Exod. xix. and the removing of this Oeconomy is described in the same Terms: The Heavens were moved at the Voice declaring *Jesus* God's well-beloved Son, Matth. iii. 16, 17. The Earth did quake, and the Rocks rent at his Death and Resurrection; as a fit Prelude to the great Change of Things foretold by this Prophet; and therefore the inspired Penman of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, xii. 26, 27. justly applieth that Text to this purpose, intimating that the positive ritual Institutions of *Moses* should be taken away, that the Doctrine of the *Messiah* might be brought into the World, which was to remain for ever with us.

Lastly, God by his Providence hath declared that these ceremonial Institutions were not to endure for ever; for since these Precepts were annexed to a certain Land and Place; these are now expired, because the *Jews* are dispossessed of that Land, and have had no distinct Government for more than Sixteen hundred Years. All the Laws about Sacrifices fell with the Temple; many of them with the City *Jerusalem*; and when the *Jews* ceased to have a Policy, their political Laws were rendred null. To which I may add, that the true Signification of many of the Creatures clean and unclean, in Levit. xi. and Deut. xiv. being now lost, as the *Jews* at this Day confess; and may further appear to any who considers the various Questions about them, in the Works of the learned *Bockart* (c), and other Criticks: Since this could not be without God's singular Providence, it may intimate the Cessation or Abolition of the ceremonial Law, the exact Observation whereof since the Coming of *CHRIST* is impossible. The *Jews* object, That when these Laws were given, they were not only for that Season and Occasion, but were Statutes and Ordinances for ever. Thus the Feast of unleavened Bread is said to be an Ordinance for ever, Exod. xii. 17. and the Sabbath is called a perpetual Covenant, Exod. xxxi. 16. Answer, 'Tis certain and confessed, even by our Adversaries, that the Word *Olam*, that's translated for ever,

(a) See above p. 184. (b) Above p. 9. of this Discourse. (c) Vide Bockarti Hierozoicon Specimen, Part. 2. lib. 1. 2. Ibid. cap. 33.

ever, does not signify always *Eternity*, but a limited and determined Time. *Joseph Albo* (a) owns it, and produceth several Instances for Confirmation thereof. 'Tis said of the Servant, *Exod. xxi. 6.* that *he shall serve for ever*, that is to the *Jubilee*, which was the utmost Extent of his Servitude. *Hannah* says of *Samuel*, *1 Sam. i. 22.* that *he may appear before the LORD, and there abide for ever*, which can be meant of no longer Time than that of his Life, or that Part of his Life in which he was fit to minister legally. These Laws then that are said to be *for ever*, were for succeeding Generations, or as long as the *Jewish* State and Policy should continue. Thus 'tis oft limited, *for your generations throughout your dwellings*, *Levit. iii. 17. xxiii. 14, 21, 31.* *GOD* says of *Zion*, *This is my rest for ever*, *Psal. cxxxii. 14.* but *GOD* having for the Sins of the *Jews* forsaken that Place, all these Sacrifices and Services annexed to it, did thereupon cease. 2dly, 'Tis pleaded, That even this Law doth oblige *for ever*, because nothing is to be added to it, nor taken from it, *Deut. iv. 2.* Answer, All that can be inferred from this is, that the *Jews* were not to add or diminish according to their own Pleasure; but *GOD* might do as seemed good in his Wisdom, as Food and Nourishment is changed according to the Capacity of those who receive it; and he hath declared he would do so, when he intimates that *he would make a new covenant, not according to the covenant which he made with their fathers*, *Jer. xxxi. 31.* *Sacrifice and oblation shall cease*, *Dan. ix. 27.* and in other Texts before explained. More Objections have been considered and answered by others (b), but there is no Strength in them to prove that the ceremonial or political Laws of the *Jews* should continue in the Days of the *Messiah*, when Christians are admitted to Gospel Liberty, and the very State of the *Jews* is so changed as these Laws cannot be observed.

THERE is a *Fifth* Point which they stand in need to be convinced of, that is, the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, which is briefly contained in the Words of the sacred Text, *1 Joh. v. 7.* *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.* The Belief of this ought to be no Bar nor Prejudice to hinder the *Jews* from embracing Christianity; for though this Doctrine be not so plainly contained in the *Old Testament* as in the *New*, this being one of the Mysteries that's more plainly discovered in the Gospel, yet there are many Texts in the *Old Testament* from which this Doctrine may be justly inferred, of which I may name a few, and cannot omit the first Words of *Genesis*, as intimating a Plurality of Persons in the Unity of the Divine Essence, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*; in the *Hebrew*, *Bara Elohim*, where a Verb in the singular is joined with a Noun in the plural Number. Thus also, *Gen. i. 26.* *Let us make man after our image*, where the Verb is of the plural Number. Nor doth *GOD* here take Counsel with Angels; for what Reason should the *GOD* of infinite Knowledge, Wisdom and Power consult with his own Creatures? He puts no Trust in his Angels, he charges them with folly. Nothing occurs more frequently in Scripture than the Word *Elohim*, which is plural; but we seldom find it in the singular Number. 'Tis further observed, that the Word *Elohim* is frequently joined to Verbs and Adjectives of the plural Number, as *Gen. xx. 13.* *God caused me to wander.* *Josh. xxiv. 1.* *Elohim kedoshim*, *The holy God.* *Deut. v. 26.* *Elohim chajiem*, *The living God.* *Psal. vii. 11.* *Elohim shoptkim*, *God judgeth.* *Eccles. xii. 1.* *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*; in the *Hebrew*, *Creators.* This kind of speaking doth intimate some kind of Plurality, though not a Plurality of Gods; yet a Plurality of Persons in one Divine Essence. Nor is there any Ground to think that *GOD* useth the Stile of modern Monarchs; for *who hath directed the Spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment?* *Isa. xl. 13, 14.* He is the first and the last, besides him there is no God, nor doth he take Counsel with any.

THERE are many other Texts in the *Old Testament* which intimate a Trinity. That very Text which the *Jews* repeat so oft in their Prayers, *Deut. vi. 4.* may be used against them; for it may be rendred thus, *Hear, O Israel, the LORD our GOD, the LORD is one*, where the *Threefold Repetition* of the Name of *GOD*, joined with an Assertion of the *Divine Unity*, doth import a *Trinity in Unity*. *Moses Marcus*, a converted *Jew*, particularly insists upon this Argument (c), and says their Book *Zohar* enlarges upon it (d). And *Dr. Kidder* tells us (e) that the *Zohar* says, *The Mystery of Elohim is this; There are three Degrees, and every Degree subsists by itself, yet all of them are One, nor can one be separated from the other.* The same Doctrine may be confirmed from the Form of the Priests blessing the People, *Numb. vi. 24, 26.* *Jehovah bless thee, and keep thee: Jehovah make his face to shine upon thee: Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* Where the threefold Repetition of the Name *JEHOVAH*, as the alone Author of all Blessings, implies the Trinity; for 'tis with a different Accent in the *Hebrew*. This is also pointed at, *Isa. xxxiii. 22.* *The LORD is our judge, the LORD is our*
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(a) *Ikkarim*, Part. 3. cap. 16. (b) *Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah*, Part 3. p. 21, — 39. (c) *Moses Marcus's principal Motives for leaving the Jewish Religion*, p. 85. (d) See also *R. Monis* in his Tract, *Nothing but Truth*. (e) *Demonstration of the Messiah*, Part. 3. p. 171.

law-giver, the LORD is our king, he will save us. Dan. ix. 19. O LORD hear, O LORD forgive, O LORD hearken and do, defer not for thine own sake. The Seraphims in *Isaiah*, vi. 3. cry, *Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts.* This is no vain Repetition, but is of Force to prove the Trinity against the Jews; for, as *Galatinus* remarks (a), R. Simeon, the Son of Johai, hath it, *Holy, this is the Father; Holy, this is the Son; and Holy, this is the Holy Ghost.* And Jonathan, the Son of Uzziel, in his *Targum* on the Prophets, paraphrases it thus, *Holy Father, holy Son, holy Holy Ghost.* 'Tis true this is not to be found in the present Copies of the *Targum*, but *Galatinus* expressly affirms, that he saw these Words in an ancient Copy at that Time when the Jews were expelled the Kingdom of Naples by the Catholick King of Spain. In the History of the Creation the Trinity is discovered, *Moses* gives this Account of that Mystery, Gen. i. 1, 2, 3. *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. — And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light.* Where we have God creating, the Spirit of God moving upon the Face of the Waters. This Spirit is not the Wind, nor the Air, for these were not then created, but the *Holy Ghost*, the third Person of the blessed Trinity, the same who garnished the heavens, Job xxvi. 13. *Thou sends forth thy Spirit, and they are created,* Psal. civ. 30. We have here also the Word, by whom all Things were created and made, not the LORD's almighty Will, but the substantial Word, the Son of God, the second Person of the Trinity, the wisdom of God, set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was, Prov. viii. 23. The Psalmist teaches the same, *By the Word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth,* Psal. xxxiii. 6. Where we have the blessed Three concurring in the Work of Creation, the Father the Lord *Jehovah*; the Word of the Lord, even the Son, the substantial Word; the Breath of his Mouth, or as the Word may be rendred, the Spirit of his Mouth, of whom 'tis said, Job xxxiii. 4. *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me life.* We have the same Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity intimated in the Commission given to the Messiah, Isa. lxi. 1. *The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the meek.* Isa. xlii. 1. *Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my Spirit upon him.* Where we find *Jehovah* sending the Messiah his Son, the Messiah, or second Person, sent, as God's Servant, to carry on our Redemption, to preach good Tidings to the meek; and the Holy Spirit of the LORD put upon him. I might also confirm this Doctrine by Testimonies of Jewish Writers, but the Curious may find this done to greater Advantage, and at more length than I can pretend to here in a brief Appendix, in the Authors named at the foot of the Page (b). The Texts above cited, and explained, may sufficiently make it appear, that a Trinity in Unity is intimated in the Old Testament; and when the Veil is taken off the Eyes of the Jews, they will see and believe this Truth as contained in the Old, and more fully manifested in the New Testament.

BESIDES all that hath been said, we may add further, for the Confirmation of Christianity against the Jews, That if they believe *Moses*, they have much more Reason to believe JESUS, the Author of our holy Religion. *Moses* was justly received, because he did many Miracles, which no Man but he that was sent and assisted of God could do. For the same Reason they ought to believe JESUS, who confirmed his Doctrine with more and greater Miracles than those of *Moses*. I have before compared them (c), and found that these done by our Lord deserved the Preference; they argued a greater Power, and a greater Goodness: The Power of working Miracles was inherent in our Saviour, and communicated by him to his Followers; the Effects of his Power reached the whole Creation, the Devils felt it, the Sea and the Winds obeyed him, he wrought Wonders upon Fishes and Loaves, upon the Swine and the Water, upon the Fig-tree and the Grave; he cured Diseases, revived the Dead, and raised Himself the third Day. His Miracles were not done in a Corner, they were publick and notorious, and permanent in their Effects: He did not destroy the Law and the Prophets, but fulfilled them.

Secondly, If the Jews believe *Moses*, because he foretold future Events, and these did come to pass; so did JESUS, and not the least Thing failed that he foretold. Thus he predicted his own Death, the Time when, the Instruments by whom, the Place where, and the Kind and Manner thereof; that he should be betrayed by one Disciple, denied by another, and that they should be all offended at him. He foretells his own Resurrection, the Time when it should be, the wonderful Effusion of the Holy Ghost, the Persecutions and Sorrows of his Followers, and the Success of his holy Religion in the World. He foretold the Death of

Peter

(a) *Galatinus de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis*, lib. 2. cap. 1. p. m. 41, 42. (b) *Idem Ibid.* lib. 2. per totum. *Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah*, p. 169, — 191. *Allix's Judgment of the Jewish Church, against the Unitarians.* *Fleming's Christology*, Vol. 1. *Watts on the Trinity*, Part 2. (c) Above p. 15, — 18. of this Discourse. R. Monis, &c. before, in the preceding Page.

Peter, that *John* should survive him, the Destruction of *Jerusalem* about forty Years before it happened, and the coming of false Prophets (a): And we may remark with *Eusebius* (b), "That if any Man compare the Words of our Saviour with the History of *Joseph* concerning the Jewish War, how can he forbear to admire the divine and supernatural Knowledge appearing in these Predictions?" Besides, our Lord communicated this Gift of Prophecy to the Apostles, as appears by their foretelling the Apostacy of future Ages, *2 Thess.* ii. 3, — 12. *1 Tim.* iv. 1, — 3. and the State of the Church to the End of the World, in the Book of *Revelation*. The Jews have no Ground to except against this Argument, That if our Lord *Jesus* had been such a Prophet, he would have been received by the Jewish Sanhedrim, who had Power to judge of Prophets; for a Divine Mission, which is sufficiently evidenced by what hath been advanced, was sufficient Ground to all the World to receive our LORD. Nor was the Sanhedrim infallible, we find them often guilty of gross Evils; for when all the Congregation, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron*, upon the Report of the Spies, *Numb.* xiv. the seventy Elders were no doubt guilty of the Crime with the rest. Why did they never reclaim *Israel* from Idolatry, nor testify against it, (if the Sanhedrim did then subsist, which is questioned) nor in the Time of the idolatrous Kings? Nothing can be given for the Cause of this Neglect, but that they were led away with the same Defection, as the rest of the People. Yea we find it expressly told, *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 14, — 16. The chief of the priests transgressed very much, after all the abominations of the heathen, — they mocked the messengers of God, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD arose, and there was no remedy. It was discovered to *Ezekiel*, viii. 10, — 13. how seventy Men of the Ancients of *Israel* committed Idolatry. All these Princes condemned *Jeremiah* the Prophet, *Chap.* xxxviii. only *Ebedmelech* an Eunuch shewed him Favour. There were *Sadducees* in this Council who denied the Resurrection, *Act.* xxiii. 6. and it was a most grievous Crime in them that they rejected and condemned our Saviour, and persecuted his Apostles and Disciples (c).

Thirdly, The Jews have as great Reason to believe the Gospels as the Books of *Moses*; for the Persons who wrote the *New Testament* are known as Men of Integrity, they wrote of Things happened in their own Time, of which they might have certain Knowledge. *Matthew* and *John* were Apostles, and Eye-witnesses of these Things they delivered in Writing; *Mark*, and *Luke* (Penman of the Gospel named by him, and of the *Acts*) were Companions of the Apostles, worthy to be believed; and the Writers of the Epistles and of the *Revelation* were all Apostles, they neither could be deceived themselves in reporting Matters of Fact consistent with their own Knowledge, nor could they deceive others, being Men of entire Honesty and Sincerity, speaking with great Simplicity and Plainness. The Books of *Moses*, we own, all deserve Credit, being inspired of God, though he wrote of some Things in *Genesis* at 2400 Years distance from his own Time; much more do the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, who were also inspired, when testifying of Things within their own Observation. In them we have Promises of eternal Life more plain than in any of the Books of *Moses*. The Statutes and Judgments contained in the *New Testament* are not topical or peculiar to one Church and People, but are such as concern the whole Race of Mankind; they are not written originally in *Hebrew*, a Language peculiar to the Jews, but in *Greek*, a Tongue understood at that Time over the whole *Roman Empire*; they appeal to the Law of *Moses*, and confirm the Moral Part thereof; they were soon in the Hands of many Nations and People, translated into several Languages, and transmitted safe to us. Hence we may infer, That the Infidelity of the Jews is not founded on this, that they had any Cause to reject the Gospel, but 'tis to be imputed to their worldly Temper: They expected a *Messiah* who would free them from Servitude to the *Romans*, and restore them to such Grandeur and Prosperity as their Fathers enjoyed in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*, and bestow the Riches of a present World upon them; and since *Jesus* made no Offer of any such Rewards, they rejected him. They were malicious and obstinate in their Sin, and continue so to this Day: They were proud of their peculiar Privileges, conceited of their oral Law and traditionary Customs, and Despisers of all other People; wherefore God in his just Judgment gave them up to Blindness of Mind and Hardness of Heart, as had been foretold by the Prophet *Isaiab*, vi. 9, 10, and was exactly verified on them in the Days of the Gospel, *John* xii. 39, 40. and in many Ages since.

Fourthly, The Christian Religion in itself is most agreeable to the Good and Reason of Mankind; the Precepts thereof tend to perfect humane Nature, and render it like the Divine. As to the Duty we owe to God, we are taught to perform it in a Manner suitable to the Divine Majesty and his glorious Perfections, to believe in him, to fear him above all, to love him with our whole Heart, to trust in him, and depend on him in all our Straits

(a) See above p. 13. of this Discourse. (b) *Eusebius* in hist. Ecclesiastica, lib. 3. cap. 7. (c) See a more large Answer to this Exception in *Limborch's collatio cum Judæo*, p. 297, — 304.

and Necessities, to submit quietly to his Government, and to obey his Will; to worship him with a pure Heart, to pray to him with great Fervour, constantly to give him Thanks for his Benefits, and to do all for his Glory. As to the Duties we owe to one another, Christianity gives the most incomparable Rules; it requireth a Submission to our Superiors and Governors; it teacheth the most exact Justice with the greatest Humanity and Mercy; it obligeth us to pray for our greatest Enemies; and forgive them who do us the greatest Wrong, allowing us to do no Hurt to one another, and to return none that is done to us. As to our selves, our holy Religion recommends to us the most profound Humility, the greatest Meekness under Calumnies, Patience under Sufferings, Contentment in every Condition, the most holy Courage and Resolution, most unspotted Charity, most unshaken Constancy, most strict Temperance in eating and drinking, painful Diligence in our Callings, Modesty and Gravity, Simplicity and Candour; Care to avoid evil Imaginations, the purest Contempt of worldly Things, and the greatest Hunger and Thirst after those that are spiritual. In a Word, it commends to our Care and Thoughts whatever is pure, honest and of good Report. But I have discoursed more fully in another *Essay*, of the Truth and Excellency of the Christian Religion (a), which I shall not here repeat.

It can be no valid Objection against what hath been offered, That the peaceable Times of the *Messiah* prophesied of in *Isaiab*, ii. 4. ix. 6, 7. xi. 6,——9. *Mic*, ii. 3, 4. *Zech*, ix. 10. are not fulfilled in the Christian Times, wherein there are so many Wars and fatal Divisions; and **CHRIST** himself says, *Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword*, *Matth*. x. 34. In Answer to this, let it be considered that our blessed **LORD** was a great Example of Peace: He was so far from invading the Rights of Princes, that he was willingly subject to their Power; so far from making any Rent in the Church, that he did not invade the Rights of the *Aaronical* Priests, but was obedient to the Ordinances of *Moses*, which were not then abrogated. When he came into the World, it was a Time of universal Peace, and the Angels proclaimed, *Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men*, *Luke* ii. 14. He himself was an Example of all Virtues, tending to promote Peace, being humble, meek, lowly, patient in Suffering, and abounding in Charity towards others. The Doctrine of the Gospel offers the most uniting Principles, *One Lord, one faith, one baptism*, *Ephes*. iv. 5. and gives the most proper Exhortations to advance it among Men, *If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men*, *Rom*. xii. 18. *Forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Be ye kind one to another, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you*, *Eph*. iv. 2, 3, 32. *Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man can see God*, *Heb*. xii. 14. So far as true Christianity obtains, it will tend to promote Peace. Accordingly the primitive Christians were eminent for Peace and Love to one another. And when the Spirit is poured out from on High in the latter Days, the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever. *God's people shall dwell in peaceable habitations, in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places*, *Isa*. xxxii. 15;——18. *Peace shall be as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the sea*, *Isa*. xlvi. 18. The **LORD** will extend peace like a river, *Isa*. lxvi. 12. Persecution shall cease, *There shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are about them, and despised them*, *Ezek*. xxviii. 24. which we hope will be, when the Jews shall be converted, and Christianity appear with a greater Lustre upon Earth, which may be expected before the Days of the *Messiah* come to an End. Then it shall be accomplished, *That they shall beat their Swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more*, *Isa*. ii. 4. As to that Text, *Mat*. x. 34. our Lord, as appears by the Context, doth there comfort and caution his Disciples against the Trials and Persecutions that they would soon meet with from Infidels and Heathens in a wicked World, for their constant adhering to the Profession of the Truth. All Men will not receive their Doctrine, some of their own Kindred and Relations among the Jews would reject it, and treat them hardly who constantly preached and maintained it. But this does not flow from the Christian Doctrine, but from Lusts and Passions, from the Wickedness of an unbelieving Age: **CHRIST** our Lord is still the Prince of Peace: His Doctrine promotes Peace; and the more it is yielded to, the greater Peace will there be in the World.

Lastly, In the above History we may observe a pregnant Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion; for here we see the Jews for more than Sixteen hundred Years dispersed into all the Corners of the Earth, by the Curse of Heaven, often massacred, banished in great Multitudes, despised, hated and persecuted by all Nations, mingled and confounded with them; yet still distinguished by their peculiar Laws, Customs and Rites, as a Pledge of their future Conversion; but bearing the Evidences of divine Vengeance, and an indelible Monument of the Truth of Christianity: And they shall never become a happy People till they renounce

(a) History of the Propagation of Christianity, Chap. 1. per totum.

renounce their Infidelity, and endeavour zealously to promote the Christian Faith, which now they reject. Some more Objections of the *Jews* are answered by R. *Monis* in his Tract, *The Truth*.

THERE are other Points of Religion, concerning which the *Jews*, by their Infidelity in rejecting our Lord and the *New Testament* Revelation, and by giving way to idle Traditions, and *Cabbalistick* Dreams, have been led into Error: But if these fundamental Articles that I have been discoursing of were believed by them, their other Mistakes would soon be rectified. A short View of these may then suffice. *First*, Concerning the Creation, their Notions are very strange; as, "That Angels have winged Bodies compounded of Fire and Air, that they feed on Food, generate and die: That the Demons, or Devils, were made on the second Day of the Creation, together with Hell, or produced by Angels lying with Women, or by *Adam's* Congress with *Lilith*, and other Mothers of Devils: That the Heaven is a living Creature endued with a rational Soul: That all the Souls of Men were created on the first Day, in Pairs, Male and Female."—— That these Things are taught by the *Jewish* Doctors, is at large proved by the learned *Hornbeck* (a). But if their Successors would lay aside their *Talmudick* and *Cabbalistick* Dreams, with the Authority of their ancient Masters, and restrict themselves to the written Word of *GOD* and true Reason, they would soon see the Folly of these strange Positions: For though *Moses* speaks little of the Creation of Angels, yet we find *GOD* makes his Angels spirits, *Psal.* civ. 4. They are indeed quick and active as a Flame of Fire, but have no Bodies compounded of any material thing, that being contrary to their Natures. They seem to have been produced in the Beginning of the Creation, when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of *GOD* shouted for joy, *Job* xxxviii. 7. praising their Creator. As to the Devils, these were the Angels who being lifted up with Pride, fell into Condemnation, *1 Tim.* iii. 6. They left their first Estate, they sinned, and *GOD* spared them not, *2 Pet.* ii. 4. To imagine they were produced by any impure Com-mixtures, though the *Jews* and some ancient Christian Fathers have talked of such Things, is contrary to the Nature of Angels, and an idle Dream without any Foundation. And as to the Heavens being a rational Creature, or Mens Souls being created in Pairs; these are also idle Delusions, without either Scripture or Reason.

THEY deny *original Sin*, or that the Sin whereby our first Parents broke the Covenant *GOD* made with them in Innocency, lost the Image of *GOD*, and Integrity of their Nature, is charged upon their Posterity (b), so as all Mankind descending from them by ordinary Generation, are now born in a corrupt and miserable Estate. Though this is evident even from the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, particularly from the History of the State of Innocency, and of the Fall, in the Second and Third Chapters of *Genesis*, from *Isaiah*, xliii. 27, 28. *Thy first father hath sinned, therefore I have given Jacob to the curse, and Israel to the reproaches.* *Gen.* vi. 5. *God saw that every imagination of the thought of mans heart was only evil continually.* *Gen.* viii. 21. *The imagination of mans heart is evil from his youth.* *Psal.* li. 5. *I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.* *Psal.* liii. 3. *They are altogether become filthy, there is none that doth good, no not one*—— Hence the Apostle observes, *By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death hath passed upon all men, for that all have sinned,* *Rom.* v. 12. *In Adam all die,* *1 Cor.* xv. 22.

CONCERNING the Sinner's Justification, the Opinion of the *Jews* is, That Pardon of Sin and Justification is obtained by Repentance, Alms, Prayer, good Works, and by the Day of Expiation (c). But if they would hearken to the true Doctrine on this important Article, we shall offer and prove it even from the Scripture of the *Old Testament*, in these two Assertions: *First*, That no Man, by what he can do or suffer, can expiate his own Sins; *For who can stand before God's indignation? who can abide the fierceness of his anger? His fury is poured out like fire,* *Nah.* i. 6. *The LORD our God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God,* *Deut.* iv. 24. *We are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags: we all do fade as a leaf, and our iniquities as the wind have taken us away,* *Isa.* lxiv. 6. *If thou LORD should mark iniquities, who, O LORD, shall stand?* *Psal.* cxxx. 4. We do not take away the Necessity of good Works, nor yet the Reward which *GOD* of his Grace freely bestows upon them; but we affirm that the best of our Works can never deserve the Pardon of our Sins, nor the Acceptance of our Persons; for the best of them are imperfect, and mixed with much Sin, so as they can never satisfy the infinite Justice of a holy *GOD*: Far less can the superstitious Observances of the *Jews* to Commands which *GOD* never gave, *Jer.* vii. 31. *Isa.* xxix. 13. *This people draw near to me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me: and their fear towards me is taught by the precept of men.* Assertion Second, 'Tis only by the Sufferings, Satisfaction, and the compleat Righteousness which the *Messiah* fulfilled in our Room, that we can be justified, and obtain the Pardon of

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(a) *Hornbeck de convincendis & convertendis Judæis*, lib. 4. cap. 1. (b) *Manasseh Ben-Israel de resurrectione*, p. 191. cap. 12. *Judæus in amica disputatione*, p. 55. (c) *Author Halchor Olam apud Hornbeck contra Judæos*, p. 426. *Judæus in amica disputatione*.

our Sin; which Satisfaction and Righteousness we are to accept of by Faith, for *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.*—The LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.—By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities, Isa. liii. 5, 6, 11. I will raise unto David a righteous Branch,—This is his Name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. He shall finish the transgression, make an end of sin, reconciliation for iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, Dan. ix. 24. Surely shall one say, In the LORD have I righteousness and strength, even to him shall men come, Isa. xlv. 24.

THE Jews also, though they own that the Grace of God is necessary to carry on and advance in good Works, yet they ascribe the Beginning of our Conversion to our own Strength and natural Powers (a). But such is our Deadness and Corruption by Nature, that we can neither begin nor advance any good Work without supernatural Grace; wherefore the LORD promiseti to give a new heart and a new spirit, to cause us to walk in his statutes, Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27. to put his law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, Jer. xxxi. 33. Wherefore the Church prays, Draw me, and I will run after thee, Song i. 4. Turn thou me, and I shall be turned, Jer. xxxi. 18. Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me, Psal. li. 10. If it were otherwise, God would not be the first Cause of all his own Works.

MANY of the modern Jews have also adopted the strange Notion of a Pythagorean Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls (b). But they will soon abandon this Opinion, when their Eyes shall be opened to consider how absurd and irrational it is, how degrading to a humane Soul, and how contrary to the Word of God, Eccles. xii. 7. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it. They will see a general Resurrection both of the just and unjust, Dan. xii. 2. Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. Rev. xx. 13. The sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them. They will see the Folly of their Dreams concerning the glorified Saints enjoying earthly Pleasures in the Life to come (c), as in Mahomet's Paradise; for then their Pleasures shall be only spiritual, in seeing and enjoying God, Job xix. 26. In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand pleasures for evermore, Psal. xvi. 11. And our LORD assures us, that in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven, Matth. xxii. 30. And they will see the Folly of that Conceit, that the Dead must creep through the Holes of the Earth, till they come to the Land of Canaan, where they fancy the Resurrection shall be; for they have no Ground for this, but only Talmudical Dreams. There are some other Things wherein the modern Jews do err both in Opinion and Practice, as concerning Polygamy and Divorce, Hatred of the Christians, Lying and Dissimulation, rash Oaths, and many superstitious Rites; which proceed from their misunderstanding of the Law of God, from their rejecting the Gospel, and the Explication our Lord hath there made of the Law; from a too high Opinion of their Fathers, and the Blindness of their Minds.

BUT I have considered in the above History the Jewish Sects and Customs, with several of their Opinions and Practices (d); they who desire to see them further examined may consult Basnage (e), Hornbeck (f), Spanheim (g), Limborch (h), Hulsius (i), and other learned Writers. When the Jews shall be turned to the LORD, to receive our Redeemer as their promised Messiah, believe his New Testament Revelation, and fear the LORD and his Goodness in the latter Days; then shall all their Errors be renounced, and they shall as cheerfully promote the Truth as ever they opposed it.

IN Expectation of this joyful and much desired Event, I shall shut up this Performance with a short Address to this People:

Dearlly Beloved,

YOUR Salvation we earnestly expect, and daily pray for: You are the Children of Abraham, God's Friend. Moses, in the Name of the LORD, foretold concerning you, *When they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God. But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt, in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God: I am the LORD,* Levit. xxvi.

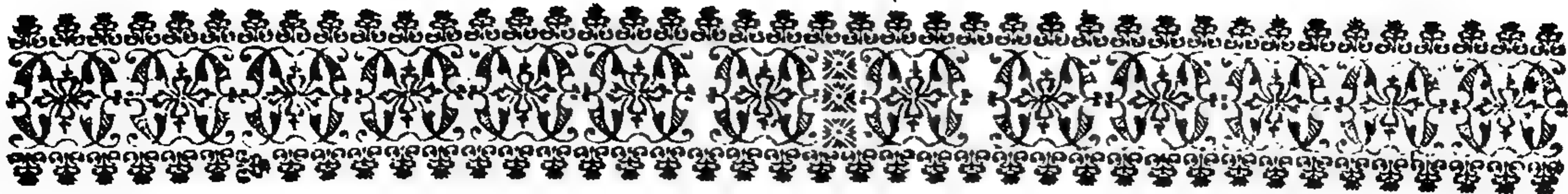
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(a) Manasseh Ben-Israel conciliator in Exodum, Quæst. 6. de fragilitate humana, p. 116. de termino vitæ, p. 109. Vide Hornbeck contra Judæos, p. 479 & seqq. (b) Manasseh conciliator in Genesim, Quæst. 43. p. m. 66. de resurrectione, lib. 2. cap. 17. Leo de Modena's Ceremonies of the Jews, Part 5. chap. 11. (c) Manasseh de resurrectione, lib. 3. cap. 9. Leo de Modena, Part 5. chap. 10. (d) See Chap. 7. (e) History of the Jews, Book 4. (f) Pro convincendis & convertendis Judæis, per totum. (g) In Elencho controversiarum. (h) In collatione cum Judæo. (i) De doctrina Judaica.

44, 45. We hope you shall yet have Occasion for this Song, *In that day you shall say, O LORD, I will praise thee: though thou was angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comforted me. Behold, God is my salvation: I will trust, and not be afraid; for the Lord JEHOVAH is my strength and my song, he also is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation, Isa. xii. Great shall be the day of Jezreel, Hof. i. ii.* There are many Texts in the holy Prophets which do plainly intimate your Conversion, some of which I have before named (a). Your present Case is very deplorable: Many of the Miseries you have gone through have been represented in the preceeding History; and I wish you would firmly believe it, that these are the Fruits of Divine Vengeance, for rejecting the Lord JESUS, the alone Purchaser of our Salvation and yours. Some of your unconverted Rabbi's seem to suspect this to be the Cause. The Words of Rabbi Samuel Marockanus, in his Book of the *Coming of the Messiah*, are very memorable: He says (b), "The Prophet *Amos* expressly mentions a fourth Crime, *Amos* ii. 6. of selling the just One for Silver, for which we have been in our Captivity; it manifestly appears to me, that for selling that just One, we are justly punished. It is now a thousand Years and more, and in all this while we have made no good hand of it among the Gentiles, nor is there any Likelihood of our ever any more turning to Good. O my God, I am afraid, I am afraid, lest the JESUS, whom the Christians worship, be the just One we sold for Silver!" Now I earnestly beseech you to consider, that you can never be free of these Miseries under which you groan, till you return, and look on him whom you have pierced, and mourn.

I shall yet offer one Argument, and pray you notice it: The Law tells you expressly, *Deut. xxvii. 26. Cursed be he who confirmeth not all the words of the law to do them. Deut. xxviii. 58, 59. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayst fear the glorious and dreadful name of THE LORD THY GOD; Then the LORD will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.* Now you cannot but own your innumerable Breaches of the holy Law of GOD, that requires you to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God; for there is no man that doth good, and sinneth not. How shall these Sins be expiated, and you freed from the Guilt of them? During your Abode in your own Land, and the Standing of your Temple, you might pretend GOD allowed of Attonement by Sacrifices, though even these were but typical, and did only purge away Sin when the Offerer looked to the promised *Messiah*, who bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors; for GOD was not pleased merely with the flesh of bulls, or the blood of goats. But now Providence hath secluded you from your own Land, and from your Temple, which is long ago utterly demolished, and could never be rebuilt; and you have no Sacrifices, nor Access to them. What Attonement can you now make for your Sins? None at all, till you look to the Sacrifice which the promised *Messiah*, our blessed JESUS, hath made by his Death, which is the alone Propitiation: For He made an end of sin, finished the transgression, made reconciliation for iniquity, and brought in everlasting righteousness. He was wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we healed. The LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He made his soul an offering for sin, and made intercession for transgressors. 'Tis to him all the ends of the earth look, and are saved. Till you Jews look to him for Salvation, the Wrath of GOD hangs over your Heads for all your Sins, the LORD makes your Plagues wonderful: But if you shall turn to him, and believe on his Name, then shall his Anger be turned away, and he shall comfort you. *The iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found.* Your Salvation shall then be magnificent, glorious and wonderful, as before observed: Your Learning, Zeal, great Parts and Eloquence, shall be employed to advance the Kingdom of our Redeemer all the World over; you and we, who are Christians, shall join with Heart and Hand, as Members of one Body of CHRIST, to advance practical Godliness, that the earth may be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea. The mighty Powers of eternal loving Kindness, the Love of GOD who sent his own Son into the World to enlighten us with his heavenly Doctrine, and save us by the Merits of his Death, the Interests of his Kingdom, the precious Promises relating to your Conversion and happy future State; the great Benefits that shall thence arise to the Church of GOD, and the Love that we bear to your immortal Souls, do all with an united Force conspire to warm our Affections with a heavenly Flame to promote and pray for your Conversion. *May the salvation of Israel come out of Zion; then Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad. The Nations shall triumph, and GOD shall have the Glory.*

(a) Above p. 1, — 4. of this Discourse. (b) See Cotton Mather's Faith of the Fathers.



A

Chronological Table.

P E R I O D I.

From the Creation to the Flood, 1656 Years.

A. M.

1	The World created; Adam and Eve made.
130	The Birth of Seth, Gen. v.
235	Enos born.
325	Cainan born.
395	Mahalaleel born.
460	Jared born.
622	Enoch born.
687	Methuselah born.
874	Lamech born.
930	Adam died.
987	Enoch translated to Heaven.
1042	Seth died.
1056	Noah born.
1142	Enos died.
1235	Cainan died.
1290	Mahalaleel died.
1422	Jared died.
1536	Noah warned of God, Gen. vi. 3.
1656	Methuselah died; Noah being 600 Years old, enters into the Ark.

The Line of Cain, Gen. iv. 17,—22.

Enoch,
Irad,
Mehujael,
Methusael,
Lamech, who married Adah and Zillah;

Jabal invents Tents.
Jubal the Harp and Organ,
Tubal-Cain instructs Artificers in Brass and Iron.

The Sons of God take Wives of the Daughters of Men; the World becomes wicked.

P E R I O D II.

From the Flood, to the Call of Abram, 370 Years.

A. M.

Ages of the PATRIARCHS.

1658	Arphaxad the Son of Shem born, Gen. xi. 10,—29.
1693	Salah born.
1723	Heber born.
1757	Peleg born. In his Days the Earth was divided, Gen. x. 25. and about this Time the Tower of Babel seems to have been built and Language confounded.
1787	Reu born.
1819	Serug born.
1849	Nahor born.
1878	Terah born,
1948	Abram born.
1958	Sarai Abram's Wife born.
1996	Peleg died.
1997	Nahor died.
2006	Noah died.
2026	The Promise made to Abram.

A. M.

1719 The Assyrian Kingdom at Babylon founded by Nimrod; he built Babel and other Cities, Gen. x. 8,—12. but what was the Extent of his Dominions, or who were his Successors, is uncertain.

1763 The Kingdom of Egypt founded by Mifraim.

	<i>Reigned Years.</i>	<i>Royal Passors.</i>	
1849	Menes	62	Salatis
1911	Athothes	59	Beon
1970	Athothes II.	32	Apachnas
2002	Diabies	19	Apophis
2021	Pemphos	18	

P E R I O D III.

From the Promise made to Abram, to the coming of Israel out of Egypt, 430 Years, Exod. xii. 40. Gal. iii. 17.

A. M.	Ant.		A. M.	KINGS of Egypt	Reigned Years.	A. M.	
2026	Ch.	Reu dies.	2039	Togar Amachus,	79		Royal Pastors.
2036		Abram married to Agar, Gen. xvi.	2118	Stocchus,	6		
2048		Isaac promised, Gen. xvii.	2124	Goformics,	30	2081	Janias, 50
2049		The Death of Serug.	2154	Mares,	26		
2083		The Death of Terah, Abram's Father.	2180	Anoyphes,	20	2131	Queen Afo, 50
2088	1862	The Death of Sarah Abram's Wife.	2200	Siricius,	18		
2096		The Death of Arphaxad.	2218	Cneubus Cneurus,	27		
2111		Esau and Jacob born.	2245	Rauosis,	13		
2126	1824	The Death of Abraham; the same Year died Salah, Isaac being 75 Years old, Esau and Jacob 15.	2258	Eiyris,	10		
2157		Heber the Patriarch dies.	2268	Saophis,	29		
2158		Shem the Son of Noah dies.	2297	Senlaophis,	27		The Successors of Esau reign in Edom, Gen. xxxvi.
2231	1719	Isaac dies, his Sons Esau and Jacob being 120.	2324	Moscheris,	31		
2241		Jacob with his whole Family descend into Egypt.	2355	Musthis,	33		
2258		Jacob blesteth his Sons and dies.	2388	Pamnus Archadnes,	35		
2312	1638	Joseph dies in Egypt.	2423	Apaxus Maximus,	100		
2376	1574	Moses born.					
2416	1534	Moses retires into Midian: About this Time the Book of Job seems to have been written					
2456	1494	The Children of Israel come out of Egypt.					

P E R I O D IV.

From the Departure of Israel out of Egypt, to the building of Solomon's Temple in the fourth Year of his Reign, 480 Years, 1 Kings vi. 1.

A. M.	Ant.	Affairs of the Church of GOD.	Kings of Egypt.	Affairs of Greece.
2456	1494	The Law given on Mount Sinai.	Apaxus Maximus reigns as above.	
2457	1493	The Tabernacle erected in the Wilderness.		
2458	1492	Israel encamps at Rimmon Perez.		
2463	1487	The Rebellion of Korah.		
2493	1457	The Death of Naasson Prince of Judah, and others.		
2496	1454	The last Year of Israel's Peregrination in the Wilderness; Aaron dieth, aged 123. Israel conquered Sihon King of the Amorites, Og of Bashan, are avenged of the Midianites. Moses exhorts the People, and dies.		
2497	1453	Joshua passeth Jordan, takes Jericho.		
2503	1447	He conquers Canaan; the Land is divided to the Tribes; the Tabernacle fixed at Shiloh; Cities of Levites and of Refuge appointed. Two Tribes and half return home.		
2513	1437	Joshua exhorts the People, dieth. Israel serve Baalim, are oppressed by Cushan Rishathaim, delivered by Othniel; the Land rested 40 Years.		
2553	1397	About this Time happened the Idolatry of the Danites, and the War with the Benjamites. Judg. xvii.—xxi.		
		Israel revolts to Idolatry, are oppressed by Eglon, delivered by Ehud; and the Land rested 80 Years, in which is included the Government of Shamgar.		
2633	1317	Israel again doing Evil, are oppressed by Jabin King of Canaan, delivered by Deborah and Barak, and the Land rested forty Years.		
2673	1277	About this Time the History of Ruth is placed. Israel again did Evil, are oppressed by Midian, delivered by Gideon, the Land rested 40 Years.		
2713	1237	Abimelech governed 3 Years.		
2716	1234	Tolah 23 Years.		
2739	1211	Jair 22 Years.		
2761	1189	Israel guilty of Idolatry, are oppressed by the Philistines and Ammonites, delivered by		
2767	1183	Jephthah, who judged 6 Years.		

A. M.	Reigned Years.
2523	Echelus Caras, 1
2524	Nitocris, 6
2530	Myrtæus, 22
2552	Thyosimares, 12
2564	Thyrillus, 8
2572	Semiphucare, 18
2590	Chuter Taurus, 7
2597	Cheres Philosophus, 12
2609	Choma Ephtha, 11
2620	Anchurius Ochus, 60
2680	Penteathyrus, 16
2696	Stamenes, 23
2719	Sistofichemes, 55
2774	Maris, 43
2817	Siphoas Hermes, 43
2836	Phruron or Nilus, 63
2843	Amurthæus, 63

A. M.	Affairs of Greece.
2584	Deucalion's Flood. Burning of Phaeton.
2662	Burning of Ida.
2727	Rape of Ganymedes.
2746	Adventures of Perseus.
2840	Expedition of the Argonauts.

3 E

P E R I O D V.

A. M.		Ant. Ch.		Sacred CHRONOLOGY.		Kings of Egypt.		Affairs of Greece,		Kings of Syria and Assyria	
2936	1014	Solomon begins to build the Temple.						The Wars of Troy.		Rezon the Son of Elia-	
2943	1007	— Finishes the Temple.						Priam King of Troy		dah, 1 Kings xi. 23.	
2956	994	— Builds his own Houses,						killed, the City		Hezion.	
2967	983	— Writes the Proverbs and Song.						razed.		Tabrimon, 1 Kings xv.	
2972	978	— his Death								18.	
		Kings of Judah.		Kings of ten Tribes.		Schishak or Sefo-		Perpetual Archons		Benhadad Son of Ta-	
		Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.		stris.		at Athens.		brimon	
2989	961	Rehoboam,	17	Jeroboam,	22					Ant. C.	
2992	958	Abijah,	3	Nadab,	2					892 Benhadad II.	
3035	917	Ash,	41	Baalha,	24					867 Hazael.	
				Elah,	2					839 Benhadad III.	
				Zimri 7 Days,						778 Pul King of Assyria,	
3051	892	Jehosaphat,	25	Omri,	12	Other Kings of E.				2 Kings xv. 19.	
				Ahab,	22	gypt from Shi-				Rezin King of Sy-	
				In his Time flouri-		thak, to Sabacon				ria, Isa. 7. 1, ... 9.	
				shed Elijah the		their Names are				758 Tiglath Pilnezer,	
				Prophet.		not on any certain				King of Assyria ru-	
3062	888	Jehoram,	4	Ahaziah,	2	Record.				ined the Syrian	
3063	887	Ahaziah,	1	Jehoram,	12					Kingdom.	
3070	880	Athaliah,	6	Elisha the Prophet						720 Salmanezer besie-	
		full Years, 7th be-		flourished.						eth Tyre 5 Years.	
		gun.		Jehu,	28					715 Salmanezer dieth.	
3110	840	Joash,	40	Jehoachaz,	17			A. M.		714 Sennacherib inva-	
3139	811	Amaziah,	29	Jehoash,	16			3174 The first O-		deth Judea, Isaiah	
				Jeroboam II.	41			lympiad.		xxxvi. 1.	
3191	759	Uzziah,	52	Jonah the Prophet				Lycurgus the Lace-		708 Sennacherib slain,	
		Hosea, Joel, Amos,		flourished.				demonian Law-		is succeeded by Esar-	
		Obadiah, and I-		Eleven Years inter-				giver.		haddon his Son.	
		saiah prophecy		regnum.				Archons for ten		612 Nineveh is destroy-	
		about this Time.		Zachariah 6 Months				Years.		ed by the Medes and	
3207	743	Jotham,	16	Shallum 1 Month.				Homer writes his		Babylonians.	
		In his Time Micah		Menahem,	10			Poems.		The Book of Tobit.	
		began to prophesy.		Pekahiah,	2						
3223	727	Ahaz,	16	Pekah,	20						
				Eight Years inter-							
3252	698	Hezekiah,	29	Hoshea,	9						
		The Prophet Na-		Carried Captive.							
		hum.		Here ends the King-							
				dom of the ten							
				Tribes.							
3272	678	Manasseh made Captive. In his Time									
		Habakkuk prophesied.									
3307	643	Manasseh died, having reigned	55								
3309	641	Ammon,	2								
3340	610	Josiah reigns	31								
		Is killed in Battle.									
		In the 13th Year of Josiah, Jeremiah									
		began to prophesy, and Zephaniah									
		about the same Time.									
		Jehoachaz reigns three Months.									
		Jehojakim,									
3344	606	In the fourth Year of his Reign Nebu-</									

P E R I O D VI.

From the Beginning to the End of the Babylonish Captivity, 70 Years.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of the Jews and of Babylon.	Affairs of Egypt.	Affairs of Media.	Affairs of Greece and Rome.
3344	606	Of Jehojakims Reign the fourth, of the Babylonish Captivity the first.			
3349	601	Nabopolassar being dead, Nebuchadnezzar is King of Babylon.			Tarquinus Priscus reigns at Rome, as before mentioned.
3350	600	Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's Dreams, Jehojakim rebels.			
	599	Darius the Median born.			
	598	Cyrus born, Jehojakim slain, Ezekiel carried Captive, Jehojachin's Captivity. Zedekiah made King at Jerusalem.	Pharaoh - Neco dies, is succeeded by Psammis his Son.	Astyages King of Media.	
3357	593	Ezekiel begins to prophesy, Ezek. i. 1, 2.	Psammis dies, is succeeded by Apries or Pharaoh-Hophra his Son.		
3363	587	Zedekiah being confederate with Pharaoh Hophra, Nebuchadnezzar besieges and takes Jerusalem. The City and Temple destroyed. The Lamentations of Jeremiah.			
3364	586	Gedaliah slain, the remaining Jews flee to Egypt, Jeremiah prophesies against them. Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon erects the golden Image.			Ant. Ch. 579 Servius Tullius King of Rome, reigns 44 Years.
	584	Nebuchadnezzar besiegeth Tyre.	Ant. Ch. 574 The Egyptians revolt from Pharaoh-Hophra, he is killed by Amasis.		
	573	Ezekiel's Visions of the Temple, Chap. xl. Tyre taken. Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt, returns to Babylon.	570 Amasis reigns as Deputy to Nebuchadnezzar.		
3387	569	Nebuchadnezzar distracted, Dan. iv.		Astyages King of Media dies, is succeeded by Cyaxares II. or Darius the Median.	
	563	Restored to his Senses.			
	562	His Death.			
	561	Evilmerodach reigns at Babylon. Jehojachin released out of Prison.			
	559	Evilmerodach slain, Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon; Cyrus assists the Medes.			
	556	Cyrus is General of the Medes, Neriglissar is killed in Battle. Cræsus with the routed Army retires, is overtaken and defeated.			
	555	Labosordochus King of Babylon reigns only nine Months; to him succeeded Nabonadius the Son of Evilmerodach, and reigned 17 Years.			
	553	Daniel's Vision, Chap. viii. Belshazzar or Nabonadius goes to Lydia, hires an Army, which is commanded by Cræsus; Cyrus defeats Cræsus at the River Halys, pursues him to Sardis, takes the City and Cræsus in it.			About this Time flourished the Wisemen of Greece, viz. Thales, Solon, Pittacus, Chilo, Bias, Cleobulus and Periander.
3403	547	Cyrus having settled his Conquests in the lesser Asia, Syria, and Arabia, besieges Babylon eight Years.			
3411	539	Cyrus takes Babylon, Belshazzar is killed.			
3412	538	Cyrus sets his Uncle Darius on the Throne at Babylon, and goes into Syria.			535 Servius Tullius killed.
3413	537	Darius the Mede dies, Cyrus succeeds to the whole Empire.			
3414	536	Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an End to their Captivity of 70 Years.			

The PERSIAN Empire and its Contemporaries.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of Persia and of the Jews.	Affairs of Egypt.	Affairs of Greece	Affairs of Rome.
	536	Cyrus delivers the Jews out of Babylon,			Ant. U. C. 534 219 Tarquinus Superbus reigns 25 Y. is expelled. Consuls chosen.
	535	They begin to rebuild the City and Temple.	Psammiticus succeeds Amasis.	Theognis Megarensis a Poet.	
	534	The Samaritans obstruct the Work,		Anacreon a Poet.	
3420	530	Cyrus dies, being 70 Years old.			
	529	Cambyfes his Son succeeds.	Psammiticus conquered by Cambyfes.		
	527	He invades Egypt.			
	524	Makes an Expedition against the Æthiopians; returns with Loss.			246 The Capitol finished.

Affair

A.M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of Persia; and of the Jews.	Affairs of Egypt.	Affairs of Greece.	Ant. Ch.	U. C.	Affairs of Rome.
3428	523	Cambyfes commits Outrages.		Ant. Ch.	497	256	Largius Cassius first Dictator.
	522	—Returns out of Egypt, dies in Syria.		Pythagoras flourisheth.	493	260	Tribunes of the People created.
		The Magians take the Kingdom, and reign seven Months.		Æschylus a Tragedian.		265	Coriolanus dies.
	521	Darius Hytaspis chosen King.		Anaximenes.	478	275	Three hundred Fabii cut off by the Veientes.
		The rebuilding of the Temple resumed.		Hellanicus, Pindar.			
	519	The Samaritans obstruct it.		491 Miltiades defeats the Persians at Marathon.	451	302	Decemvirs first appointed
	518	A Decree obtained to go on with the Work.		480 Themistocles defeats the Persian Fleet at Salamis.	447	306	The Decemvirs abrogated.
	517	The Babylonians revolt from Darius.		Carthaginians defeat in Sicily.	443	310	Military Tribunes appointed.
3435	516	Babylon reduced.		Herodotus the Historian.	389	364	Rome burnt by the Gauls.
	515	The building of the Temple finished.		Aristides the Athenian.		365	Gauls expelled by Camillus.
	513	Darius makes War on the Scythians, but returns with Loss.		479 Pausanias defeats the Persians by Land at Platæa.	369	384	No supreme Magistrates in Rome for 5 Years.
3464	486	Darius dies, Xerxes succeeds, and confirms the Jews in their Privileges.	Xerxes reduceth the revolting Egyptians.	The Persian Fleet defeat the same Day at Mycale.	365	388	Camillus defeats the Gauls at Anio.
	485	Makes an Expedition into Egypt.		Sophocles the Tragedian.	361	392	The Government of military Tribunes laid aside.
	483	Prepares for a War against the Greeks.		Socrates, Euripides flourish.	342	411	M. Curtius leaps into a Gulph.
		Jeshua the High-priest dies, is succeeded by Jojakim.		476 Pausanias suspect of Treason.	336	417	War with the Samnites.
3472	478	Xerxes, returning with Loss from Greece, destroys the Grecian Temples, and that of Bel in Babylon.	The Egyptians revolt.	475 Put to death for it.	331	422	Manlius beheads his own Son for fighting without Orders.
3486	464	Xerxes slain by Artabanus, is succeeded by Artaxerxes Longimanus.	Achæmenides killed.	470 Cimon, General of the Athenians, gains Victories.	321	432	Decius devotes himself to the Gods.
3448	462	Artaxerxes divorceth Vashti his Queen.		Pericles his Contemporary.	320		Women put to Death for their Skill in poisoning.
	458	Esther is made Queen.	The Egyptians reduced.	458 Antisthenes the Cynick.			The Romans affronted at Caudium.
		Ezra is made Governor of Judea.		Hippocrates the Physician.			The Affront revenged.
3498	452	The Beginning of Daniel's 70 Weeks.		431 The Peloponnesian War begins; a Plague in the East.			
		Haman's Plot ends in his own Destruction.		Euripides the Comedian, Thucydides the Historian, Nicias the Athenian, Alcibiades, flourish.			
	446	Ezra compleats his Reformation.		Lyfander the Lacedemonian.			
	445	Nehemiah succeeds Ezra in the Government of Judea.		428 Pericles dies.			
3526	424	Artaxerxes dies, having reigned 41 Years.		412 Nicias overthrown in Sicily, kills himself.			
	423	Darius Nothus begins to reign.		The Persians help the Lacedemonians.			
3537	413	Eliashib High-priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by Jojada.		409 Lyfander routs the Athenians at Ægospotamos, takes Athens, imposeth 30 Tyrants.			
	409	The last Act of Nehemiah's Reformation.		The Peloponnesian War ends.			
		The End of the 7 Weeks.		403 Alcibiades killed.			
3545	408	The Temple on Mount Gerizim built.	Pausiris reigns.	Xenophon and Ctesias Historians.			
	405	Darius Nothus dies.		Aristippus.			
		Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeds.		Socrates put to Death.			
		Cyrus making War against the King his Brother, is defeated and killed.		Pyrrho the Sceptick.			
3584	401	Johanan High-priest of the Jews, kills his Brother Jeshua, for which the Jews are laid under a Curse.	Ant. C.	398 Athenians regain their Liberty.			
	366	Artaxerxes Mnemon dies, having reigned 45 Years.	Psammiticus.	396 Agefilaus the Lacedemonian makes War against the Persians, routs Tissaphernes, is recalled.			
3590	360	Artaxerxes Ochus reigns in Persia.	395 Nephereus.	Thrafsybulus and Chabrias flourish.			
		Alexander the Great born in Macedon.	388 Accoris.	392 Conon the Athenian routs Pisander the Laconian, rebuilds the Walls of Athens, restores her to Liberty; is put to Death by Tiribazus.			
3594	356	Sidon destroyed.	376 Nectanebus.	388 The Peace of Antalcidas.			
3600	350	Ochus subdues Egypt.	363 Tachos.	371 Epaminondas gains the Battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, loses his Life.			
	341	Johanan High-priest of the Jews dies; is succeeded by Jaddua his Son.	361 Nectanebus restored by Agefilaus.	Pelopidas his Contemporary.			
3612	338	Ochus poisoned by Bagoas.	Manetho ends his History.	356 Temple of Diana burnt.			
	336	Artes reigns and is killed.		Diogenes the Cynick.			
		Darius Codomannus reigns in Persia, who puts Bagoas to Death.		354 Dion the Corinthian.			
	335	Darius is defeated by Alexander at Granicus.		348 Plato dies; Aristotle, Demosthenes, Æschines, flourish.			
		The lesser Asia declares for the Conqueror.		338 Timoleon cuts off Tyrants in Sicily, quiets that Island.			
	333	Darius is again defeated at Issus.		336 Philip of Macedon overthrows the Greeks at Chæronea, and spoils Greece of her Liberty.			
		Alexander destroys Tyre, favours Jerusalem.		335 Philip killed.			
	332	Alexander destroys Gaza, conquers Egypt, gains Babylon, Susa and Persepolis.		Alexander the Great reigns in Macedon, passes with his Army into Asia.			
	331	—Routs Darius at Guagamela.		330 Epicurus teaches Philosophy.			
3620	330	Darius slain by Beasts.		Phocion flourisheth at Athens.			
		The End of the Persian Empire.					

The GRECIAN Empire and its Contemporaries

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	The Grecian Empire raised by Alexander the Great, and the Affairs of the Jews.	Other Affairs.	Affairs of Greece.
	330	Alexander the Great kills Philotas and Parmenio, two of his Officers; over-runs Bactria and Sogdiana; settles his Conquests.	FERGUS I. King of Scotland.	
	329	Murders Clitus, marries Roxana a Persian.		
	328	Prepares for an Expedition into India.		
	327	Passeth the River Indus, overthrows Porus.		
	326	Sends Nearchus with a Fleet from India to Ormus, marches to Babylon with his Army by Land.		
	325	Repairs the Temple of Jupiter Belus. The Jews refuse to assist in that Work; are sent home.		
3626	324	He dies at Babylon.		Ant. Ch.
	323	Aridæus his Brother made nominal King.		315 Phocion put to Death.
	321	Alexander's chief Officers divide the Empire; Perdicas slain by his own Soldiers. Jaddua High-priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by Onias his Son.		
	315	Eumenes is put to Death by Antigonus.		

Of the Successors of Alexander the Great, and their Contemporaries.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of Egypt and of the Jews.	Affairs of Syria.	Affairs of Greece and Macedonia.	Ant. Ch.	U. C.	Roman Affairs.
3636	314	Ptolemy Lagus having taken Possession of Egypt, takes Jerusalem on the Sabbath.	Ant. Ch.	Ant. Ch.	312	441	The Via Appia made.
		—He seizes Cyprus, and defeats Demetrius at Gaza, but loses the Country again, by the defeat of Gilles his Lieutenant.	310 Seleucus takes Babylon from Antigonus.	317 Aridæus put to death in Macedon.	280	473	Pyrrhus assists the Tarentines, and defeats the Romans twice.
3640	310	Hecataeus the Abderitean Historian Jews encouraged in Egypt.	304 Seleucus having made himself Master of all Alexander the Great's Conquests beyond Euphrates, makes Peace with Sandrocottus in India.	316 Olympias, Mother to Alexander the Great put to death.			
	306	Ptolemy and other Successors of Alexand. take the Title of Kings.	303 The Confederates are Victors at Ipsus. Antigonus is slain.	310 Roxana the Wife of Alexander the Great, her Son Alexander, with all the Offspring of Alexander the Great cut off.	275	478	Pyrrhus is overthrown by the Romans, and returns to Greece.
	304	Ptolemy is called Soter.	302 Seleucus builds Antioch, the Seat of the Kings of Syria.	Cassander reigns in Macedon.	263	490	The first Carthaginian War begun.
		Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander and Lyfimachus join in Confederacy against Antigonus and his Son Demetrius, and defeat them.	294 He builds other Cities. Megasthenes the Indian Historian.	306 Demetrius expels the Garrison of Cassander out of Athens, and dispossesseth Ptolemy of Cyprus.	256	497	The War carried into Africa.
	300	After this Ptolemy had Egypt, Judea, Phoenicia and Coele Syria.	293 Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris, by which Babylon is desolate.	299 Demetrius marries his Daughter Stratonice to Seleucus, and seizes Cilicia.	250	503	Regulus sent to sue for Peace.
		Onias I. High priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by his Son Simon the Just.	Jews settle at Antioch and other Cities built by Seleucus.	298 Cassander dies in Macedon; his Posterity is cut off.	240	513	Peace with the Carthaginians.
3658	292	Simon High-priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by Eleazar his Brother.	286 Antiochus the Son of Seleucus marries his Father's Wife.	304 Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without Success.	239	514	Tragedies made by Livius Andronicus.
3665	285	Ptol. Soter resigns his Kingdom to his Son Ptol. Philadelphus.	283 Seleucus prepares for War against Lyfimachus King of Thrace.	299 Demetrius marries his Daughter Stratonice to Seleucus, and seizes Cilicia.	235	520	Illyrian War.
	284	Ptolemy Soter dies, the Pharos finished, a Library founded at Alexandria.	280 Seleucus slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus.	298 Cassander dies in Macedon; his Posterity is cut off.	222	531	War with the Gauls.
3673	277	The Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek, which we call the Septuagint.	279 Antiochus Soter succeeds his Father Seleucus.	294 Demetrius reigns in Macedon 7 Years.	218	535	Hannibal defeats the Romans at Ticinum and at Trebia.
	273	Embassies between Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Romans.	261 Antiochus Soter dies, is succeeded by Antiochus Theos.	288 Demetrius endeavouring to recover his Father's Dominions in Asia, his Army revolts, he yields himself Prisoner to Seleucus, and dies in the 3d Year of his Confinement.	217	536	Gains a Victory at Thrasymenus.
	268	Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Athenians, and Lacedemonians make War on Antigonus Gonatas, without Success.	Berosus the Historian.	294 Demetrius reigns in Macedon 7 Years.			Fabius Maximus made Dictator
3685	265	Magas Governour of Cyrene and Libya revolts.	259 A War between Ant. Theos, and Ptol. Philadelphus.	281 Lyfimachus vanquished and slain.	216	537	The Romans defeated at Cannæ.
	263	The Rise of the Sadducees.	250 The Parthians set up a Kingdom under Artabanes; other eastern Provinces revolt.	279 Gauls kill Prol. Ceraunus King of Macedon. Gauls expelled by Sothenes.	214	539	Fabius Maximus and Cl. Marcellus retrieve the Roman Affairs.
	259	Ptolemy Philadelphus carries the Trade of the East to Egypt.	Antiochus Theos puts away Berenice his Wife, and recalls Laodice, who poisons her Husband, and sets her Son Seleucus on the Throne.	276 Antigonus Gonatas Son of Demetrius reigns in Macedon.			Archimedes the Mathematician at Syracuse.
	258	Magas offers to compose Differences with his Brother Philadelphus.	246 Seleucus Callinicus reigns.	272 Pyrrhus slain.	208	545	Marcellus slain.
	257	Magas dying, Apame hindered the Agreement.		268 Athens taken by Antigonus Gonatas.	207	546	An Army sent to assist Hannibal in Italy, cut off at Metaurum.
3700	250	Onias II. High-priest of the Jews.		254 Aratus the Sicyonian.	200	553	Scipio defeats Hannibal in Africk, and ends the second Punic War.
	249	Peace made between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus Theos, on Terms that Antiochus should marry Berenice the Daughter of Ptolemy.		247 Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, Aratus and Zoilus flourish.	198	555	Polybius writes his History.
	247	Ptolemy Philadelphus dies, and is succeeded by Ptol. Euergetes.		239 The Kingdom of Pergamus set up.			Flaminius defeats Philip of Macedon, & carries off a thousand Achæans to Rome.

<i>A. M. Ant. Ch.</i>		<i>Affairs of Egypt, and of the Jews.</i>	<i>Affairs of Syria.</i>	<i>Affairs of Greece and Macedon.</i>
3704	246	Ptolemy Euergetes takes Syria and Cilicia from Seleucus Callinicus in War.	<i>Ant. Ch.</i> 244 Cities revolt; but, on Seleucus Misfortunes, return to him.	<i>Ant. Ch.</i> 221 Cleomenes King of Sparta kills himself at Alexandria.
	243	Peace made between them.	230 Seleucus is taken Prisoner by the Parthians.	
	239	Ptolemy augments his Library at Alexandria, and makes Eratosthenes Keeper thereof.	225 He dies in Parthia. Seleucus Ceraunus, Son to Callinicus, reigns.	
3724	226	Onias High-priest of the Jews sends Joseph to Ptolemy, who farms the Revenues of Coele Syria and Phœnicia.	224 He makes War on Attalus King of Pergamus, and is poisoned.	211 Aratus General of the Achæans poisoned.
	222	Ptolemy Euergetes dies, and is succeeded by Ptolemy Philopator his Son.	222 Antiochus called afterwards the Great, Brother to Ceraunus reigns. The Colossus at Rhodes overthrown.	
	221	Ptol. Philopator commits horrid Murders, and becomes very profligate.	221 Antiochus vanquisheth Alexander and Molon, who had revolted in the East.	
	217	Ptolemy defeats Antiochus in the Battle at Raphia, recovers Coele Syria and Phœnicia, is hindered from entering the inner Temple at Jerusalem.	219 Antiochus takes Tyre, Ptolemais and Damascus.	195 Philopœmon Pretor of the Achæans is taken and put to Death.
3734	216	Peace made between Ptolemy and Antiochus.	218 Also takes Galilee and Gilcad.	
			217 Is defeated at Raphia.	<i>See Roman Affairs.</i>

Of the Successors of Alexander the Great in Syria and Egypt, and their Contemporaries.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of Syria and of the Jews.	Affairs of Egypt and of the Jews.	Ant. U. C. Ch.	Roman Affairs.
	216	Antiochus vanquisheth Achæus, who had rebelled, takes him in Sardis, and puts him to Death, recovers all the lesser Asia.	Ant. C. 216 Ptolemy Philopator persecutes the Jews in Egypt.		
		Antiochus for some Years makes War with Artabanes in Parthia, to recover the Eastern Provinces; having settled his Affairs there, he returns to Antioch.	213 Masters a Rebellion in Egypt.		
3745	205	Antiochus and Philip of Macedon engage to divide Ptolemy's Kingdom.	204 Ptolemy Philopator dies. Ptolemy Epiphanes of 5 Years old succeeds under the Tuition of the Romans.		
	203	Antiochus seizes Palestine and Coele Syria.	202 Agathocles the Favourite, and Agathoclea the Concubine of the late King are killed in a Tumult.		
3752	198	Antiochus the Great defeats Scopas at Panæas, favours the Jews, makes peace with Egypt.	201 Simon the Son of Perachia, is President of the Jewish Sanhedrim.		
	192	Antiochus excited by Hannibal, resolves on War against the Romans, but neglects to prepare, by marrying at Chalcis.	199 Scopas General for Ptolemy recovers Judea, but is defeated next Year.	189	564 Manlius Vulso chastises the Ætolians.
3760	190	Hannibal commanding Antiochus's Fleet, is defeated by the Romans, and Antiochus's Army is vanquished by them; and he is forced to accept of an ignominious peace.	198 Peace made with Syria.		Asian Luxury brought to Rome.
	187	Antiochus attempting to rob the Temple at Elymais, is slain, and succeeded by Seleucus Philopator his Son.	195 Simon, High-priest of the Jews being dead, is succeeded by Onias III. his Son.	165	588 Plautus the Comedian dies.
3775	175	Heliodorus poysons Seleucus, he is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes his Brother. Jason buys the High-priesthood of him.	193 Ptolemy marries Cleopatra the Daughter of Antiochus the Great.		595 Paulus Æmylius conquers Macedon, and triumphs over Perseus.
	174	Jason introduceth Heathen Rites into Jerusalem.	187 Hyrcanus is sent by Joseph to King Ptolemy to farm the Revenues.	149	604 Terentius writes Comedies.
	172	Menelaus supplants Jason.	186 Ptolemy Epiphanes gives himself to all manner of Loose-ness.	145	608 The third Macedonian War, or Andricus quelled.
3780	171	Onias High-priest of the Jews put to Death at Antioch.	181 Ptol. Epiphanes is poisoned.	144	609 The third Punick War ended. Carthage destroyed.
	170	Antiochus Epiphanes marches against Egypt, gains a first and second Victory, makes himself Master of the Country. In his Return he takes Jerusalem, commits Barbarities, defiles and plunders the Temple.	180 Ptol. Philometor, an Infant of 6 Years old, succeeds under the Tuition of his Mother.	133	620 Metellus burns Corinth.
	168	Antiochus Epiphanes makes another Expedition into Egypt, but is forced by the Romans to return. He persecutes the Jews, makes the City and Temple of Jerusalem desolate.	176 Heliodorus attempting to rob the Temple at Jerusalem, is struck down speechless.	121	632 Numantia destroyed.
	167	The seven Maccabean Brothers, with their Mother suffer Martyrdom.	173 Cleopatra Q. of Egypt dies.	104	649 The Sedition of the Gracchi.
	166	Mattathias dies, Judas Maccabæus takes Arms, and gains Victories.	169 The Egyptians make Ptolemy Physcon King, Philometor and Physcon agree to reign together.	100	653 C. Marius triumphs, for ending the War against Jugurtha.
3785	165	Judas defeats Lyfias, recovers Jerusalem, and restores the Worship of the Temple.	163 Ptolemy Philometor being expelled by his Brother Physcon, makes Complaint to the Roman Senate, who order Philometor to reign over Egypt and Cyprus, and Physcon over Libya and Cyrene: But the Subjects of the latter would not receive him.	88	665 The Teutonic War.
	164	Antiochus Epiphanes being dead, is succeeded by Antiochus Eupator, under Tuition of Lyfias. Judas Maccabæus doth great Exploits.		87	666 The cruel Emulation between Marius and Sylla.
	163	Menelaus slain, Alcimus made High-priest.		86	667 The Social War.
	162	Demetrius the Son of Seleucus Philopator, returns from Rome, takes the Crown of Syria, and kills Ant. Eupator, with Lyfias his Tutor.		84	669 Caecilius a Roman Poet.
	161	Judas Maccabæus being slain in Battle, Jonathan his Brother is made Captain of the Jews.		83	670 Marius commits Cruelties.
3790	160	Alcimus, High-priest of the Jews, dies.			Mithridates murders many Romans in Asia.
	158	Bacchides being defeat by the two Brothers, Jonathan and Simon, makes peace with the Jews.			Sylla defeats Mithridates, and makes peace with him.
					Sylla returns to Rome, and committe horrid Cruelties.

The GRECIAN Empire and its Contemporaries

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	The Grecian Empire raised by Alexander the Great, and the Affairs of the Jews.	Other Affairs.	Affairs of Greece.
	330	Alexander the Great kills Philotas and Parmenio, two of his Officers; over-runs Bactria and Sogdiana; settles his Conquests.	FERGUS I. King of Scotland.	
	329	Murders Clitus, marries Roxana a Persian.		
	328	Prepares for an Expedition into India.		
	327	Passeth the River Indus, overthrows Porus.		
	326	Sends Nearchus with a Fleet from India to Ormus, marches to Babylon with his Army by Land.		
	325	Repairs the Temple of Jupiter Belus. The Jews refuse to assist in that Work; are sent home.		
3626	324	He dies at Babylon.		Ant. Ch.
	323	Aridæus his Brother made nominal King.		315 Phocion put to Death.
	321	Alexander's chief Officers divide the Empire; Perdicas slain by his own Soldiers. Jaddua High-priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by Onias his Son.		
	315	Eumenes is put to Death by Antigonus.		

Of the Successors of Alexander the Great, and their Contemporaries.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	Affairs of Egypt and of the Jews.	Affairs of Syria.	Affairs of Greece and Macedonia.	Ant. Ch.	U. C.	Roman Affairs.
3636	314	Ptolemy Lagus having taken Possession of Egypt, takes Jerusalem on the Sabbath.	Ant. Ch.	Ant. Ch.	312	441	The Via Appia made.
		— He seizes Cyprus, and defeats Demetrius at Gaza, but loseth the Country again, by the defeat of Gilles his Lieutenant.	310 Seleucus takes Babylon from Antigonus.	317 Aridæus put to death in Macedon.	280	473	Pyrrhus assists the Tarentines, and defeats the Romans twice.
3640	310	Hecataeus the Abderitean Historian Jews encouraged in Egypt.	304 Seleucus having made himself Master of all Alexander the Great's Conquests beyond Euphrates, makes Peace with Sandrocottus in India.	316 Olympias, Mother to Alexander the Great put to death.			
	306	Ptolemy and other Successors of Alexand. take the Title of Kings.	303 The Confederates are Victors at Ipsus. Antigonus is slain.	310 Roxana the Wife of Alexander the Great, her Son Alexander, with all the Offspring of Alexander the Great cut off.	275	478	Pyrrhus is overthrown by the Romans, and returns to Greece.
	304	Ptolemy is called Soter.	302 Seleucus builds Antioch, the Seat of the Kings of Syria.	Cassander reigns in Macedon.	263	490	The first Carthaginian War begun.
		Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander and Lyfimachus join in Confederacy against Antigonus and his Son Demetrius, and defeat them.	294 He builds other Cities.	306 Demetrius expels the Garrison of Cassander out of Athens, and dispossesseth Ptolemy of Cyprus.	256	497	The War carried into Africa.
	300	After this Ptolemy had Egypt, Judea, Phœnicia and Cœlesyria.	Megasthenes the Indian Historian.	304 Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without Success.	250	503	Regulus sent to sue for Peace.
		Onias I. High priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by his Son Simon the Just.	293 Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris, by which Babylon is desolate.	299 Demetrius marries his Daughter Stratonice to Seleucus, and seizes Cilicia.	240	513	Peace with the Carthaginians.
3658	292	Simon High-priest of the Jews dies, is succeeded by Eleazar his Brother.	Jews settle at Antioch and other Cities built by Seleucus.	298 Cassander dies in Macedon; his Posterity is cut off.	239	514	Tragedies made by Livius Andronicus.
3665	285	Ptol. Soter resigns his Kingdom to his Son Ptol. Philadelphus.	286 Antiochus the Son of Seleucus marries his Father's Wife.	294 Demetrius reigns in Macedon 7 Years.	233	520	Illyrian War.
	284	Ptolemy Soter dies, the Pharos finished, a Library founded at Alexandria.	283 Seleucus prepares for War against Lyfimachus King of Thrace.	288 Demetrius endeavouring to recover his Father's Dominions in Asia, his Army revolts, he yields himself Prisoner to Seleucus, and dies in the 3d Year of his Confinement.	222	531	War with the Gauls.
3673	277	The Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek, which we call the Septuagint.	280 Seleucus slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus.	281 Lyfimachus vanquished and slain.	218	535	Hannibal defeats the Romans at Ticinum and at Trebia.
	273	Embassies between Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Romans.	279 Antiochus Soter succeeds his Father Seleucus.	279 Gauls kill Ptol. Ceraunus King of Macedon. Gauls expelled by Sothenes.	217	536	Gains a Victory at Thrasymenus.
	268	Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians make War on Antigonus Gonatas, without Success.	261 Antiochus Soter dies, is succeeded by Antiochus Theos.	276 Antigonus Gonatas Son of Demetrius reigns in Macedon.			Fabius Maximus made Dictator.
3685	265	Magas Governour of Cyrene and Libya revolts.	Berosus the Historian.	272 Pyrrhus slain.	216	537	The Romans defeated at Cannæ.
	263	The Rise of the Sadducees.	259 A War between Ant. Theos, and Ptol. Philadelphus.	268 Athens taken by Antigonus Gonatas.	214	539	Fabius Maximus and Cl. Marcellus retrieve the Roman Affairs.
	259	Ptolemy Philadelphus carries the Trade of the East to Egypt.	250 The Parthians set up a Kingdom under Artabanes; other eastern Provinces revolt.	254 Aratus the Sicyonian.			Archimedes the Mathematician at Syracuse.
	258	Magas offers to compose Differences with his Brother Philadelphus.	Antiochus Theos puts away Berenice his Wife, and recalls Laodice, who poysons her Husband, and sets her Son Seleucus on the Throne.	247 Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, Aratus and Zoilus flourish.	208	545	Marcellus slain.
	257	Magas dying, Apame hindered the Agreement.	246 Seleucus Callinicus reigns.	239 The Kingdom of Pergamus set up.	207	546	An Army sent to assist Hannibal in Italy, cut off at Metaurum.
3700	250	Onias II. High-priest of the Jews.			200	553	Scipio defeats Hannibal in Africk, and ends the second Punic War.
	249	Peace made between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus Theos, on Terms that Antiochus should marry Berenice the Daughter of Ptolemy.			198	555	Polybius writes his History.
	247	Ptolemy Philadelphus dies, and is succeeded by Ptol. Euergetes.					Flaminius defeats Philip of Macedon, &c. carries off a thousand Achæans to Rome.

A. M. Ant. Ch.		Affairs of Egypt, and of the Jews.	Affairs of Syria.	Affairs of Greece and Macedon.
3704	246	Ptolemy Euergetes takes Syria and Cilicia from Seleucus Callinicus in War.	Ant. Ch. 244 Cities revolt; but, on Seleucus Misfortunes, return to him.	Ant. Ch. 221 Cleomenes King of Sparta kills himself at Alexandria.
	243	Peace made between them.	230 Seleucus is taken Prisoner by the Parthians.	
	239	Ptolemy augments his Library at Alexandria, and makes Eratosthenes Keeper thereof.	225 He dies in Parthia. Seleucus Ceraunus, Son to Callinicus, reigns.	
3724	226	Onias High-priest of the Jews sends Joseph to Ptolemy, who farms the Revenues of Coelestria and Phoenicia.	224 He makes War on Attalus King of Pergamus, and is poisoned.	211 Aratus General of the Achæans poisoned.
	222	Ptolemy Euergetes dies, and is succeeded by Ptolemy Philopator his Son.	222 Antiochus called afterwards the Great, Brother to Ceraunus reigns. The Colossus at Rhodes overthrown.	
	221	Ptol. Philopator commits horrid Murders, and becomes very profligate.	221 Antiochus vanquisheth Alexander and Molon, who had revolted in the East.	
	217	Ptolemy defeats Antiochus in the Battle at Raphia, recovers Coelestria and Phoenicia, is hindered from entering the inner Temple at Jerusalem.	219 Antiochus takes Tyre, Ptolemais and Damascus.	195 Philopæmon Pretor of the Achæans is taken and put to Death.
3734	216	Peace made between Ptolemy and Antiochus.	218 Also takes Galilee and Gilead.	See Roman Affairs.
			217 Is defeated at Raphia.	

Of the Successors of Alexander the Great in Syria and Egypt, and their Contemporaries.

A. M. Ant. Ch.		Affairs of Syria and of the Jews.	Affairs of Egypt and of the Jews.	Ant. U. C. Ch.	Roman Affairs.
	216	Antiochus vanquisheth Achæus, who had rebelled, takes him in Sardis, and puts him to Death, recovers all the lesser Asia.	Ant. C. 216 Ptolemy Philopator persecutes the Jews in Egypt.		
		Antiochus for some Years makes War with Arsaces in Parthia, to recover the Eastern Provinces; having settled his Affairs there, he returns to Antioch.	213 Masters a Rebellion in Egypt.		
3745	205	Antiochus and Philip of Macedon engage to divide Ptolemy's Kingdom.	204 Ptolemy Philopator dies. Ptolemy Epiphanes of 5 Years old succeeds under the Tuition of the Romans.		
	203	Antiochus seizes Palestine and Coelestria.	202 Agathocles the Favourite, and Agathoclea the Concubine of the late King are killed in a Tumult.		
3752	198	Antiochus the Great defeats Scopas at Paneas, favours the Jews, makes peace with Egypt.	201 Simon the Son of Perachia, is President of the Jewish Sanhedrim.	189	564 Manlius Vulso chastises the Ætolians. Asian Luxury brought to Rome. Plautus the Comedian dies.
	192	Antiochus excited by Hannibal, resolves on War against the Romans, but neglects to prepare, by marrying at Chalcis.	199 Scopas General for Ptolemy recovers Judea, but is defeated next Year.		
3760	190	Hannibal commanding Antiochus's Fleet, is defeated by the Romans, and Antiochus's Army is vanquished by them; and he is forced to accept of an ignominious peace.	198 Peace made with Syria.		
	187	Antiochus attempting to rob the Temple at Elymais, is slain, and succeeded by Seleucus Philopator his Son.	195 Simon, High-priest of the Jews being dead, is succeeded by Onias III. his Son.	165	588 Paulus Æmilius conquers Macedon, and triumphs over Perseus. Terentius writes Comedies.
3775	175	Heliodorus poisons Seleucus, he is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes his Brother. Jason buys the High-priesthood of him.	193 Ptolemy marries Cleopatra the Daughter of Antiochus the Great.	149	604 The third Macedonian War, or Andriscus quelled.
	174	Jason introduceth Heathen Rites into Jerusalem.	187 Hyrcanus is sent by Joseph to King Ptolemy to farm the Revenues.	145	608 The third Punick War ended. Carthage destroyed.
	172	Menelaus supplants Jason.	186 Ptolemy Epiphanes gives himself to all manner of Loose-ness.	144	609 Metellus burns Corinth.
	171	Onias High-priest of the Jews put to Death at Antioch.	180 Ptol. Philometor, an Infant of 6 Years old, succeeds under the Tuition of his Mother.	133	620 Numantia destroyed.
3780	170	Antiochus Epiphanes marches against Egypt, gains a first and second Victory, makes himself Master of the Country. In his Return he takes Jerusalem, commits Barbarities, defiles and plunders the Temple.	176 Heliodorus attempting to rob the Temple at Jerusalem, is struck down speechless.	121	632 The Sedition of the Gracchi.
	168	Antiochus Epiphanes makes another Expedition into Egypt, but is forced by the Romans to return. He persecutes the Jews, makes the City and Temple of Jerusalem desolate.	173 Cleopatra Q. of Egypt dies.	104	649 C. Marius triumphs, for ending the War against Jugurtha.
	167	The seven Maccabean Brothers, with their Mother suffer Martyrdom.	169 The Egyptians make Ptolemy Physcon King, Philometor and Physcon agree to reign together.	100	653 The Teutonic War.
	166	Mattathias dies, Judas Maccabæus takes Arms, and gains Victories.	163 Ptolemy Philometor being expelled by his Brother Physcon, makes Complaint to the Roman Senate, who order Philometor to reign over Egypt and Cyprus, and Physcon over Libya and Cyrene: But the Subjects of the latter would not receive him.	88	665 The cruel Emulation between Marius and Sylla.
3785	165	Judas defeats Lysias, recovers Jerusalem, and restores the Worship of the Temple.		87	666 The Social War. Catullus a Roman Poet.
	164	Antiochus Epiphanes being dead, is succeeded by Antiochus Eupator, under Tuition of Lysias. Judas Maccabæus doth great Exploits.		86	667 Marius commits Cruelties.
	163	Menelaus slain, Alcimus made High-priest.			Mithridates murders many Romans in Asia.
	162	Demetrius the Son of Seleucus Philopator, returns from Rome, takes the Crown of Syria, and kills Ant. Eupator, with Lysias his Tutor.		84	669 Sylla defeats Mithridates, and makes peace with him.
	161	Judas Maccabæus being slain in Battle, Jonathan his Brother is made Captain of the Jews.		83	670 Sylla returns to Rome, and commits horrid Cruelties.
3790	160	Alcimus, High-priest of the Jews, dies.			
	158	Bacchides being defeat by the two Brothers, Jonathan and Simon, makes peace with the Jews.			

A. M. Ant. Ch.		Affairs of Syria and of the Jews.	Affairs of Egypt, and of the Jews.		
	154	Demetrius King of Syria, giving up himself to Sloth and Luxury, Alexander Balas, an Impostor, is set up against him.	Ant. Ch.	155	Ptolemy Physcon being vanquished in Cyprus, and taken Prisoner, is restored to Libya and Cyrene, by the Kindness of his Brother.
	153	Jonathan declares for Balas, and is made High priest of the Jews. Rise of the Pharisees.			
3800	150	Demetrius being slain in Battle, Alexander Balas obtains the Crown of Syria, and marries Cleopatra, Daughter to Ptolemy Philometor King of Egypt.			
	148	Demetrius Son of Demetrius gets an Army to recover his Father's Kingdom.			
	146	Ptolemy Philometor comes with an Army to assist Balas his Son in Law; but finding Conspirators against his Life, protected by Balas, he joins Demetrius, and gives him Cleopatra his Daughter in Marriage.		149	Onias builds a Temple in Egypt like that at Jerusalem.
3805	145	Alexander Balas is defeat and slain; Demetrius reigns with Cruelty in Syria.			
x 4		Tryphon sets up an Infant Son of Balas, and defeats Demetrius. Jonathan High-priest of the Jews is treacherously murdered by Tryphon.		146	Ptolemy Philometor is killed in Battle in Syria.
	143	Simon succeeds his Brother Jonathan. Tryphon kills young Antiochus, and declares himself King of Syria.		145	Ptolemy Physcon succeeds in Egypt, and is a Monster of Vice and Cruelty.
3808	142	Simon takes and demolishes the Heathen Fortress at Jerusalem.			

Of the Affairs of Syria, Egypt, and the Jews.

A. M.		Ant. Ch.	The Affairs of Syria, and the Jews.	The Affairs of Egypt.
		141	Demetrius is taken Prisoner by the Parthians.	
3810		140	Cleopatra calls in Antiochus Sidetes, promising to give her self to him in Marriage with the Crown of Syria.	
		139	Antiochus Sidetes accepts the Offer, defeats and kills Tryphon.	
		137	Sidetes restores the Affairs of Syria.	
3815		135	Simon, High-priest and Prince of the Jews, is treacherously murdered, with his two Sons Judas and Mattathias. John Hyrcanus succeeds his Father, and disappoints the Designs of the Murderer.	Ant. Ch. 136 The Alexandrians by Reason of the Cruelties of Ptolemy Physcon, leave the place, and propagate Learning in other parts.
			Antiochus Sidetes besieges Jerusalem; Hyrcanus makes Peace with him.	
		133	Attalus King of Pergamus dies, and makes the Romans his Heirs.	
		132	Jelus the Son of Sirach translates Ecclesiasticus.	
		131	Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.	
3820		130	— Sidetes is vanquished and slain; Demetrius Nicator returns to his Kingdom. John Hyrcanus makes himself independent of Syria.	130 Ptolemy Physcon, for his Cruelties expelled his Kingdom.
		129	Hyrcanus conquers the Edomites, and makes them embrace Judaism. Phraates King of Parthia slain.	
		128	Hyrcanus renews the League with the Romans.	
		127	Alexander Zebina sets up against Demetrius.	
		126	Vanquisheth Demetrius, who is slain at Tyre.	
3825		125	Locusts raise a Plague.	
		124	Seleucus succeeds his Father Demetrius, is slain by Cleopatra his Mother. Mithridates Eupator is King of Pontus.	
		123	Antiochus Grypus is set up to be King of Syria by Cleopatra.	
		122	Alexander Zebina is vanquished by Grypus, taken and slain.	
		121	Opimian Wine.	
3830		120	Cleopatra prepares Poison for her Son Grypus, she is forced to drink it her self and dies.	117 Ptolemy Physcon dies, Ptolemy Lathyrus with Cleopatra his Mother reign in Egypt. Ptolemy Apion reigns in Lybia and Cyrene.
		114	Antiochus Cyzicenus seizes Part of the Syrian Empire.	
		112	Cyzicenus gains a Victory. Grypus flees to Aspendus.	113 Alexander second Son of Physcon is made King of Cyprus by Cleopatra his Mother.
		111	Grypus recovers part of Syria.	
3840		110	Samaria is besieged by John Hyrcanus and his Sons.	
		109	The City taken and demolished. Hyrcanus makes himself Master of all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria.	
		108	Hyrcanus breaks with the Pharisees, and goes over to the Sect of the Sadducees.	
		107	John Hyrcanus dies, and is succeeded by Aristobulus his eldest Son, who first of his Family takes the Title of a King.	
		106	Aristobulus conquers Ituræa, slays his Brother Antigonus, dies, and is succeeded by his Brother.	107 Lathyrus being expelled Egypt, reigns in Cyprus, Alexander in Egypt.
3845		105	Alexander Jannæus King and High-priest of the Jews, who besiegeth Ptolemais, Ptolemy Lathyrus forceth him to raise the Siege.	
		104	Alexander Jannæus is defeat by Ptolemy Lathyrus.	
		103	Cleopatra Queen of Egypt assists Jannæus, and drives Lathyrus her Son out of Palestine.	
		101	Lathyrus returns to Cyprus.	96 Ptolemy Apion, King of Libya and Cyrene, leaveth his Kingdom to the Romans.
3850		100	Jannæus takes Raphia and Anthedon.	
		97	— Takes Gaza, Antiochus Grypus is murdered.	
		96	Seleucus his Son seizeth part of Syria.	
3855		95	The Jews mutiny against Alexander Jannæus, he kills 6000 of them.	89 Cleopatra Queen of Egypt being killed by Alexander her Son, the Egyptians expel Alexander, and recal Ptolemy Lathyrus to reign over them.
		94	Antiochus Cyzicenus is defeat and put to Death.	
		93	Antiochus Eusebes defeats Seleucus; he flees to Mopsuestia, where he is slain.	

The Affairs of Syria, and of the Jews.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	
3860	92	Antiochus Eusebes, being defeat, flees to Parthia. Demetrius the fourth Son of Grypus seizes Damascus.
	90	Alexander Jannæus makes an Expedition into Gaulonitis.
	89	A Civil War between Alexander Jannæus and the Jews.
	86	Antiochus Dionysius the youngest Son of Grypus seizes Damascus, but is slain in Arabia, and Aretas King of Arabia Petraea, is made King of Coele Syria.
		Alexander Jannæus defeats his rebellious Subjects.
	84	Jannæus enlarges his Conquests, and takes many places in Idumæa and Phœnicia.
3867	83	The Syrians weary of the Calamities and Wars they endured by the Contests of the Seleucidæ, call in Tigranes King of Armenia to reign over them, who accepts of the Offer. <i>Here ends the Syro-Macedonian Kingdom.</i>

Affairs of Rome, Judea, Egypt, &c.

A. M.	Ant. Ch.	U. C.	Roman Affairs.	Jewish Affairs.	Affairs of Egypt, &c.
				Ant. Ch.	Ant. C.
	83		Murena carries on the War against Mithridates, — Sylla's Articles of Peace are renewed.	79 Alexander Jannæus dies of a Quartan Ague, and is succeeded by Alexandra his Wife, who being reconciled with the Pharisees, reigns in Peace.	81 Ptolemy Lathyrus having reduced Thebes in Egypt dies, after a Reign of 36 Years, is succeeded by Cleopatra his Daughter, who is murdered by Alexander her Husband, who reigns 15 Years.
	80		The War against Sertorius in Spain.		
	76	677	Tigranes builds Tigranocerta, and carries People to inhabit it.	76 The Pharisees oppress their opposite Party.	75 Selene puts in her Claim at Rome, for the Crown of Egypt, but meets with a Disappointment.
3875	75	678	Nicomedes K. of Bithynia leaves the Romans his Heirs.	72 The Remainder of that party placed in Garrisons.	
			The Death of Sylla.	Herod the Great born.	
			Mithridates seizes Paphlagonia; other Provinces in lesser Asia revolt to him, whereupon the third Mithridatic War begins.	71 Aristobulus makes an Interest for the Crown against his Mother's Death.	70 Selene put to Death by Tigranes.
	74	679	Cotta and Lucullus sent against Mithridates: Cotta is defeat; but Lucullus forces Mithridates to raise the Siege of Cyzicus, with great Loss.	70 Queen Alexandra dies; Hyrcanus her eldest Son takes the Crown; but is forced in 3 Months to quit it to Aristobulus.	
	71		Lucullus vanquisheth Mithridates, and forces him to flee to Armenia.		
	70		The War against Spartacus and Gladiators.		
3881	69	684	Lucullus declares War against Tigranes. — He vanquisheth Tigranes, takes Tigranocerta, with great Riches there.		
			Sertorius killed by his own Soldiers.		
	68		Tigranes assisted by Mithridates, gets another Army, but is again overcome by Lucullus. His March to Artaxata is hindered by the Mutiny of his Army.	65 Antipater the Father of Herod, stirs up Hyrcanus to contend for the Crown with Aristobulus.	65 The Egyptians expel Alexander, and call in Ptolemy Auletes to be their King.
	67		Mithridates recovers some Places in Pontus.		
3884	66	687	Pompey destroys the Pirates.		
			Metellus does the same in Crete.		
			Pompey succeeds Lucullus, to command the Roman Army in the East, and forces Mithridates to flee into Scythia.		
3885	65		Tigranes submits to Pompey.	63 At Damascus Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Brethren, with many Jews, plead their Cause. Aristobulus takes an Army for his Defence; Pompey makes him Prisoner, besieges and takes Jerusalem, with the Temple, makes Hyrcanus High-priest, and a Prince tributary to the Romans.	59 Ptolemy Auletes gives to Julius Cæsar 6000 Talents to obtain a Confirmation to the Crown of Egypt.
	64		Pompey subdues the Iberians and Colchians, and brings Syria into the Form of a Roman Province.		
			Pompey pursues Mithridates into Pontus; his Army revolts. His Son Pharnaces is made a King; his other Dominions divided.		
			Old Mithridates kills himself.		
3887	63	690	Catiline's Conspiracy quelled at Rome.	57 Alexander, and after him Aristobulus his Father, escaping from Prison at Rome, raise new Troubles in Judea. Gabinius vanquisheth them both, and sets up a new Form of Government in Judea.	57 Berenice Queen of Egypt marries Seleucus Cybiosactes, but disliking him, puts him to Death, and marries Archelaus, High-priest of Comana.
	62		Pompey forces Aretas King of Arabia to submit.		
			Augustus Cæsar born.		
	61		Pompey makes a splendid Triumph at Rome. Scaurus renews Peace with Aretas. Marcius Philippus President of Syria.	57 Aristobulus his Father, escaping from Prison at Rome, raise new Troubles in Judea. Gabinius vanquisheth them both, and sets up a new Form of Government in Judea.	56 Orodes and Mithridates kill their Father Phraates, and seize the Kingdom of Parthia; but they disagreeing, Orodes kills Mithridates, and reigns alone.
3890	60	693	Julius Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus divide the Roman Dominions among them.		
			Diodorus Siculus the Historian.		
			Sallust flourisheth.		
	59		Julius Cæsar obtains Illyrium, and both the Gauls for his Province.		
	58	695	Gabinius obtains Syria as his Province.		
	57		Cicero is banished Rome and Italy.		
			Julius Cæsar defeats the Helvetians.		
	56		Cicero is recalled from Banishment.		
3895	55		Cæsar's third Campaign in Gaul.	55 Gabinius returning from Egypt, suppresses Alexander who had raised new Commotions, and settles Judea under Hyrcanus, and Antipater his chief Minister.	55 Gabinius enters Egypt, vanquisheth and kills Archelaus in Battle, and restores Ptolemy Auletes.
	54		Crassus obtains Syria for five Years.		
			Gabinius, on his Return to Rome, is for his Maladministration in his Province banished. Crassus plunders the Temple at Jerusalem, passeth the Euphrates with his Army, gains Advantages over the Parthians, and returns to Syria.		

A. M.	Ant. U. C.	Roman Affairs.	Jewish Affairs.	Affairs of Egypt, &c.
	Ch.			
	54	Cæsar goes into Britain; Lucretius a Poet flourisheth.		
	53	700 Crassus marches his Army against the Parthians, but is vanquished and slain, with the Loss of 20000 Romans killed, and 10000 taken Prisoners.		Ant. Ch. 51 Ptolemy Auletes dies in Egypt, and is succeeded by Ptolemy his eldest Son, and Cleopatra his eldest Daughter.
	52	Cæsar makes a second Expedition into Britain. Cassius having escaped with Part of Crassus Army, defeats the Parthians invading Syria, and routs the Remains of Aristobulus's Faction in Judea.	Ant. C. 49 Aristobulus being released out of Prison by Cæsar and sent to Judea, is poisoned by the Way, and Alexander put to Death by Pompey's Party.	
	51	Cicero hath Cilicia for his Province; he assists Cæsar, defeats the Parthians in Syria, and the Cilicians in the Mountains.		
3900	50	703 The Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey breaks out.	47 Julius Cæsar favours Hyrcanus's Party.	48 Cæsar comes to Alexandria, where he engageth in a dangerous War, to support Cleopatra against her Brother Ptolemy, who is vanquished and drowned in Flight.
	49	Cæsar having reduced Pompey's Party in Spain, passeth the Adriatic.	Antipater being made Procurator of Judea, makes Herod his second Son Governor of Galilee, who having cut off a Gang of Thieves, is put upon Trial by the Sanhedrim, but deserveth them.	47 Cæsar makes Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, and confirms the Privileges of the Jews at Alexandria.
	48	Cæsar having received a Defeat, goes into Thessaly, where he overthrows Pompey at Pharsalia.	Hillel and Schammai, Mischnical Doctors, then flourish.	
3903	47	706 Pompey flees to Egypt, where he is slain. Cæsar vanquisheth Pharnaces in Pontus, makes Sextus Cæsar his Kinsman President of Syria, and returns to Rome.		
	46	Cæsar goes to Africa, where he subdues the Remainder of Pompey's Faction. Cato kills himself at Utica.		
	46	Carthage and Corinth ordered to be rebuilt.		
	46	Cæcilius Bassus raiseth Troubles in Syria, procures Sextus Cæsar to be killed.		
3905	45	708 The first Julian Year. Cæsar vanquisheth the Sons of Pompey in Spain; on his Return is made perpetual Dictator. Cornelius Nepos writes.	Ant. C. 44 The Walls of Jerusalem are rebuilt.	
3906	44	709 Cæsar is murdered in the Senate. Octavius heads his Uncles Party at Rome, drives Antony thence. Cæsar's Murderers retire, and gather Armies.	43 Antipater is poisoned by the Fraud of Malicus. Phasaël and Herod his Sons, with the Help of Roman Soldiers, cut off the Murderer.	
	43	710 Octavianus vanquisheth Antony at Mutina; thereafter Octavianus, Antony and Lepidus constitute a Triumvirate, proscribe and kill Citizens, as Cicero and others. Brutus and Cassius prepare for War.	42 Antigonus the Son of Aristobulus raises new Troubles in Judea. He is defeated by Herod.	
	42	Octavianus and Antony at Philippi vanquisheth Cassius and Brutus, who both kill themselves.	41 The Vanquished Party apply to Antony against the Sons of Antipater without Success.	
	41	Octavianus returns to Rome. Antony goes to Asia; Cleopatra bewitcheth him with her Charms; his Forces sent to plunder Palmyra, meet with a Disappointment.	40 The Parthians take Jerusalem, make old Hyrcanus Prisoner, who is carried to Parthia. Phasaël being also their Prisoner dies, and Antigonus is declared by the Parthians Prince of Judea.	
3910	40	713 Cleopatra goes to Egypt, Antony follows her. Octavianus vanquisheth the Friends of Antony in Italy. Antony sails thither, marries Octavia, Sister to Octavianus, and makes Peace with him.	Herod goes to Rome, where he is declared King of Judea; to which he returns, and raises an Army.	
	39	Pacorus with a Parthian Army overruns Syria and Phœnicia. Ventidius Antony's Lieutenant gains two Victories over the Parthians. Virgil flourisheth.	39 Orodes King of Parthia being grieved for the Death of his Son Pacorus, is killed by his Son Phraates, who reigns with Cruelty.	
	38	The Triumvirs make Peace with Sextus Pompeius. Antony goes to Athens, besieges Samosata, goes thence to Alexandria.	Herod besieges Jerusalem; Joseph his Brother is killed by Antigonus's Party, Herod revengeth his Death.	
	37	Antony sails for Italy, returns to Syria, and prepares for the Parthian War. Octavianus divorces Scribonia, and marries Livia.	38 Herod marries Mariamne, carries on the Siege of Jerusalem with the Help of Sosius, takes the City. The Romans plunder it. Antigonus is put to Death.	
	36	Sosius is removed. Plancus made Governor of Asia under Antony.	37 Herod being in thorough Possession of Judea, reigns with Cruelty, cuts off all the Sanhedrim, except Pollio and Sameas, makes Ananelus an obscure Fellow High-priest.	
	35	Publius Canidius, Antony's Lieutenant, vanquisheth the Armenians. Antony himself makes an unfortunate Expedition against the Parthians. Sextus Pompeius is driven out of Sicily. Lepidus deposed from the Triumvirate.	36 Old Hyrcanus being relieved from Prison in Parthia, on Herod's Invitation comes to Jerusalem.	
3915	34	718 Antony spends the Year in Dalliance with Cleopatra. Sextus Pompeius is put to Death in Asia. Antony ensnares Artabazes King of Armenia, and carries him in Chains to Alexandria, where by his Largesses to the Children of Cleopatra, he offends the Roman People.	35 Herod makes Aristobulus the Brother of Mariamne High-priest, and afterwards murders him.	
	33	Antony and Octavianus prepare for War. Antony divorceth Octavia. Preparations for War go on.	34 Herod being in Danger to suffer Death by Antony for the Murder of Aristobulus, escapes, and puts to Death Joseph his Uncle for discovering a Secret to Mariamne his Queen.	
3917	32	Octavianus vanquisheth Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, settles his Affairs in Italy, Greece, and the lesser Asia, winters at Samos.	32 Herod by Order of Antony, makes War on Malchus, King of Arabia Petraea.	
	31	Marches thro' Syria, takes Pelusium. Antony and Cleopatra kill themselves. Octavian reduceth Egypt into the Form of a Province, returns to Rome, enters it in three Triumphs, is called Imperator.	31 Herod overthrows the Arabians, and forces them to submit to his Terms; puts to Death old Hyrcanus.	
3920	30	723 Titus Livius writes the Roman History.	30 Herod at Rhodes addresseth Octavianus, makes Peace with him, accompanies him to Antioch, gets his Kingdom enlarged.	
	29		29 Herod reigns cruelly, puts to Death his beloved Wife Mariamne, and is afterwards almost distracted for what he had done.	
			28 A Pestilence rages in Judea; Herod puts Alexandra the Mother of Mariamne to Death.	
			26 Herod puts Costobarus the Husband of Salome, with several others, to Death. He conforms to the several Rites of the Heathens, whereby he offends the Jews.	

A.M. Ant. U. C.		Roman Affairs.	Ant. Ch.	Jewish Affairs.
	Ch.			
	27	The Monarchy of the whole Roman Empire conferred on Octavianus, with the Name of Augustus.	25	A Conspiracy against Herod discovered and punished. He rebuilds Samaria, calling it Sebaste, builds other Cities. A Famine and Pestilence in Judea. Herod provides for his People.
	26	Petronius is made Præfect of Egypt in Room of Cornelius Gallus.	24	Herod builds a Palace in Mount Zion, and furnishes the Romans Men for an Expedition against the Arabs.
3925	25	728 The Seres and other Nations send Ambassadors to Augustus.	23	Herod marries Mariamne the Daughter of Simon, and builds Herodium.
	24	Absolute Power is given to Augustus.	22	Herod begins to build Cæsarea, sends his Sons by Mariamne to Rome for Education, receives from Augustus an Addition to his Dominions, waits on Agrippa at Mytilene. Charges against him turned to the Confusion of his Accusers.
	23	Candace Queen of Ethiopia invading Egypt, is repulsed by Petronius, and pursued into her own Country. Phraates the Parthian prays for Aid of Augustus. Marcellus dies.	20	Herod is accused by Zenodorus and the Gaderenes, who failing in their Cause, kill themselves. Herod is in favour with Augustus, and makes idolatrous Compliance with the Heathen.
	22	Agrippa hath the Government of the East.	19	Herod offers to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.
	21	Augustus gives his Daughter Julia in Marriage to Agrippa, leaves him to govern the West, goes himself to the East, winters at Samos, where he gives Peace to Candace Queen of Ethiopia.	17	He begins that Work.
3930	20	733 Phraates King of Parthia, to obtain the Friendship of Augustus, restores the Prisoners and Ensigns taken from the Romans.	16	Herod brings home his Sons from Rome to Judea, carries on the Structure of the Temple with Magnificence.
	19	Ambassadors and Gymnosophists cometo Augustus at Samos from India. He returns to Rome. Virgil dies.	15	Entertains Agrippa at Jerusalem.
	18	Ælius Gallus Præfect of Egypt, visits the upper Part of that Country, and hath Strabo the Geographer with him.	14	Herod seasonably assisting Agrippa in his Wars, obtains great Favours to the Jews in Asia.
	17	Augustus adopts Caius and Lucius, Sons of Agrippa by his Daughter Julia.	13	Herod breaks with his two Sons by Mariamne, sets Antipater over them.
		Propertius and Tibullus write Poems.	11	Herod accuseth his Sons Alexander and Aristobulus before Augustus, who makes Reconciliation.
3935	15	738 Agrippa is sent to the East.	10	Herod finishes his Works at Cæsarea; his Buildings in other Places.
	14	He engageth in a War with the Bosphorans.	9	The Jews of Asia and Cyrene obtain Relief of their Grievances. Herod's expensive Works within and without the Kingdom. The Breach between him and his Sons revived and widened.
	13	Augustus on the Death of Lepidus takes the Office of High-priest, reduceth the Year to the Reformation of Julius, calls in the Sibylline Books.	8	Archelaus King of Cappadocia reconciles Herod and his Sons. Herod acquaints Augustus thereof He pursues the Traconite Thieves, and finishes the Temple.
3938	12	741 Agrippa makes the Pannonians submit. Dies in Campania.	7	Herod pursues the Traconite Thieves into Arabia, which Syllæus represented to Augustus, so as Herod was some time out of Favour.
		Augustus marries Julia his Daughter to Tiberius, and makes him his Assistant in the Empire.	6	Augustus being reconciled to Herod, gave him leave to proceed criminally against his Sons Alexander and Aristobulus; whereon having got them condemned at Berytus, he caused them both to be strangled, and others to be put to Death.
	8	The Death of Horace the Poet, and of Mæcenas his Patron. Phædrus writes his Fables. Manilius writes Astronomy in Verse.	5	A Plot of Antipater against the Life of his Father Herod discovered.
	7	Augustus makes a Census of the Inhabitants of Rome. Dionysius Halicarnassæus begins to write his History. Tiberius retires to Rhodes. Syllæus is discovered and put to Death.		
	6			
	4	The Temple of Janus shut. All the Roman Empire taxed.		

Affairs of the Jews, and some incident Matters, after the Birth of CHRIST.

An. DOM.	A. D.
1	18
Our blessed Saviour born.	Augustus the Emperor dies at Nola. Tiberius the Son of Livia, Wife to Augustus, his Successor.
Herod the Great murders the Babes at Bethlehem; puts his Son Antipater to Death; causes Matthias and his Associates to be burnt for putting down a golden Eagle set over the Port of the Temple.	19
2	Valerius Gratus Procurator of Judea. Ishmael the Son of Fabi High priest.
Herod his Sickness, Death, Testament, Offspring and Burial. Joseph and Mary, with the blessed Babe Jesus, return out of Egypt, and dwell at Nazareth.	27
3	Pontius Pilate Procurator of Judca. The Egyptian and Jewish Rites forbidden at Rome. Asinæus and Anilaus, famous Jews at Babylon.
Archelaus kills three thousand malecontent Jews near the Temple. He and others go to Rome. Archelaus is allowed to rule as Ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumæa, Sabinus come to Judea, quashes Commotions.	29
4	John the Baptist, our Lord's Fore-runner, preacheth in Judea.
Archelaus returns from Rome, deposes Joazar, and establishes Eleazar in the High-priesthood.	30
About this Time Onkelos writes a Targum on the Law, and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets.	Our Saviour is baptised, and enters upon his publick Ministry. John the Baptist cast in Prison.
12	31
Archelaus being convicted of Male-administrations, is banished to Vienne in Gaul.	The second Year of Christ's publick Ministry. John the Baptist beheaded. Sejanus the prime Minister at Rome put to Death. Jews at Rome allowed to live conform to their own Rites.
Judea is reduced to the Form of a Roman Province. Quirinius is made President of Syria, and Coponius Procurator of Judea, with Power of Life and Death. Joazar the Son of Boethus restored to be High-priest. The Insurrection of Judas the Gaulonite, Acts v. 37.	32
Annas the Son of Seth made High-priest. Our Saviour disputes in the Temple.	The third Year of our Saviour's publick Ministry.
16	33
Marcus Ambivius made Procurator of Judca. Salome the Sister of Herod the Great dies.	The fourth Year of his publick Ministry, being that wherein he was crucified.
17	35
Annius Rufus Procurator of Judea. Ovid the Poet dies in Banishment.	Philip the Son of Herod the Great, Tetrarch of Traconitis and Baranæa dies without Issue. L. Vitellius, President of Syria, is entertained at Jerusalem, gives Favours to the Jews; Makes Jonathan the Son of Annas High-priest.
	36
	Agrippa sails to Italy, is made Prisoner by the Emperor Tiberius. Herod the Tetrarch is overthrown in Battle by Aretas King of Arabia Petræa. Columella writes on rustic Affairs. Velleius Paterculus, and Valerius Maximus write.
	37
	The Emperor Tiberius dies. Cajus Caligula is declared Emperor. He releases Agrippa; gives him a Diadem, with the Tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias. Marullus made Procurator

Affairs of the Jews.

A.D.

- curator of Judea. Josephus the Historian born.
- 38 Agrippa hath a Daughter named Drusilla. Flaccus, by setting up Statues of the Emperor in the Jewish Synagogues in Egypt, occasions a Commotion.
- 39 Herod the Tetrarch goes to Rome to solicit for the Title of a King, is accused of Treason against the Emperor, deprived of his Tetrarchy, which is conferred on Agrippa, and he is banished to Lyons in Gaul.
- Pontius Pilate kills himself.
- 40 Caligula, by ordering his Statue to be set up in the Temple at Jerusalem, occasions Commotions.
- Caligula being assassinated at Rome, the Calamities threatened to the Jews are stopped.
- 41 Claudius the Son of Drusus the succeeding Emperor, adds Judea and Samaria to Agrippa's Kingdom; to Herod his Brother he gave the Kingdom of Chalcis, and many Favours to the Jews. Agrippa comes to Judea, makes Simon named Canthera High-priest.
- 42 Agrippa makes Simon the Son of Ananus High-priest, makes fine Buildings at Berytus, persecutes the Christian Church, and dies.
- 43 Cassius Longinus is President of Syria, and under him Cuspius Fadus Procurator of Judea.
- 44 Fadus kills Theudas a Jewish Impostor.
- 45 Tiberius Alexander is Procurator of Judea. A Famine ravaged Judea. The Jews relieved by Helena Queen of Adiabena.
- 46 Ananias the Son of Nebedæus made High-priest.
- 47 Ventidius Cumanus made Procurator of Judea. Herod King of Chalcis dies. The Insolence of a Roman Soldier at Jerusalem occasions a Commotion, wherein many are trod to Death.
- 50 Josephus the Jewish Historian makes Proficiency in Learning, and instructs the People.
- 52 A Tumult between the Jews and Samaritans wherein many are killed.
- 53 Claudius Felix is made Procurator of Judea. Agrippa II. gets the Tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias instead of Chalcis.
- 54 Felix marries Drusilla the Sister of Agrippa. Claudius the Emperor dies. Nero succeeds.
- 55 Judea is full of Robbers and Magicians. Jonathan the High-priest murdered. An Egyptian deceives many.
- 56 Josephus meddles in publick Affairs, and followeth the Sect of the Pharisees.
- 57 Magicians and Thieves threaten Death to those who obey the Romans.
- 58 A Tumult at Casarea between the Jews and Syrians. Agrippa II. makes Ishmael Son of Fabi High-priest.
- 59 The Apostle Paul reasoned before Felix, *Acts*, xiv. 24.
- 61 Porcius Festus is Procurator of Judea. The Country full of Robbers, Sicarii and Seducers.
- 63 Agrippa II. erects a fine Building within the Palace at Jerusalem. Joseph Cabi made High-priest. Josephus goes to Rome. Festus dies. Albinus made Procurator of Judea. He makes Ananus the Son of Ananus High-priest. James the Brother of our Lord suffers Death. Agrippa enlargeth Casarea. A Countryman cries, Wo, wo to Jerusalem.
- 64 Jesus the Son of Gamaliel made High-priest, who fights with his Predecessor Jesus the Son of Damneus. The State of that Country turns desperate.
- 65 Gessius Florus, Procurator of Judea, oppresseth the People, dismisseth 18000 Workmen, who begin the fatal Commotions. At Rome, Juvenal, Persius and Petronius Arbiter write Satyres, Lucan his *Pharsalia*, Seneca his Tragedies, another Seneca his Philosophy.
- 66 A multitude of Jews intreat Cestius Gallus, President of Syria, to deliver them from the Tyranny of Gessius Florus, who laughed at their Complaints, and put 630 Jews to the Sword. The Jews run to Arms, seize Massada, kill the Roman Garrison at Casarea. The Gentiles massacre 20000 Jews: So the Wars begin. Cestius Gallus being obliged to retire out of Judea with Loss, informs Nero of the bad State of Affairs.
- 67 Nero sends Vespasian, who comes with a Roman Army of 60000 Men against the Jews, takes Gadara at the first Assault, Jotapata after a Siege of seven Months, and other Places.
- 68 At Jerusalem, the Idumæans being let in, fill the City with

Affairs of the Jews.

A.D.

- Blood and Slaughter. The Emperor Nero being killed, Galba and Otho cut off, Vespasian is declared Emperor by the Army, and goes for Rome. Titus besiegeth Jerusalem: The Jews suffer incredible Calamities for six Months; at last the Temple is burnt, and the City taken and destroyed.
- 71 Titus returns to Rome. Vespasian his Father and he triumph for the Victory. Spoils of the Temple. Medals struck.
- 72 Lucilius Bassus takes Herodium and Machærus. A Tribute of two Drachms to be paid by each Jew to the Capitol.
- 73 Flavius Sylva takes Massada. The Jews in it kill themselves. Jews killed in Egypt and Cyrene.
- 79 Titus being Emperor, continues the Capitation-tax to the Capitol upon the Jews.
- 92 Domitian the Emperor persecutes the Jews. Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Papinius Statius, Roman Poets, flourish. Quintilian teaches Rhetorick.
- 96 The Emperor Cocceius Nerva favours the Jews. Ezekiel the Poet, and the Author of the Will of the Patriarchs, write.
- 100 The Emperor Trajan finding the Jews had rebelled, destroys some Myriads of them; also many of them are cut off in Egypt and in Cyprus, and prohibited to live in that Island.
- 119 About this Time some Jews seem to have settled in Spain and in Gaul. Cornelius Tacitus, Sueton and Florus write Roman History, Martial writes Epigrams, Plutarch writes Lives and Morals.
- 120 The Jews rebelling under Barchochebas an Impostor, are destroyed by the Emperor Hadrian; and by Julius Severus his Lieutenant are banished out of Judea, and that Land made desolate.
- 136 Simeon III. Patriarch of the Jews.
- 143 Antoninus Pius the Emperor overthrows the Jews, yet allows them Circumcision.
- 154 About this Time Justin Martyr hath a Conference with Tryphon a Jew. Polyænus writes.
- 164 M. Antoninus the Emperor renews the Laws of Hadrian against the Jews.
- 166 Their Hatred against the Christians appears at Polycarp's Martyrdom.
- 189 Judah the Saint flourisheth.
- 195 The Emperor Severus treats the Jews with Severity. Gellius writes his *Noctes Atticæ*. Frontinus his *Stratagemata*.
- 213 Caracalla the Emperor is favourable to the Jews. Their Tranquillity continues to the Year 260. Dion Cassius writes.
- 270 Zenobia Queen of the East is said to have been a Jewess, who did Favours to those of her own Religion.
- 300 The Jerusalem Talmud.
- 308 The Council of Illiberis in Spain restrains the Liberty of the Jews.
- 315 Constantine the Great makes Edicts against them. Joseph a Jew becomes Christian. Hillel a Jewish Patriarch doth embrace Christianity, and is baptized. Rabbi Nachmanides, Avii, and Joseph of great Light, because blind, learned Jews, then flourish. The Jews raise a Persecution against the Christians in Persia.
- 340 Constantius the Emperor being provoked by the Jews, makes Edicts against them.
- 362 Epiphanius abandons Judaism, and becomes an eminent Christian Bishop.
- 363 Julian called the Apostate encourages the Jews. The building of the Temple by his Orders, is interrupted by Prodiges.
- 379 Theodosius the Emperor favours the Jews. About this Time Eutropius, Aurelius Victor and Macrobius, Heathen Writers, flourish.
- 408 Jerom acquaints himself with Jewish Learning.
- 409 Theodosius II. makes Laws against the Jews, because they insulted Christianity.
- 415 Honorius in the West his Conduct towards the Jews. Pagan Poetry revives a little in Claudian.
- 422 The Jews stir up Commotions at Alexandria.
- 429 Valentinian III. his Carriage to the Jews. They are protected by the Goths and Ostrogoths.
- The Patriarchal Office among the Jews abolished in the Dominions of the Roman Empire.

Affairs of the Jews.

A.D.

- 434 The Jews are cheated to their Ruin by Moses Cretenfis an Impostor. Some Jews turn Christian.
- 455 R. Ase born at Babylon, teaches at Sora, and compiles the Talmud. Tibiomi teaches there.
- 476 The Jews under Affliction in the East about the End of the sixth Century. Saburæans, or doubting Doctors.
- 500 The Talmud of Babylon published about the Beginning of the sixth Century. A Persecution in Persia raised against the Jews. They are cruel to the Christians.
- 540 Justinian, Emperor at Constantinople, his Laws and Proceedings against the Jews. Some converted in his Reign, others seduced by Julian an Impostor.
- 555 A Tumult at Casarea. The Jews defending Naples against Belisarius, on taking the City many of them are killed.
- 586 Under the Emperor Mauritius the Jews enjoy Tranquillity.
- 606 At Antioch the Jews guilty of Commotions and Murders. They are re-established in Cyprus.
- 620 The Jews are blamed for helping Mahomet to compose his Alcoran.
- 630 Benjamin, a rich Jew, said to have been converted. The Emperor Heraclius being provoked against the Jews, persecutes them, and persuades Sisebut King of Spain, and Dagobert King of France, to do the same.
- 632 The fourth Council of Toledo, and the sixth in the Year 638, make Canons concerning the Jews.
- 653 Julian of Toledo writes against them. Samuel the Lunatick his Commentaries full of Talmudick Notions. The Jews are blamed for rejoicing at the Saracen Conquests, because under these Princes they enjoy'd Tranquillity.
- 716 The Jews did not raise the Controversy about Image-worship. Jews commanded to be baptized.
- 740 The Book of Cosiri enquired into, whether the Fact there recorded be true or fabulous, and when that Book was wrote.
- 750 Under the Saracen Califs the Jews enjoy Tranquillity. Their Academies flourish at Sora and Pundebita, from A. D. 740 to 770. R. Judah publishes an Arabian Dictionary. In Spain and France many Jews are ruined by Serenus an Impostor.
- 763 Charlemain favours the Jews. So do Lewis le Debonair and Charles the Bald. Gaons or Excellents. Jehuda full of Light.
- 770 Giafar, a Saracen Caliph, persecutes and tempts many Jews to apostatise.
- 777 The same done by Mohadi. Hakem an Impostor deceives many Jews.
- 786 Under Aaron the Just and some of his Successors, Saracen Califs, the Jews enjoy Tranquillity.
- 827 The Jews are deceived by Morella, pretending to be Moses the Lawgiver.
- 841 Vatek the Saracen exacts great Sums of Money from the Jews.
- 846 Motarkel his Successor also oppressed them.
- 900 The Jews have many learned Doctors, but their Divisions are attended with bad Consequences. Ben Ascher and Naphrali Maseroths.
- 967 In Spain the Jews have learned Men and Tranquillity. Moses clad with a Sack reaches the Talmud.
- 997 The Talmud is translated into Arabick for the Use of the Spanish Jews.
- 1039 The Academies of the Jews are shut up in the East. They are banished, and forced to seek Refuge in the West.
- 1055 In Spain many Jews become rich. Their Rabbins are learned. Some of them enjoy Posts in the Government, but the Attempt of Joseph Halleui to convert the Mahometans, and the Zeal of the Crusaders bring Miseries upon them.
- The Jews multiply in Germany in the 11th Century. Gorefcal and others declare War against them. The Crusaders kill many.
- An Enquiry concerning Joseph, called the Son of Gorion, a French Jew, in the eleventh Century.
- 1070 Jews come into England with William the Conqueror.
- 1112 The Crusaders, before they march into the Holy Land, kill the Jews. St. Bernard writes Letters to stop their Violence.
- Benjamin of Tudela travels over a great Part of the World to meet with Jews or their Synagogues. An Abstract of his Account.

A.D.

Affairs of the Jews.

- Abenezra, Abraham and Judah Halleui, Maimonides, David Kimchi, Solomon Jarki, and other learned Jews then flourish. Simon Jochaides seems in this Century to have writ his Book Zohar, full of Cabbalistic Dreams.
- 1137 Jewish impostors bring on Miseries upon their Nation in France and other Parts.
- 1199 David Elrai a Jewish Impostor in Persia. Different Turns of their Case in Spain.
- 1180 Philip Augustus banishes them out of France. Their Case and Sufferings in England in the twelfth Century.
- 1200 The Jews are mightily weakned in the East in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries. Moses Nachmanides and Simon Duran learned Men among them.
- 1287 Saadedulat Minister of State to Sultan Argoun, Cham in Tartary, being a Jewish Physician, raiseth the Credit of his own Nation: but on his Death they are persecuted. In the Greek Empire at Constantinople they have Liberty of Conscience in the said two Centuries.
- In Spain, in the Year 1209, the Jews are attacked by the Archbishop of Toledo, and by the Violence of the Crusaders.
- In Arragon Raymond de Penaforte writes a Book named Pugio fidei to convert them.
- Alphonso X. of Castile, called the Astrologer, favours the Jews, especially their learned Rabbins. This Tranquillity is disturbed by Zachary a Jewish Impostor.
- 1300 The Jews feel greater Calamities by a Gang of Shepherds called Votaries falling upon them, who are not dispersed but with great Bloodshed.
- The Jews accused for poisoning Rivers. Others of them put to Death for refusing to embrace Christianity.
- 1320 The Popes favourable to them. John XXI. in the Year 1320, is for burning the Copies of the Talmud, yet for tolerating the Jews.
- 1349 Calamities that happened to the Jews in Spain. Their learned Rabbins there in the fourteenth Century.
- Their Case in France. Laws made against them by the States of Brittany, and by the Council of Lyons. They are expelled out of France in 1306, recalled 1314, suffer several Misfortunes, are expelled not to return 1345, have been since tolerated, but have no entire Liberty in that Kingdom.
- In England King John oppresseth the Jews. After several Hardships they are expelled the Kingdom by Edward I: in the Year 1290; are admitted again by Oliver Cromwel.
- Various Troubles happen to the Jews in Germany and in Hungary in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries. Nevertheless learned Men flourish in their Synagogues. Rained Fleth and Armleder stir up the People to destroy the Jews.
- The Devotion of the Flagellants increases their Miseries. Misfortunes happen them in Francfort and other Places.
- 1413 The Jews multiply in Spain. Jerom de Sancta fide manages a Conference against them at Arragon.
- 1492 Ferdinand and Isabel expell out of Spain to the Number of 600,000 Jews, who suffer many Miseries. Abrabanel and other learned Men are among the Exiles.
- They suffer Hardships in Portugal, and are expelled out of that Kingdom.
- They suffer by the rapid Conquests of Tamerlane in the East.
- 1585 Schach Abbas, King of Persia, grants Liberty to them and other Strangers to settle in his Country. There they trade and grow rich. The King's Conference with them. His Successors persecute them.
- 1663 Zabbathai Tfevi, a false Messiah, deceives the Jews, and they are persecuted.
- 1675 The Deceiver taken and put to Death.
- State of the Jews in several Parts of the World, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth Century, particularly of their Academy at Saphera. Of Moses Cordoverus and other learned Jews. Of their State at Jerusalem and other Places of Judea. Of Jews in Africa and in Ethiopia. Their Case in Constantinople, in Greece, and other Parts of the Turkish Empire.
- Their Case in Italy and Venice. Of Elias Levita. Of Daniel Bomberg. Of the Hebrew Bible and other Hebrew Books printed by him. Of their Synagogues in Italy, and learned Men.
- Their Case in Germany during the said Centuries. Decrees of

The Affairs of the Jews.

A.D.

of the Council of Basil about them. Of David Lemelein a Jewish Impostor. They are expelled out of the Bishoprick of Cologne. Pferfercorn a Profelyte adviseth Jewish Books to be burnt. Reuchlin's Opinion on that Point. Their Case at the Reformation begun by Luther. Demi-jews in Transilvania. Their Case in Mersburg, in Bohemia and in Poland, and of their learned Men.

1675 Of the Settlement of the Jews in Holland. Their Synagogues and Schools. Of Manasseh ben Israel and his Writings. Of Joseph Athias and Books printed by him.

A.D.

Of Benedict de Spinosa, Balthasar, Orobian and other learned Jews. Their Numbers over the World.

1690 Many Jews converted at Hamburg.

1704 Of a Synagogue of Jews in China.

1709 Of the Conversion of Shalome ben Shalomoh.

1722 The Conversion of John Xeres.

1723 The Conversion of Rabbi Judah Monis.

Of the Conversion of Moses Marcus.

Of several Converts from Judaism said to have been lately in Popish Countries.

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ERRATA.

A few Mistakes have escaped the Press, the more remarkable the Reader may please to correct, as follows, Page 30. Line 25. *reclaimed*, read *restrained*, p. 34. l. 10. *à fine dele of*, p. 40. l. 10. *Satatis* read *Salaitis*, p. 103. for *Oy*, read *Oyl*, p. 114. l. 18. *Officers*, read *Offices*, p. 175. l. 21. read the Number thus, 2,025,000. p. 207. l. 25. *Lime* read *Time*, p. 277. l. 11. *by a* read *by a*. *ibid.* at the Foot, a Verse from *Buchanan* transposed. P. 400, on the Side-margin, for 115. read 315. p. 410. l. 28. *supple of*, p. 336. on the Side-margin, for 312. read 212. p. 351. l. 33. *Rabbas* read *Räblag*, p. 366. l. 27. for *Coin* read *Ruin*, p. 390. l. 21. *à fine, dele of*, p. 528. l. 34. for *Monathan* read *Jonathan*, p. 537. l. 8. *à fine supple they*.

F I N I S.